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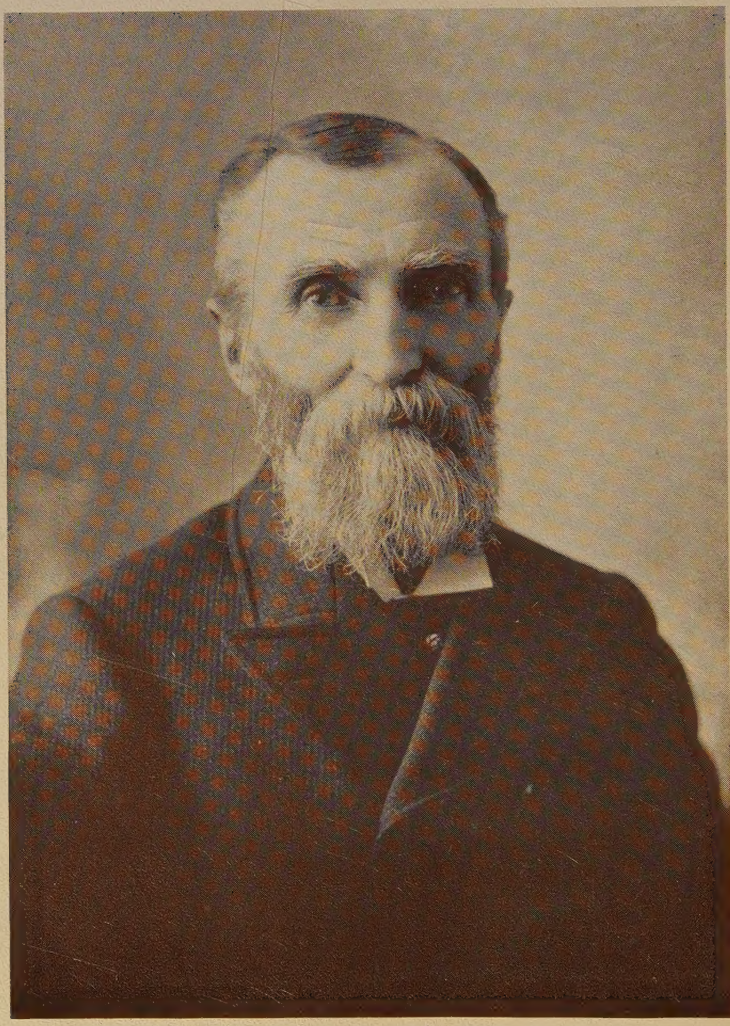

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EDITED BY

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VOL. XIV

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Washington, D. C.—Edward Sheehan, Dr. H. M. Hamblin, Henry Hegwer.
Washington.—George Robertson, Albert W. Soller, August Soller.
Wellington.—W. H. Burks, H. W. Herrick, Mrs. W. H. Maddy, M. R. McLean, W. T. McBride, Fletcher Price, E. B. Roser, Glenn Willett, Byron F. Wynn.
Wellsville.—Pleasant Ramey.
White Cloud.—Mark E. Zimmerman, Edward Park.
Wichita.—H. C. Sluss, Mrs. C. W. Bitting.
Wilson.—H. W. Weber.
Winfield—M. B. Light.
Woodston.—Mrs. Minnie Bruton.
York, Pa.—Dr. I. H. Betz.

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# PREFACE.

UNAVOIDABLE circumstances have delayed the publication of this, the fourteenth volume, *Kansas Historical Collections*. Following the plan observed heretofore by the Society, volume XV should have been published this year. Finding that it would be impossible to regain the lost time, volume XIV has been made a double number to cover a period of four years. This brings the publication down to date. As most of our time was lost in moving the Society from the state-house to the Memorial Building, and as there can never arise a similar cause for delay, it will be an easy matter to have future volumes of the *Collections* on time.

This volume has been made a double number in fact as well as in time covered. It is the largest volume of the series. It is hoped that the members of the Society and the public will find it beyond former volumes in the quality of articles as well as in their contents. It will be found rich in portraits and maps, a valuable feature of the volume. It contains the first attempt to treat the Indian occupancy of the Great Plains country from a critical standpoint. The review of the building and the operation of the Kansas Penitentiary will be welcomed by all true friends of prison reform. Some of the early missionaries of the Kansas and Platte valleys have their work set out, especially their efforts to Christianize and educate the Pawnees. Territorial Kansas and the Civil War period have not been neglected. Biography is becoming more and more important in Kansas, as in other states, and much biographical material will be found in this work.

Attention is called to this fact: The generation which settled and made Kansas is passing rapidly. The few survivors are incapable of adding much of value to those annals that must ever be the pride of Kansas. They have done their work. They have made their record. Whatever of this record has failed of publication will have to be obtained from documents recognized as source material for history. An occasional article may yet be secured. But this volume must of necessity mark the prac-

tical close of the personal narrative of survivors of the vastly important territorial and Civil War days. In the future these volumes will have to rely on the rich unpublished archives of the Society for their material. In a sense this change will be a loss, for the popular character of the volumes made them of more general interest than those of any similar publications. But what is lost in one way will, it is hoped, be more than gained in another. In the digest of the manuscript resources of our Society our volumes will take a higher place in dealing with historical problems. And there will be the proud record of Kansas and Kansans in the great World War for liberty and humanity to be preserved and published. So, taking it all in all, the *Kansas Historical Collections* are destined to increase in value and interest to Kansas and her people.

W. E. C.

# KANSAS HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS.

## JOHN FRANCIS.

IT IS THE PURPOSE of the Historical Society to publish from time to time sketches of its early members and past officers. They were all pioneers in Kansas, and the day of the pioneer is over. The frontier has been pushed beyond the horizon. Native-born sons and daughters of the state are now conducting its business. Already has a son of the state served as its governor, and native-born congressmen and United States senators are in office. So it behooves us to think of those who have helped to lay the foundations of Kansas, and preserve some record, however brief, of their lives.

John Francis, a pioneer in a very true sense, was born April 24, 1837, in County Norfolk, England, not far from the town of Dereham, where his family had lived for many generations. His father was John Francis, the son of William Francis and his wife Sarah Collins Francis. John Francis was born in 1797 and died February 26, 1839; he had been twice married; his second wife, whom he married October 29, 1835, was Sarah Kitteringham, and the subject of this sketch was the only child of the marriage. Left an orphan at so early an age, the sort of education possible only to the very well-to-do at that time in England was denied him. His mother kept him in private schools—there were no other kind—until he had attained the rudiments of an education, when it became necessary for him to earn whatever more he was to get. It was during this time that the Kansas struggle was pending, and through reading the London *Times* and the Norwich *Chronicle* he had become interested in America, and especially Kansas. The slavery question was the great national issue, and much was published concerning the debates in Congress. The admission of Kansas had been brought about in the midst of great oratorical pyrotechnics, and the succeeding troubles were published far and wide. Young Francis had a halfsister in NewYork who had married and very shortly gone to the United States, and her letters home served only to increase his interest.

Eventually word came that his sister and her husband, Mr. S. A. Kerry, were leaving New York for Osawatomie, Kan. Having that knowledge, he was more than ever interested in accounts of the Kansas struggle, and he determined to come to America and take part in the building of a new state. His mother reluctantly gave her consent to his traveling out to see his sister and the new country which was so alluring to him; and in August, 1858, he left England for Kansas, proceeding directly to Osawatomie, where he arrived in September. Here he spent the winter of 1858-'59, and came to know many of the friends and followers of John Brown. His already half-formed opinions became crystal-

lized, and any idea which he might have had of returning permanently to his native land was speedily lost.

In March, 1859, he went into Allen county, where he preëmpted a claim and undertook to farm. With him had come his brother-in-law, and their lands adjoined. There is a family joke that both of these young men appeared with their "boxes" neatly packed with clothing only suitable to city life, and that hat boxes and canes formed a part of their traveling impedimenta. However, young Francis quickly accommodated himself to frontier conditions, and when secession came and war was declared he, with the other young men of his community, went to Mound City and enlisted in the Third Kansas regiment. This regiment was raised and commanded by the redoubtable James Montgomery, whose name had become a household word in Southeastern Kansas, so potent had been his work in that part of the territory in behalf of the free-state cause. The Third, like many of the regiments raised in the beginning of the war, was a mixed regiment, containing both cavalry and infantry. It was organized under authority from Gen. James H. Lane, who had been given a sort of roving commission to raise troops, and with the Fourth and Fifth Kansas constituted what was known as Lane's Brigade. When by the spring of 1862 the Third regiment had not completed its organization, the War Department ordered the transfer of the companies composing it. The cavalry company of which Mr. Francis was a member became company D of the Fifth Kansas cavalry, and in this company he passed his entire war service. The Fifth Kansas was used on the border and in Missouri and Arkansas. It was a hard service, as all scout duty must be, and by the time the regiment reached Helena, Ark., many of its members were only fit for the hospital. At Helena Mr. Francis was invalided and sent up the river to the general hospital at Keokuk, Iowa; from there he was discharged in November, 1863, greatly broken in health.

He returned to Allen county and was elected county clerk, and reelected in 1865, serving four years. At the time the county seat was moved from Humboldt to Iola he was appointed by Judge D. M. Valentine, then judge of the district, clerk of the district court. At the end of his appointive term he was elected to the office, holding it until 1868, when he resigned. During the sitting of the court in Humboldt Mr. Francis had performed the duties of deputy sheriff and bailiff for the court, and Judge Valentine in his reminiscences of that term of court has this to say: "All the officers performed their duties faithfully, and I have never seen a more faithful officer than John Francis." It was during this period that Mr. Francis had found time to study law, and was admitted to practice in 1867. In November of that year he was elected county treasurer of Allen county, and reëlected in 1869.

At the close of his term of office he went into business in Iola, purchasing the interest of Mr. P. D. Ridenour and Mr. H. W. Baker in a grocery and drug business. In this venture he was in partnership with Mr. Samuel Ridenour, and they built up a large retail and jobbing trade. Later Mr. Francis bought out Mr. Ridenour's interest and continued the business alone until in July, 1877, when he sold out.

In 1873 Gov. Thomas A. Osborn had appointed Mr. Francis one of the trustees of the Deaf and Dumb Asylum at Olathe. And on May 1, 1874, he appointed him state treasurer of Kansas to fill the unexpired term of Josiah E. Hayes. Trouble had come to Mr. Hayes through paying out money for the Price Raid claims unauthorized by the commission appointed to audit them. Mr. Francis became a candidate for the office at the expiration of his appointive term, but was defeated in the convention, Samuel Lappin being the successful candidate. In December, 1875, it was found that Lappin had embezzled state funds, and again the governor appointed Mr. Francis to fill an unexpired term. In 1876 he went before the convention and gained the nomination, and was elected. He was reëlected in 1878 and again in 1880.

After leaving the office of state treasurer Mr. Francis engaged in the bond business, and later in banking in New York City. In 1892 his health, nerver robust, failed him entirely. He returned to Kansas and moved to his farm at the northern edge of Allen county, where he now lives. This was not his preëmption claim, but land which he had purchased later.

In 1898 he was elected representative by his county, and in the legislative session of 1899 served as chairman of the committee on state affairs. He was returned to the house of representatives in 1900 and in 1902, and in both of these sessions served as chairman of the committee on ways and means. The work was very arduous, and his knowledge of state finances was of incalculable benefit to the state at large. The legislature of 1901 authorized the appointment of a Tax Commission to revise the tax laws of the state and suggest a new and more equitable tax law. Mr. Francis was made a member of this commission and was elected its president.

His opinions regarding the Kansas conflict, formed in his youth, aligned him at once with the Republican party, and from the tenets of that party he has never deviated, and throughout his career has been known as a stalwart member of the party. In the earlier days of Kansas he was a conspicuous figure in the public life of his county and the state; he had a close acquaintance with most of the men prominent throughout the state, and was a valued member of party councils. In his declining years he lives a retired life, but still takes great interest in the affairs of the state whose early policy he helped to shape. Few men in Kansas have a more distinguished and honorable record of public service than he, and none is more highly esteemed or universally respected. Mr. Francis is a Mason, a Knight Templar, and his church is the Episcopalian. He was confirmed in the Church of England at Norwich, when he was fourteen years of age, by Bishop Selwyn, then the missionary bishop of New Zealand. The interest of Mr. Francis in the Historical Society dates from the early days of its organization. He was one of the early directors and has continued on the board, and he served as treasurer of the Society for many years. He took a great pride in the Society and its growth, and until age overtook him rarely missed an annual meeting. No office that he ever held gave him so much real pride and pleasure as that of president of the Society, in 1901. From the be-

ginning of this organization his hand was always outstretched in helpfulness, and he gave much time and thought to its upbuilding. There are few of his generation left; they were all men of deeds, not words, and all state builders; they were a goodly company, and as we look back upon their efforts we can but marvel at their accomplishment.

Mr. Francis was married February 23, 1862, while at home on a furlough, to Miss Lodeska Coffield, the daughter of Samual Coffield and his wife, Rebecca Clark Coffield. They, too, were pioneers in Kansas, coming from Grant county, Indiana, in July, 1860. Samuel Coffield, born in Guernsey county, Ohio, May 13, 1815, and died in Labette county, Kansas, October 15, 1885, was the son of James Coffield and Sarah Jane Craig, his wife. James Coffield was an Irishman and had come to this country with his parents in 1809; he lived in Pennsylvania for some time, and there married Sarah Craig, likewise of Irish ancestry. Rebecca Clark was the daughter of James Clark and Sarah Simons Clark; she was born May 18, 1821, in Bradford county, Pennsylvania, and died July 22, 1887, in Labette county, Kansas. The Clark and Simons families were from New England and go back to the beginning of things in America. Mr. and Mrs. Francis have three daughters and one son, Anna, Clara, Maude Elizabeth, and John.

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## ALFRED WASHBURN BENSON, LL. D.

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society, by THOMAS AMORY LEE,[1] A. M., LL. B.

THE late Mr. Justice Benson, or, as he was commonly called, "Judge" Benson, was born July 15, 1843, at Jamestown, Chautauqua county, New York, and died on New Year's Day, January 1, 1916, in Topeka, Kan. He was the son of Peleg and Hannah (Washburn) Benson. Peleg Benson was born in Massachusetts, March 28, 1793, and died October 25, 1870. He was a soldier of the War of 1812, and was "a man who in humble life was faithful to every task, accepting fortune and misfortune with neither boasting nor complaint." Judge Benson's modesty is said to have been characteristic of the family. Peleg Benson was the son of Consider Benson, who was born September 4, 1776, and died September 3, 1855. He married, 1788, Hannah Parrington, who was born June 1, 1769, and died September, 1844. They had seven children, of whom Peleg was the third. Lieut. Consider Benson was descended from the immigrant, John Benson, who came to Massachusetts in the seventeenth century and

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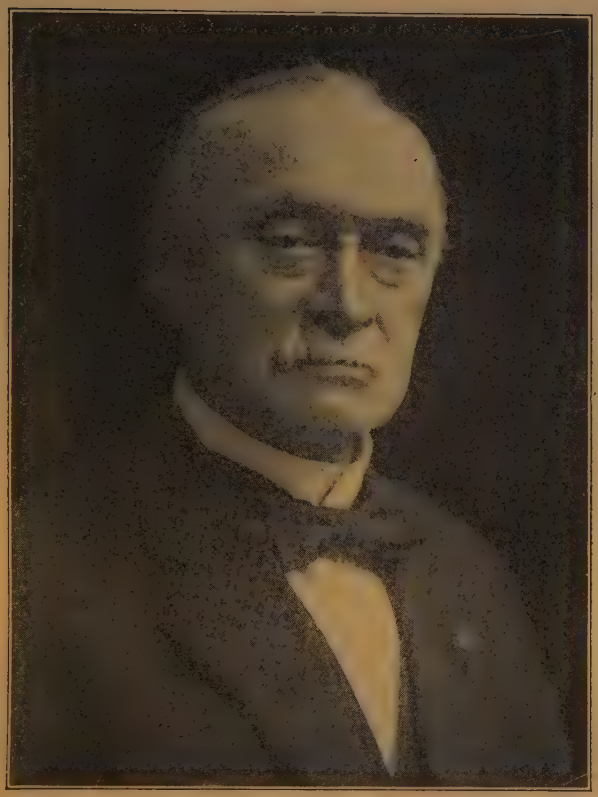
1. Thomas Amory Lee, son of Robert Ives Lee and Abby Kimber Lee, was born January 28, 1889. His father was a prominent citizen of Shawnee county, having settled there in 1870. He owned the "Prairie Dell" farm, the old Pottawatomie Baptist mission site, where in 1849 a commodious building was erected for the use of the mission. This building is still standing and is in a fair state of preservation. Thomas Amory received part of his education at Washburn college, later he attended Kansas University, where he took his B. A. and M. A. degrees. He was a student in the Harvard law school, and after his graduation there practiced law two years in Boston. He is now a resident of Topeka. Mr. Lee was married June 8, 1916, to Miss Mary Helen Shirer, a granddaughter of Mr. A. B. Whiting, a Kansas pioneer and president of the Historical Society in 1910. Mr. Lee is a member of many historical societies and is the author of a number of historical, biographical and genealogical sketches. In September, 1917, Mr. Lee entered the service of the Y. M. C. A. for work in France, and he has since enlisted in the army.



JUDGE A. W. BENSON.

founded a numerous and sturdy family. Lieut. Consider Benson may possibly have been the son of Consider Benson, who married Elizabeth (born 1732), the daughter of Ephriam and Mary Washburn, of Plympton.

Judge Benson's mother, Hannah Washburn, was born April 17, 1804, died October 14, 1873, and married Peleg Benson, March 5, 1831. Judge Benson was the fifth and youngest child. She was the daughter of William Washburn, who was born May 9, 1767, died July 26, 1851, and was married at Wendell, Mass., to Huldah Clark, on August 21, 1788. Huldah Clark was born on May 24, 1768, in Vermont, as was William Washburn. He was a Revolutionary soldier, and enlisted March, 1781, for three years as a private in Capt. Killam's company of Col. Rufus Putnam's Massachusetts regiment. He was only fourteen years old when he enlisted. William Washburn was descended from John Washburn, the immigrant who came to Plymouth, Mass., in 1632, from Evesham, County Worcester, England, and was followed in 1635 by his wife, Margaret, then aged 49, with sons John, aged 14, and Philip, who came in the ship "Elizabeth and Ann" from London. John Washburn was an original settler of Bridgewater, Mass., and died before 1670. He founded a large family and many of his name have come to distinction in the New World.

The Bensons seem to have left Massachusetts for New York about a century ago, and the Washburns came to Carroll, in Chautauqua county, New York, in 1820 or 1821. Thus Judge Benson was descended from two sturdy Massachusetts families and was the grandson of two Revolutionary warriors. Nobly did he, in turn, enrich his patriotic ancestry for his descendants.

Judge Benson was reared on the farm of his father and educated at the ordinary district schools of the country, and at the Randolph and Jamestown academies. The Randolph Academy is now the Chamberlain Military Institute. While Judge Benson was there he and three other Chautauqua county boys boarded themselves in the second story of the "Valley House," a vacant hotel near the creek. Among his classmates were Bentley, of Rochester, who became a justice of the supreme court of New York; O. H. Price, the first mayor of Jamestown, N. Y.; three brothers named Allen, from Warren county, Pennsylvania—all of whom became lawyers, one a state senator of Pennsylvania, and one a judge in Colorado, and Republican candidate for governor; Lindsey, for many years presiding justice of Warren county; Babcock, who became chief justice of the state of Minnesota; Ross, who went west to the mines and became a millionaire; James Jefferson Meyers, a leader of the bar and speaker of the Massachusetts house of representatives; and A. A. Van-Dusen, judge of Chautauqua county, the last two of whom were very close friends of Judge Benson. Judge Benson was much interested in the career of his school friends, and talked to the writer at considerable length about Myers at one time. It is interesting to note how many of these schoolmates became judges, some of them, as Bently, Babcock and Benson, being really prominent ones. Prof Samuel S. Love was at the head of Randolph Academy when Judge Benson was there. At the time of his death Judge Benson still preserved the catalogue of Jamestown Academy, 1858-'59, of which Edward A. Dickinson was principal. There were then five instructors and lecturers. From 1861 to 1862 Judge Benson was a district-school teacher in Warren county, Pennsylvania.

From here on Judge Benson's active life began, and it may be divided into four parts—service during the Civil War; private life, 1865-1906, public life, 1906-1915; and professor of law, 1915-1916.

*Civil War Service—1862-1865.*

When the great war broke out and the President's call for volunteers to assist in preserving the Union came, the patriotism of his Revolutionary grandfathers surged within him, and Benson, like thousands of other young men throughout the North, felt that he must do "his bit," regardless of the cost to himself, "when the blood in his veins ran quick and all his youthful ambitions, hopes and desires were ripe and sweet, he heard the shriek of the belligerent fifes, and beat of the alarming drums, and saw the angry swish and swirl of the conscious flag." His military career, while eminently useful and honorable, was not by any means an extraordinary or even distinguished one. He enlisted as a private and came out major and brevet lieutenant-colonel of the same regiment, having taken part in eleven battles, besides many skirmishes and lesser engagements. He was at Chancellorsville, Wauhatchie, Mis-

sionary Ridge, Rocky Face, Resaca, in the operations in and about Dallas, Pumpkin Vine Creek, New Hope Church, Lost Mountain and Kenesaw, Peach Tree Creek, siege of Atlanta, and investment of Savannah, and marched with Sherman's army to the sea, and back through the Carolinas to Washington; where he participated in the grand review.

Benson enrolled August 28, 1862, at Randolph, N. Y., as a private in company H, 154th New York volunteers, an infantry regiment, and mustered in with the regiment at Jamestown, N. Y., September 26, 1862. In due course of time the regiment was equipped, and "the day arrived when the soldiers were to leave camp and move to the front. One thousand men and thirty-three officers marched from the camp to the station. How fine they looked in their new uniforms! There was no noticeable difference in their height now. They moved as one man. It was a sight well worth seeing.

"At the station the command was given, 'Break ranks,' to give each an opportunity to bid farewell to the dear ones. There were many more friends and relatives there than there were soldiers.

"This was a heart-breaking scene. One cannot describe it; one would not wish to. It was like standing at the open graves of one thousand men. All knew that not all—perhaps few—would come back. Each felt that it would be their own loved one numbered among the missing. Wives clung to their husbands, young mothers held up baby for papa's last kiss. Sweethearts and lovers exchanging vows. Brothers telling sisters to care for their parents. Aged fathers telling sons to be faithful to the cause. Near me stood a mother with arms around her only son, begging him to resign, not to leave her. (No man on earth save one could have accepted his resignation, and that man was President Lincoln.) When the fatal words 'Fall in!' rang out, the son was obliged to tear himself away. His mother fainted, and would have fallen beneath the train had not her husband supported her.

"The train carrying its passengers towards the South disappeared, leaving behind it those who had to face as hard battles as the grave departing ones."

Judge Benson made an excellent soldier and was with the regiment every day for service from muster in, September 26, 1862, to discharge, June 23, 1865, except the time that he was disabled by his Chancellorsville wound. He received his first promotion in April, 1863, when Capt. J. F. Nelson made him first sergeant, the most important noncommissioned office in the company. His regiment was first assigned to duty under Major General Sigel, a thorough soldier, at Fairfax, Va., and there became a part of the First brigade, Second division, Eleventh army corps, and so continued until the consolidation of the Eleventh and Twelfth corps, in the spring of 1864. He saw the usual service of men in his division, and was in various marches about Manassas and the old Bull Run battlefield until the spring of 1863, when the Eleventh corps moved to Chancellorsville, missing the bloody though small affair of Ball's Bluff, where Massachusetts and New York regiments, under the command of General Baker and Col. Charles Devens and Col. Wm. Raymond Lee lost so heavily. Then came Chancellorsville, the first battle in

which his regiment participated, and one that was nearly fatal for Benson. "He was shot through and through at dread Chancellorsville, while all the while the Rappahannock chocked on its sluggish way to the ocean, with the mingled flow of brothers' blood. He was left for dead on that fatal field as the grim, sturdy columns of Stonewall Jackson, hoof and foot, swept over him their irresistible avalanche of disaster and death."

"The first day's battle at Chancellorsville was closing, with the northern army in retreat. A party of New York volunteers delayed a little to do what they might for their wounded sergeant, a boy of nineteen, shot through the left lung in a charge by Stonewall Jackson's men. 'We'll put you over by that big tree,' they told him; 'you'll be safer there than out here.' So they propped him against the trunk of the tree and went after their company, to report Sergeant Benson left for dead on the field of battle.

"Soon after dark the Union batteries began a fierce cannonading, and made the night horrible. To escape from the worst of the storm of shells a party of Stonewall Jackson's men gathered under the tree. They knelt in prayer, calmly commending themselves to the All Father, who, they were sure, still ruled in the affairs of men. They prayed also for their wounded enemy, 'the young soldier about to die.' As they left, one gave the sergeant a drink from his canteen, and they treated him with great kindness.

"Then a thought grew to hope in the boy's heart; the Union batteries were not far away; he would try to reach them; it would be better than being a prisoner. Sometimes walking, oftener on hands and knees, groaning, fainting, he made his way," over half a mile to a cold spring of water, on the Union skirmish line indicated by the furious cannonading, "and morning found him well cared for in the field hospital," in a Virginia barnyard.

" 'Have I any chance, doctor?' he asked the surgeon.

" 'If you were in the habit of using liquor at all,' was the frank answer, 'you would n't have a ghost of a show, but as it is you may pull through.' " The next day the hospital was captured by the Confederates.

He was a prisoner on the battlefield for eleven days after the battle, and was reported in his regiment as killed. The immediate effect of his wound was a dull, stunning sensation and faintness. After a couple of days it caused him sharp pain; his breathing was very painful, and he continually spat bloody phlegm. On May 13 the Federal prisoners who were able to march were sent off to Richmond, and Judge Benson, with others unable to move, was paroled. He was soon sent to the Chestnut Hill (Philadelphia) general hospital, where he remained until September 17, 1863, when he shortly after rejoined his regiment at Bridgeport, Ala., and from that day was constantly on duty until the end of the war, never missing a day of service. While in the hospital his wound gradually healed, expectoration lessened, and he grew better without any relapse, although his left side and breast were for a long time weaker than other portions of his body, and would perspire much sooner. When fatigued that side seemed weaker than the other for two or three years after

the wound was received, though Judge Benson fully recovered, and felt no ill effects from it after about 1868. The blouse he was wearing when shot is preserved in the G. A. R. hall at Ottawa.

Meanwhile at home he was believed to be dead by all, except his father. The newspaper had reported Alfred W. Benson as dead, and comrades who saw him fall on the field had confirmed the report. But his father could not believe it, and would not. To him the sorrow seemed too great. "Day after day he walked to town to meet each mail train, hoping to receive some word from his son. The neighbors shook their heads and pitied what seemed to be a failing mind. But the boy was not dead, and at the first opportunity after his exchange he wrote. The old postmaster knew the handwriting, and, leaving his mail sack, rushed out to deliver it to the waiting father. His father did not stop to open the letter. His boy was alive; that was enough. He hastened home, running most of the way, to break the news to wife and mother. Rushing into the room where she was sewing, he tried to speak, but could not; his emotion was too great. First he laughed and then cried; then throwing the letter into her lap, he turned and went to the barn. In his modest simplicity he would hide the emotion which he could not express."

On June 11, 1863, while still in the hospital, Judge Benson received his commission as a second lieutenant in his regiment, (the 154th) signed by Gov. Horatio Seymour. Upon being discharged from the hospital on September 17, 1863, after a fifteen-day furlough at home during convalescence, he was sent to a parole camp at Alexandria, Va. On October 16, 1863, he was exchanged, and so was free to join his regiment, which he did at Bridgeport, Ala., after a somewhat arduous trip on the Baltimore & Ohio railroad. Late in October he reached Bridgeport, and was at once assigned to duty as acting adjutant. On December 29 he was mustered in as second lieutenant, to date from July 6, 1863. He served as adjutant until about May 4, 1864. The regiment had been in only one battle during the time that Benson was absent, that one being Gettysburg. The corps to which the regiment belonged was now transferred to the Army of the Cumberland in the West, and sent in the fall of 1863 to participate in the operations about Chattanooga under General Grant. In the spring of 1864 the regiment was placed in the Second brigade, Second division, Twentieth corps, and continued so until the end. Judge Benson took part in the operations about Chattanooga, including the battle of Wauhatchie. Immediately after Missionary Ridge a force, including the brigade of which the 154th New York was part, marched, under General Granger, from the battlefield to the relief of Knoxville.

May 4, 1864, Lieutenant Benson was assigned to Company D and placed at its head as acting captain. He continued in command of this company until the end of the war. He also commanded company E for several months on the Atlanta campaign. On September 16, 1864, he was commissioned captain in the 154th New York by Governor Seymour, and was mustered in as captain at Atlanta on October 18, little more than a month thereafter, continuing in command of company D. After the battles of Rocky Face, Resaca, New Hope Church, Lost Mountain and Kenesaw, Peach Tree Creek, and the siege of Atlanta, in all of which

Captain Benson had taken part (though he was not in the charge on Kenesaw), came Sherman's famous march to the sea, and the investment of Savannah, in which also Captain Benson took part at the head of commany D. While at Atlanta and Savannah Captain Benson served on the division court-martial as junior officer. While at Savannah, in December, 1864, Col. P. H. Jones ordered an election by the officers of the regiment for the post of major, and Captain Benson was the choice of the officers for the post. Colonel Jones forwarded a recommendation to that effect to the Governor of New York, who accordingly signed a commission appointing Captain Benson as major of the 154th, on March 4, 1865. Meanwhile the army had left Savannah and was marching to Raleigh through the Carolinas. At Goldsboro, N. C., in April, Captain Benson received his commission as major, in the first mail received since leaving Savannah. He was never mustered in as major, the regiment being below the minimum strength, and having two field officers. Besides, the war was over shortly after he received the commission. After General Lee's surrender the army marched from Raleigh, through Virginia, to Washington, and there took part in the triumphant grand review, on May 25, 1865. On June 11, 1865, Captain Benson was mustered out with his regiment at Bladensburg, Md., and received his final discharge with the regiment at Elmira, N. Y., where it disbanded June 23. He received a commission as brevet lieutenant colonel from the governor of New York, and finally reached home at Worksbury, Chautauqua county, New York, in June 1865, after almost three years of active service. He was in every engagement that his regiment[2] participated in except the battle of Gettysburg, when he was in the hospital from the almost fatal wound received at Chancellorsville; rose from private to major at the age of 21, and came out of the army a tried and true man. It is very characteristic of the man that no one of his friends knew until after his death that he had been given a brevet as lieutenant colonel. On the other hand, he was deservedly proud of his rank of major won on the battlefield.

During the more than fifty years between the grand review and Judge Benson's death, he was always keenly interested in the fortunes of his old comrades, or of any "boy in blue." In 1869 he made a speech to the Grand Army of the Republic in New York, on the first Memorial Day, which is still preserved among his papers; and on August 30 and 31, 1888, at the reunion of his regiment, at Ellicottville, N. Y., he was again on the program. He was post commander of Post Sheldon, No. 40, at Sherman, N. Y., in 1868, and one of the organizers and most active members of George H. Thomas Post, No. 18, Ottawa, Kan., of which he was the commander for several years. There he was closely associated for nearly fifty years with Col. J. N. Harrison, an ex-president of this Society. On August 30, 1906, he made an address, "In the Fifties," at Osawatomie, Kan., on the fiftieth anniversary of that battle. He attended more than one of the national encampments of the Grand Army of the Republic,

2. Besides the battles mentioned in this article, the 154th New York, in the campaign of the Carolinas from January to April, 1865, took part in the battles of Averysboro, March 16; Bentonville, March 19-21; the occupation of Goldsboro, March 24; advance on Raleigh, April 9-13; occupation of Raleigh, April 14; Bennett's House, April 26; and was present at the surrender of Johnston and his army. The 154th lost during its service 83 men killed and 195 men from disease, or more than one-fifth of its number.

among them the forty-seventh, at Chattanooga, September 15 to 20, 1913, and the forty-ninth. Above all, he went on to Washington in September, 1915, and took part in that feeble repetition of the great review of fifty years before. The fact that he was able to participate in the "second review" caused Judge Benson a great deal of satisfaction. His work in the Washburn Law School was heavy at the time that he desired to go, and although the judge had been looking forward to the review for several years, he said he could not go with justice to his work, and put aside his desire. Fortunately a friend, qualified to carry on the work temporarily, consented to take his place, with the students' assistance, and Judge Benson attended the review with his son-in-law, Mr. Page, of Topeka. Together they revisited Gettysburg and Chancellorsville, and Judge Benson told the writer, upon his return, that he had no difficulty in finding the exact spot upon which he had been shot fifty years before, and that he then retraced that painfully slow crawl of half a mile to the spring of water, which was as cold as before, and that he found the old barn which had served as a hospital.

Judge Benson was preëminently a man of peace, but it is the opinion of the writer that the judge took more pride in his military record and his title as major than he did in any other title he ever gained, except, that of Christian gentleman and justice of the supreme court. There can be no doubt that his experience in that time, of which Mr. Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, jr., of the United States supreme court, has written in words of fire, made a competent, able man of an untried country youth.

*Private Life—1865-1906.*

It may seem somewhat strange to include under this head, and not under that of public life, all those years in which Judge Benson was mayor, county attorney, legislator and district judge; but his *prominent* public service, though, of course, based on the forty preceding years, did not begin until 1906.

When he returned home, in June, 1865, he resumed the study of the law, upon which he had commenced at Randolph before the war, and entered the office of Cook & Lockwood, at Jamestown, N. Y., where he remained until January 1, 1867, when he entered into practice at Sherman, N. Y., with A. A. Van Dusen, an old school mate, and later judge of Chautauqua county. He was admitted to practice before the supreme court of New York in November, 1866, at Buffalo. While living in Sherman he was elected a county supervisor, which position he resigned when he moved to Kansas in November, 1869. It seems probable that his two years' service in the western army, when he mingled with men from many of the middle western states, may have influenced him to come west quite as much as, if not more than, Horace Greeley's famous advice. At least we are thankful that he came to Kansas instead of to some other state. He came to Ottawa in November, 1869, and opened a law office there. After a few months he returned to Sherman, N. Y., where he married, May 10, 1870, Miss Unettie Louise Towsley, born June 25, 1843, in Manchester, Vt., and daughter of Darius and Lydia (Fowler) Towsley. Her grandfather, Nathaniel Towsley, was a soldier in the war of 1812, and two of Mrs. Benson's brothers served in the Union

army, one of whom—Leonard—was killed at Antietam. The Fowlers were pioneers of New York, and the Towsleys of Vermont. Judge Benson at once brought his bride to Ottawa, and they made their home at first in a house near the present Missouri Pacific railway station. Five children were born to Judge and Mrs. Benson in Ottawa: (1) Earl Washburn, born September 7, 1871, died December 4, 1871; (2) Marian Ella, born April 13, 1873, died July 30, 1887; (3) Louise, born July 8, 1874, died November 5, 1874; (4) Frances Amelia, born November 18, 1876, married at Ottawa, September 7, 1904, Herbert Ward Page, an attorney of Topeka, and nephew of Judge C. A. Smart, of Ottawa; (5) Kate, born July 4, 1879, died January 21, 1897. Of his children, only Mrs. Page and her children survived Judge Benson.

The first office Judge Benson held in Kansas, so far as known, was that of notary public, to which he was appointed by Gov. James M. Harvey on January 4, 1870. He was admitted to the fourth judicial district court on March 28, 1870, to the Kansas supreme court, February 22, 1872, and to the circuit court of the United States for the district of Kansas, June 5, 1873. He was also soon elected city clerk of Ottawa, and later city attorney. Judge Benson went into partnership with the late Harlan P. Welsh[3] and in due course of time acquired a practice which later became one of the most lucrative in the county. One of his first cases was before a justice of the peace in Pomona, some fifteen miles away. Benson started early one morning to ride to the town, but was stopped by a creek then overflowing its bank. He followed along the creek for several miles and found a young farm hand named Foster Dwight Coburn, who sent him in the right direction. Judge Benson is said to have tried to make his pony swim the creek, but the current was too strong and Coburn helped him out. Some forty years later the same Coburn was to refuse the position of senator of the United States, and to suggest his friend Benson for the place, which was accepted by Benson.

Kansas in 1869 was anything but the prohibition state which it now is, and Benson is said by Colonel Harrison to have been advised by one more or less prominent attorney, then in Ottawa, to leave, for no one could succeed there as a lawyer who did not drink lots of whisky. However, he did not leave, nor did he drink lots of whisky.

In 1871 he was elected county attorney, at the age of 28. The firm of Welsh & Benson was dissolved, and Judge Benson later went into partnership with Judge William L. Parkinson,[4] and the firm presently acquired

3. For sketch of Harlan Pyle Welsh, see Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 10, p. 279.

4. William Ludley Parkinson was born June 17, 1843, in what is now Rock Lick, Marshall county, West Virginia; he died in Ottawa, Kan., June 14, 1907. His father, John Parkinson, was a prominent man in his time, an ardent believer in the doctrine of antislavery. In this belief he reared his sons, and when the Civil War broke out four of them enlisted in the First Virginia infantry, under the reorganized government at Wheeling, when western Virginia repudiated the secession of the state. William Parkinson served as a soldier in the Union army from 1861 to 1863, when on account of injuries he was discharged. He afterward took up the study of law in Pennsylvania, at Waynesburg College. Upon completing his legal course he returned to Wheeling, remaining there until in 1870, when he visited Kansas. In 1871 he brought his family to Ottawa, and remained a resident of that city until his death. In later life Mr. Parkinson traveled much in the interest of his business, being identified with the promotion of the cane-sugar industry in this state. On May 14, 1867, he was married to Miss Marina C. Carter, at Brownsville, Pa.; she died at Ottawa March 13, 1875, leaving a son and daughter. For his second wife Mr. Parkinson married, in 1882, Mrs. Pendleton, who still resides in Ottawa.

a rich practice. In 1878, at the city election in Ottawa, the no-license, or temperance ticket, as it was called, was headed by Judge Benson's name for mayor. The other ticket was called the license or business men's ticket, and was financed by the liquor men, who threatened to make it very hot for Judge Benson and to drive him out of the city. The campaign was a very warm one, indeed, and Judge Benson was elected by a majority of eight. At the same time four councilmen were elected (four holding over). Under the law as it stood then (before the constitutional amendment for prohibition), the mayor and council of cities of the second class could grant or refuse licenses. The licenses in force at the time of this election expired July 1, 1878, and the new Mayor Benson and council refused to renew them or to grant any others. After a rather stubborn fight the dramshop keepers gave up, and there have been no open saloons in Ottawa since that time. Judge Benson was reëlected mayor in April, 1879.

In 1880, after an active campaign, Judge Benson was elected to the Kansas state senate, and represented Coffey and Franklin counties in the senate, 1881 to 1885. It will be remembered that the campaign of 1880 was the famous prohibition amendment one, and Judge Benson took an active part in it. His success as mayor of Ottawa in 1878 on a no-liquor platform was an argument which was widely used in the state campaign, and contributed, perhaps, to its success.

As soon as the senate met in 1881 Judge Benson was made chairman of the senate committee on temperance, to which were referred all bills designed to put the prohibition amendment in force. Judge S. O. Thacher, of Lawrence, Judge Broderick, of Holton, and Judge Benson were the only lawyers on that committee, and the other members left the framing of the bill to the three lawyers. They carefully considered all bills referred, as well as suggestions from every source, but finally drafted the bill themselves, after weeks of arduous labor, during which they met every night except Sunday, and worked far into the morning. For some weeks those three men worked sixteen to eighteen hours a day, trying to perform ordinary legislative duties as well as to draft the prohibition bill. It will be remembered that, except Maine, no other state in the Union—or, so far as known, no country in the world—had a prohibition law in 1881, and what they drafted was no servile copy, but the result of weeks of hard, original thinking. As chairman of the committee, Judge Benson reported the committee bill to the senate. With a few amendments, which as chairman, Benson, also proposed, it passed both houses just as it came from Judge Benson's pen, and received the approval of Gov. J. P. St. John on January 21, 1881, and thus became the first Kansas prohibitory law. Were Judge Benson's public service confined only to his great part in the making of this law, Kansas and New York might well be proud of their son. How fortunate for the state that he was to continue in her service!

Judge Benson continued his legislative duties until December 31, 1884—meanwhile practicing law when he could—when, on that date, Gov. G. W. Glick appointed him judge of the district court of the fourth judicial district to fill a vacancy. He took the oath of office on January 6, 1885,

and thus began his long service as a trial judge, which, had he pleased, would have continued until his death. In 1887 he was given a banquet by the local bar association, at which Judge Thacher, "Uncle Jimmy" Green, of the University Law School, and others spoke. In 1888 he was elected for a second term, and in 1892 reëlected for a third term. In January, 1897, he voluntarily retired from the judgeship, declining a renomination, and resumed the practice of law at Ottawa, being senior member of the firm of Benson, Smart & Harris. When he retired the bar association gave him a most flattering testimonial. In 1900, C. A. Smart, of the firm, having been elected district judge of the district, the firm was dissolved. Benson and Harris continued in partnership until Judge Benson was appointed United States senator, in 1906. F. M. Harris, of the firm, is now the mayor of Ottawa. From 1897 on, Judge Benson's private practice is said to have been very large, and indeed it would be strange if this were not so.

It is said that Judge Benson was tendered the nomination for Congress once in the second district, in place of Hon. E. H. Funston, father of the late Maj. Gen. Frederick Funston, but Judge Benson refused it. In 1904 a controversy grew up in the legislative district in which Judge Benson lived over the nomination of a candidate for the legislature, and without the judge's knowledge or consent, and apparently without any premeditation on the part of the convention, he was nominated for the legislature. When the judge heard of it he was amazed, and promptly declined; but the convention was adjourned, and nothing was done by the county committee to fill the vacancy, and finally the judge was persuaded, much against his will, to let the nomination stand, and he was elected as representative from the sixteenth district (part of Franklin county) to the Kansas legislature.

Judge Benson was at once made chairman of the house judiciary committee, one of the most important committees, and as such showed such marked ability and rendered such valuable service to the state that he attracted a great deal of attention, and received much favorable comment from newspapers all over the state. Governor Hoch was so much impressed that he publicly declared that he would appoint Judge Benson to the supreme court if a vacancy occurred. As a matter of fact, three vacancies occurred, and Governor Hoch named, first, Judge Silas Porter; second, the late Judge Graves, of Emporia; and finally Judge Benson. It seems very probable that had Judge Benson not put aside his personal wishes and private business and obeyed the summons of his neighbors to represent them in the legislature of 1905, a comparatively insignificant service for a man of Judge Benson's qualifications, he would never have been named as United States senator, or would never have realized his life-long ambition of being a justice of the supreme court. Thus did the response to the call of duty, ever the judge's most prominent characteristic, lead to the great reward.

It will be remembered that the state was very much inflamed over the "iniquities" of the Standard Oil Company in 1905, and relief was demanded. Accordingly a bill providing for a state oil refinery and branch penitentiary at Peru, Chautauqua county, was introduced to fight the

Standard Oil Company. The whole state was in favor of the bill, overlooking the fact that the constitution expressly forbids the state to engage in internal improvements. The newspapers advocated it, and when the bill came before the house its passage was certain, as the representatives responded to the popular cry. There was fervid and eloquent oratory for the bill. It is not an easy thing to oppose public sentiment or to oppose the wishes of an overwhelming majority of one's colleagues in the legislature. But the proposed law was so manifestly unconstitutional, the provisions regarding a branch penitentiary were so evidently a sham, that Judge Benson opposed it in a speech which for wit, sarcasm and judicial learning has possibly never been equaled in either branch of the legislature.

"One speaker compared the Standard Oil Company, in its power, to the combined armies of the world, and called on Kansas to assist in putting down this great octopus; another explained that the expense would not be overly great, as it would only require fourteen men to operate the plant.

"Judge Benson agreed with the speaker who asserted the overmastering power of the Standard Oil Company; then pictured the assistant warden of the penitentiary marching out on a frosty morning at the head of fourteen prisoners to attack the giant enemy, greater than the combined armies of Europe.

" 'Beside such a financial and military display as this,' he said, 'the historic battle of Don Quixote and the windmills would pale into insignificance.' Then he directed the attention of the house to the constitution of Kansas, and their duties as representatives.

"The bill passed. The next day when Judge Benson appeared on the floor of the House he was greeted with unanimous applause. They knew that he was right."

The bill went to the supreme court, which declared it unconstitutional, exactly as Judge Benson had prophesied. (The State v. Kelley, 71 Kan. 811.) The house was crowded with members of the senate and of the supreme court and other state officers, and the galleries with friends of the bill, when Judge Benson made this speech, and it greatly enhanced his reputation.

He was the strong man of the House, and had more real influence with the members in matters of legislation than any other one man. "And that was the session when Stubbs was speaker."

Governor Hoch had named him a member of his advisory committee, and on June 10, 1906, Governor Hoch appointed him to the United States senate.

So far practically nothing of Judge Benson's life has been considered except his public service, either military, judicial or legislative. But this was really the smallest part of his active busy life from 1869 to 1906, thirty-seven years. Judge Benson rendered great service to the people of Kansas and to the nation in the three ways indicated, but in the opinion of the writer his greatest service was not in any of those capacities, nor, indeed, in all of them. In this opinion one of Judge Benson's law partners and closest friends concurs. "The question arises in the mind of any

one, What was his greatest work? To me the answer is: Not as a soldier, although a soldier he, every inch; no man of that Grand Army ever wore the bronze button more worthily than he. Not as a lawyer, although his services were invaluable in the formative period of this young state. Not as a legislator, although every piece of legislation that passed through his hands bore the imprint of his judicial mind. Not as a judge, although every decision from the bench, inferior or supreme, bore the marks of a cultured mind, whetted to keenness by an indomitable energy. My judgment is, that when the totality of his achievements is measured with that measuring rod of which we know so little, and weighed in the balance of God, it will be found that he did his greatest work as a private citizen as he went in and out among his fellow men! It is as a private citizen that Judge Benson will be best remembered by those who knew him and loved him, and they were many men, women and children. He was in the private practice of the law about twenty years in Ottawa—and what a lawyer he was! Bereaved women and forlorn children trusted him. How sacredly he cared for those trusts. Men who had little to leave their widows were not afraid to die if Judge Benson would care for that little. It is said that he was the executor, administrator or trustee of more estates in Franklin county than any other man. When he was district judge people liked to try their cases before him, feeling that all would be tried fairly and truly. His advice as a lawyer to poor persons needing it was above price, and indeed there was no price on it. He was the referee or master of a hard case concerning a small amount between two poor litigants. He was awarded $50 when his work was over, and that $50 was well earned. When he returned home he thought of the litigants, and, sitting down, sent one a check for $25 and the other a check for $25. When he was an attorney in a noted case over several hundred thousand dollars, he declined a fee of $10,000 and took a small amount, because he thought it unjust under the circumstances. He took advantage of no man, and every man felt it.

In 1872 he and his wife joined the First Congregational Church of Ottawa, and he remained a member of it all his life. In course of time he filled every position which a layman can fill in the church. He was its clerk, deacon, and trustee for years. When he came to Topeka to sit on the supreme bench he at once became affiliated with the First Congregational Church, the first and oldest church of Topeka,[5] and the second oldest in the entire state. He acted as deacon of it until his death. He taught a woman's Sunday-school class in Ottawa for over thirty years. "Right here in this little edifice, where he worshiped so many years; in this

5. The first church organized in Topkea was the Methodist Episcopal Church, March 21, 1855. A church building was not commenced until in 1860, but the lots, donated by the town company, were given to the organization in 1856.

The Congregational organization was begun October 14, 1855, when nine persons met in the cabin of James Cowles "to consult in reference to the formation of an anti-slavery Congregational church." July 14, 1856, a meeting was held "to completely organize our body by the election of deacons, trustees and clerk." The Topeka Town Association donated six lots to the organization for church purposes, and the members set about raising money for a building. Twice was the building wrecked by storms as it neared completion, so that it was not until January 1, 1861, that the first sermon was preached in the church. The first sermon ever preached in Topeka was by Rev. S. Y. Lum, a Congregational missionary in the territory, and the pastor and organizer of the church at Lawrence.

corner, where for a third of a century he taught those who came and went. Some came to him in the giddiness of youth and stayed to learn the deeper things of life; some came with a keen sense of their own weakness, and stayed to learn the source of eternal strength; some came in the darkness of disappointments and stayed to learn from whence comes the light which never fails. They are out somewhere to-day on life's highway. I know not where; but wherever they are, their footsteps are surer, their lives are steadier, their hearts and souls are purer because they were taught by lips now still." His woman's Sunday-school class in Topeka was a favorite one in the church. A communion set was presented to the Congregational Church of Ottawa in honor of Judge Benson by his Sunday-school class, in memory of his thirty years of service as a teacher.

Judge Benson was a scholar of recognized ability along more than one line. He knew his Shakespeare as do few men. His energy was tireless. When he was over seventy years old, the janitor of the Columbian Building, in which he had his office, told the writer that Judge Benson was always the first man in the building, and that he came before seven o'clock. And so he did in the service of the state and nation.

His power of concentration in his work was so great that he knew nothing of what was going on around him, and did not even recognize friends sometimes when they came to his desk for a word of greeting. His was a mind of unusual acuteness, logic, and great ability and learning, yet tempered always with a firm basis of knowledge of human nature, and common sense. Unlike many lawyers, his financial investments were always, at least in the last twenty years of his life, successful ones. He seemed to have an almost uncanny knowledge of what was a "good buy" and what not. He was the vice president and a director of the First National Bank of Ottawa, with assets of over three-fourths of a million, and also the directorate of a smaller bank. It is said that when he left for Topeka his presence at the directors' meetings was greatly missed, because he always knew when not to make a loan.

An old friend has truly said that, "Judge Benson was a gentleman who had learned the fine art of living in harmony with others. He had no enemies. He shrank from any word or act that would wound the feelings of opponents in politics or at the bar. Yet he never shrank from duty, no matter how unpleasant the task. He was keenly sensitive to the opinions of others, but he never allowed the breezes of public passion to drive him from the course of law and right."

### *Public Life—1906-1915*

Such was the man who was appointed to the United States senate on June 10, 1906, by Governor Hoch, to serve until the following January, to fill out the term of J. R. Burton, who had resigned. The appointment was a great surprise—to no one more than to Judge Benson himself. It is said that when appointed he declined, and whimsically remarked that he did n't know what kind of clothes those fellows wore. It will be remembered that there was a great fight in the Republican party in Kansas in 1906 as to who should succeed Burton when his term came to an end.

United States Senator Charles Curtis, then a representative in Congress; Gov. W. R. Stubbs, then speaker of the house; United States Senator Joseph L. Bristow, Representative P. P. Campbell and Representative Victor Murdock were all fighting for the honor when news came that Burton had resigned. Governor Hoch was, or had been, friends of several of these aspirants, and decided to let them fight it out, and to appoint an outsider. He first offered the appointment to Foster Dwight Coburn, the Kansas state secretary of agriculture. A great wave of approval swept over the state, and the appointment was a very popular one. Secretary Coburn, however, very wisely declined the honor after a week's consideration, and is said to have suggested to the governor his old friend Benson. At least, at once on receiving Coburn's refusal, Governor Hoch called Judge Benson to the telephone and urged him to accept it. Judge Benson was amazed, and declined it at first, but finally decided to accept, and came to Topeka, where he very modestly told the governor that he had accepted the honor tendered, and thanked him for it. The appointment was a very great surprise to the state. All had expected Coburn to take the place, and Benson had never been mentioned for such a position. After the shock of the surprise, the appointment was generally approved. Judge Benson at once went on to Washington, after resigning from the legislature, and was sworn in without delay. He voted on several party measures, including the new statehood bill, in which he was interested. An old position was recreated for him, and he was made chairman of the committee on examination and disposition of documents. He filled all the duties of his place while his term lasted (about six months), but of course it cannot be claimed he made a great name for himself by six months of such service. He attracted a good deal of attention because he came from Kansas, "the home of the muckrakers." Eastern newspaper comments were extremely favorable, as it was quickly realized that here was a quiet and sincere gentleman of modesty, courage and ability. Perhaps it might not be amiss to quote here from an article which appeared in the *Saturday Evening Post* of August 25, 1906, by Alfred Henry Lewis, entitled "Major Benson, a Sunflower Statesman." He describes the major as on the sundown side of 60, with gray hair which "has stuck loyally by its post. His beard, shot with gray, knows no mowing touch of razor, but is kept in orderly reserve by subduing shears. His eye is kindly, and something human and fetching gleams therein. In person small, with no suggestion of adipose, the one big thing about Major Benson is his honesty. Ah, that honesty! It fences him about, envelops him like an atmosphere, embellishes him like a jewel. It is the first thing one notices, the last thing one forgets. . . . There is no doubt of his brains, none of his courage, none of his honesty. . . . Above all things, he will be modest."

Judge Benson was much pleased by the cordiality with which he was received by some of the more noted senators. Modest as always, he let the other man make the advances. Soon Senator Joseph Benson Foraker, of Ohio, was pausing at his desk to see if they could not trace some relationship, or Gen. John W. Daniel, of Virginia, was carrying him off for a long talk about the war. As always, he was well liked.

His first self-imposed task in the senate was characteristic of Benson.

He took down the Congressional Directory and looked up each man as he spoke, in order the more quickly to become familiar with those about him.

His term ended on January 29, 1907, and Judge Benson retired to private life, for he was refused an election to continue himself in office, although he sought it. The legislature elected Representative Charles Curtis to succeed the judge. The judge returned to Ottawa to practice law.

On July 24, 1907, Judge Benson received an invitation to be one of the guests of honor of the city of Buffalo for its "Old Home Week" and seventy-fifth anniversary. The President and Vice President of the United States, Grover Cleveland and William Jennings Bryan were other speakers. Judge Benson accepted, and before speaking at Buffalo went on to the Jamestown Exposition, and then intended to go to his old home, near by, to spend some time visiting his nephew, Sidney T. Benson, a resident of Falconer, N. Y.

On August 1, 1907, Gov. E. W. Hoch sent the following telegram to Judge Benson at the Cochran Hotel, Washington, D. C., where the judge had just come from Jamestown:

"I want you to fill vacancy on supreme bench. Will you accept? Wire answer. E. W. Hoch."

Hon. Adrian L. Greene of the state supreme court had died, and Governor Hoch named his successor in less than a week. Judge Benson wired back at once, accepting the position, and thus his lifelong ambition was realized. The appointment was a great surprise to Judge Benson, and was entirely unsolicited, as indeed were all his appointments. Occasionally the office does seek the right man. The appointment met with almost universal approbation, although a few people thought that he was a railroad or corporation man because of his 1905 speech against the state oil refinery. As a matter of fact, Benson had never ridden on a pass, although they had been sent to him for years, but had always quietly returned them with a note of thanks. Neither did he ever give a letter of rejection to the press, and this would have gone unnoticed if a friend had not seen him pay his fare to Washington when appointed senator, and asked him about it.

Judge Benson continued his trip to New York and made several speeches, one at Falconer, N. Y., as well as the one in Buffalo.

He presently returned and took his seat on the supreme court, and was elected in November, 1908, for the full term of six years, to succeed himself, beginning January 11, 1909, and ending January 11, 1915. At the end of his term he sought reëlection at the hands of the people, but lost the election and was succeeded by John S. Dawson, of Hill City. Judge Benson's printed opinions are to be found in nineteen volumes of Kansas Reports, volumes 76 to 95. He wrote 340 opinions in those volumes, besides dissenting in 38 cases. Perhaps no justice was harder working than Justice Benson, with the exception of Judge Mason, who seems to have written more opinions than any other justice on the court.

Judge Benson was a fine lawyer and an almost ideal judge. The certificate which he obtained from Judge Cook, of New York, when he finished studying in his office, gave him a most flattering character. He

there began his legal education, but he never finished it. He had a mind eager for more learning, and was ever on the alert to learn more. He was extremely able, was well grounded in general principles along almost all lines of the common law, and was a master of certain parts of it, if any man may be called a master of any subject of the law. It is true that one thing was urged against him when he first ran for district judge. His predecessor had been a large, powerful-looking man, and Judge Benson was rather small and short. After his undoubted qualifications had been urged, an admirer of his predecessor said, "But won't he look like hell, hunched up behind that desk." When he became trial judge he was ever zealous to protect the rights of litigants, and was careful to see that each case was tried on its merits. He allowed no "monkeying" on a trial, but kept the lawyers to their business, so that each case would take no longer than necessary. When he retired from the district court the Douglas County Bar passed some very flattering resolutions, regretting his retirement.

When Judge Benson realized his lifelong ambition he had a splendid preparation for his new work, and he speedily made himself felt as one of the strongest judges on the bench. Whenever Judge Benson decided against an appellant, the defeated person could feel certain that his case had been carefully and indeed almost painfully considered. Perhaps no other justice on the bench had the power and the desire to put himself in the place of the petitioner for a new hearing as Judge Benson did. He asked himself always, "What would I do if it were I who were petitioning?"

It was a great disappointment to most of the lawyers and to educated men when the people failed to reëlect him to the supreme court in 1915, and showed well the defects of the elective system. He failed of election, not because any one doubted his integrity or ability, but because he deemed it derogatory to the proud office which he held to advertise himself. What governor would have cared or even dared to refuse reappointment to a Benson when the state so sadly needs such men as he? And yet the people refused his reëlection. Some time ago a state official, who has perhaps unequaled opportunities to know the justices of the supreme court, told the writer that in his opinion no justice who had sat on the bench in the last thirty years was so well qualified for the supreme court as was Judge Benson.

### *Professor of Law.*

When it was apparent that Judge Benson had failed of reëlection to the supreme court, Washburn College at once asked him to become a full professor of law and to devote his entire time to the law school. After consideration he accepted, and the trustees of the college announced his accession to the professorship. The dean of the law school desired to talk over his work in the school with the judge before his term of justice had ended, and the judge made a characteristic answer: "I can't talk to you about that now," said he; "my time belongs to the state until January 11th." And he refused to consider the law-school work until his term was over. Teaching law was not new work for the judge, for he had been

lecturer on code pleading at the Washburn Law School for some five years while he was on the supreme bench, and he had been lecturer on code pleading at Kansas University Law School for some seven years before that. He fitted into the work at the law school at once, and soon became one of the most proficient teachers and the best-loved member of the faculty. The boys soon found that Judge Benson was their friend, and they could go to him in any emergency. They liked him, and law-school celebrations were not complete unless Judge Benson was at their head. When the students marched through the city on some celebration, or out to the Hill to join the college students, the boys soon found that the judge, in spite of his seventy years, could march as fast as any of them, and that he liked to be with them. He became very popular, and was called on for speeches at various meetings. Perhaps the last speech that he made was at a "pep meeting" on the Hill, shortly before Washburn was to play football against one of its enemies. His boys began chanting, "We want Benson; we want Benson." And the speech that he made was full of fire.

His work at the law school was wide and covered a number of subjects, as mortgages, code pleading, contracts, and Kansas statutes, of which he was a master. The law school has not recovered from the loss of his death, and no one will be able to take his place. No one else will do, or can do, when "We want Benson." His service as a teacher was great, but it was not as great as his example to the boys. The boys fairly loved the old man, and I think that he knew it and was modestly proud of it. There he was, a perfect example of the ideal judge—able, upright, impartial—a great influence for good on the law students. Perhaps it may not be out of the way to add that he is missed by the faculty of the law school as much as by the students. Above all, they miss his genial presence and their kind friend. In the consultation room there was no one who could so illuminatingly bare the character of a student or reveal the difficulties of a problem in so few words as the judge. His knowledge of human nature was almost uncanny at times, and yet withal he never spoke evil. His great fund of common sense was the basis of all his knowledge, and permeated it all.

He continued his work in the law school for almost exactly one year, as he taught two terms, or half years. His work at the law school was most pleasantly interrupted by his visit to Washington, in September, 1915, when he took part in that brave yet pitiful march of 20,000 surviving members of the Grand Army of the Republic, bent and broken, fifty years after the great review of that great army of 200,000 strong.

The University of Baker honored itself by conferring upon Judge Benson the degree of doctor of laws.

During the vacations and when he had time, Judge Benson practiced law to the date of his death, almost. A week before his death he filed a petition for a rehearing in Greenwood v. Greenwood, 96 Kan. 591, and on the afternoon of the night that he was stricken he was busily engaged in the state law library looking up authorities in an important case in which he had been retained to assist the attorney-general of the state.

He was stricken late Wednesday night at his temporary home on

Quincy street, Topeka, and was soon taken to the home of his daughter, Mrs. H. Ward Page, on Lane street, Topeka, where he died at six o'clock, Saturday morning, January 1, 1916. It was a sad New Year's Day for many. His body was taken to Ottawa on the following day, and at two p. m. that day there was a funeral service in the First Congregational Church, at which Rev. Dr. W. A. Elliott, of the First Baptist Church, Rev. Dr. A. S. Henderson, of the First Congregational Church of Topeka, and Hon. C. A. Smart spoke, and Mrs. Henderson sang very beautifully, "Lead, Kindly Light," one of Judge Benson's favorite hymns. He was interred that day in the Highland Cemetery. The dean of Washburn Law School, the president of this Society, four judges of the supreme court and many friends attended the services. Judge Benson was survived by his wife; his daughter, the wife of H. Ward Page, an attorney of Topeka; several grandchildren, including a namesake, Alfred Benson Page; his brother, James H. Benson, of Jamestown, N. Y., three nephews and two nieces.

Perhaps an unusual number of memorials of the judge have been prepared. On February 10, 1916, public memorial services were held in the courthouse at Ottawa, Kan., and a memorial presented to the court. A beautiful memorial was presented to Topeka Bar Association on January 15, 1916, by its committee of three, composed of Capt. Joseph G. Waters, Senator James A. Troutman, and Judge T. F. Garver, and written as only our Captain Waters can write when his heart is touched. An extract follows:

"The gilder would waste his gold if he dare attempt to add luster to the life of Judge Benson. . . . He housed his being with an open door to the sunrise. He was a man wholly without guile, and modesty was native to him, as color to the rose. His life was a simple one; serene as the unflecked summer sky; dear as a friend, gracious to his kind, and always a loving and beloved man.

"He has been honored many times by his people, and each added service was to him a new consecration."

The State Bar Association, of which he was a founder, also memorialized him, and his portrait, painted by George Stone, hangs in the supreme court room.

Judge Smart and Mr. W. S. Jenks, both of Ottawa, published tributes to him. The Law School edition of the *Washburn Review* for 1916 contained a sketch by one of his colleagues. The best sketch of his life, perhaps, is the one in the Blackmar History of Kansas, 1912, vol. 3, p. 59 (part 1). The new Connelley History of Kansas will also contain a sketch of Judge Benson.

The memoir of the supreme court of the state is contained in volume 98 of the Kansas Reports, and Justice Porter, speaking for the court, says of the honorable Christian gentleman whose memory they were perpetuating: "I may add, that after several years of intimate relations with him during his service on this court, it is my belief that he was one of a few I have known who were as good as they seemed to be."

# JUDGE NELSON TIMOTHY STEPHENS.

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society by Miss Kate Stephens,[1] of New York.

IT USED TO BE SAID that when we talk of those gathered to God, we for a time lead back their souls to old associations. If this is so—if my father has been seeing what I have here written—he has recognized the truth I have striven to tell; how I have avoided saying he was this, or he had that admirable quality, although I have often been tempted to quote from letters coming, even through a quarter of a century after he died, telling me of his helpfulness, his sound judgment, his penetrating intelligence, and knowledge of and wisdom in the law. Deeds spoke to him, and speak to me—and, too, minor, everyday deeds. What he did supported what he said and lent it weight and value. Therefore, I have in a way I think so simple that a child might read it, here told somewhat of his deeds—somewhat of surroundings he made for his own and his family's daily life; somewhat he, driven by his sense of justice and effort to protect the undefended, accomplished for his neighbors; somewhat, making for the highest good of the state, he sought in urging foundations at the University of Kansas. And from addresses he gave in Kansas I have added extracts which have the preciousness of his very words, and speak his convictions—for he was in earnest; he lived an earnest life, entirely free from and entirely above poses and shams.

My father was practicing law in Moravia, N. Y., when President Lincoln sent out the call of the 15th of April, 1861, for 75,000 volunteers. He and my mother had four children, and he had a practice so lucrative that it supported their home with all the comforts and elegances of that day. However, he locked his office and went out enlisting men for defense of the Union.

Not many days later the recruits he had raised assembled in the main street of the pretty village. Drums beat attention; two or three men stepped forward, and presenting him with a sword, buckled it round his waist, and the whole enlisted company wheeled about and marched forth to war. The sun shone brightly that spring morning. But wives, who had stood in tears behind the white pickets fencing in homes, sobbed afresh as the recruits disappeared in the turn of the street, while children, elated at the music and movement of the throng, broke from their hands and peered curiously between the palings. I was one of those children, and the scene is before my eyes as I tell of it here.

In his diary of 1861 my father made fewer entries than in his journals of other years. At first he was probably too busy to write, and later too ill. "Marched from Martinsburg [Virginia] to Bunkerhill," I find under the entry July 15th; and under July 17th, "Marched to Charlestown." Again, "Marched to Harper's Ferry," under the 20th. "Battle of Lovettsville," under August 8th; and two days after, "Went to Balti-

1. Kate Stephens was born in Moravia, N. Y., February 27, 1853. She graduated from the University of Kansas in 1875, and later did graduate study at Cambridge, Mass., and in Germany. In 1878 she became assistant professor of Greek at Kansas University, and professor from 1879 to 1885. Miss Stephens is a well-known writer. Her last volume, "Workfellows in Social Progression," was published in 1916.

more sick." Following this a day or so, Dr. Theodore Dimon, surgeon of the Nineteenth regiment of New York volunteers, reported, "I find that this officer is suffering from fever, neuralgia and general prostration resulting from severe service and exposure on the expedition of a detachment of his regiment into Virginia, and in my opinion is unfit for duty."

Captain Stephens went back to his home, invalided. Through the nursing and rest he had there he in a measure recovered, and resumed the practice of law in the city of Auburn. But after a couple of years the doctors again met and found him prostrated, this time with tuberculosis of the lungs. They gave him two years to live—a certain anxious child overheard the words "two years to live"—and sent him south for a possible open-air healing. A year or two he spent in the saddle, and as strength increased he finally worked north to the less war-ridden, more settled conditions of Missouri.

The face of the country in Missouri is most beautiful—fat, teeming farms, fitted with snug homes, bespeaking use, happiness, plenty, solidly founded. Even in those old days, also, the outlook was inviting, and my father bought a farm near the capital city, and set about planning to bring us from Connecticut—one of my mother's childhood homes, to whose good schools she had taken us when my father's illness forced him south. But after longer observation of the abode he had chosen for his family's upbringing and permanent home, and after better acquaintance with certain types of the people with whom his children would inevitably associate—at that time often a fire-eating folk, hostile to those of our New England blood (men who announced that they "always shut the windows of their car when the train drew near Kansas, so that no air from the damned Yankees could get in")—basing his action also on experiences of other newcomers, my father finally, and with regret, sold the finely placed farm he had hoped to develop into a home, and pushed on towards Kansas. In such days he wrote the following letter, to-day as precious to her who received it as when it came to our Hartford home to delight the eyes, broaden the horizon, and, holding close tender memories, warm the heart of the child. It is dated Kansas City, Mo., Saturday, May 6, 1865—several months after he had visited us in Connecticut:

"It has been so long since I have seen any of you that I am getting lonesome. I think of you all very often, and wonder when we shall again all be living happily together. I miss the little girl to bring my slippers, fix the fire, get me a drink of water and play a tune; and the little boy to fetch in a stick of wood, go on an errand and do many little things. It's very lonesome, and yet I see a great many people. The reason it is lonesome is that the right ones are not here. It is not home. Everything I have done is done for pay, and that makes me feel dreary, lonesome, forsaken.

"My health is better than it has been for years. This, I think, is owing to my not being in an office, and to taking much outdoor exercise. I hope you will not confine yourself too much to the house. But be very careful of the company you keep, and if you ever find associates guilty of vulgar talk, or actions, or any bad conduct, no way is so good as to leave them and find new associates. Don't hesitate a moment. Drop them without ceremony.

"I hope to have you all out here before next spring; that is, if the troubles here cease. The country is now too much disturbed for you to come. Last Sunday night two wagon trains were robbed a few miles from

Kansas City, and during this week the stage was robbed east of here; and last night several men at work on the railroad were killed and a village about thirty miles off burned. I hope these things will not last long, but they may. When they stop, I think we shall all try to live here.

"It is a very beautiful country, full of such birds as mocking birds, mourning doves, quails, prairie chickens, orioles, robins, and in winter wild geese and swans. Twice I have been upon a train that scared wild turkeys from the track. Here are also raised most beautiful peaches and grapes. The climate is rather warm in summer, but not so as to make it particularly disagreeable.

"People, both men and women, ride much on horseback. It is no uncommon thing to see twenty or thirty saddled horses hitched along the streets. Many of the people are well educated, and there are many who make pretentions to education. These last are easily detected, and pass for what they are, commonly. Many are sociable and pleasant in their manners, and again some are boorish. Some of the young ladies, even those not well educated, speak French and Spanish, having learned the Spanish at Santa Fe, and French from Frenchmen.

"All this will show you the necessity of improving your opportunities while you remain in Connecticut. Don't learn simply to recite, but learn so as not to forget. Apply yourself closely to your music, for I think you have better teachers there than you can find here. Every well educated person here has been trained in the East. The schools here are not such as I wish you to study in. I hope they soon will be. I want you to be not only equal to those you may meet, but superior to them. Never be satisfied with an equal amount of knowledge with others. When you have more than others you can help them and command the respect your helpfulness may bring. Learn, then. Strive to do more than others and to be helpful in your superiority.

"But there is more in learning than what simply comes from books at school. Practice to be kind and patient. If you are kind and pleasant and obliging, others will be so to you to some extent; perhaps not always, but more so than if you were not. Treat all kindly, never wantonly injure any one's feelings, and a great deal of kindness will follow; and you will be better satisfied with yourself, you can take even unkind treatment easier, and you will at least have the satisfaction of knowing that it is undeserved.

"Think of me as often as you can, and write me a long letter when you get this. Direct to me at Kansas City, Missouri. Now good bye until I hear from you."

But just across from the Kansas City from which this letter was written lay Kansas, and the sight of its lands, rolling off to the west, pleased my father—the richness of their verdure, their message of fruition and service to human needs. The burgeoning of the Kansas spring, the luscious days of the Kansas May, June with its beds of clover, fields of waving wheat and the sibilance of silky leaves of corn, and all the magnificence of the later golden harvest days, delighted him. A certain melancholy that broods over the state, greater in the western than eastern part—a *genius loci* produced, perhaps, by the seemingly unending roll of fertile lands, a broad sky shutting down like an inverted bowl and suggesting the impenetrability of heaven, sometimes carrying the impression that demiurgic forces are about to concentrate and grind to nothingness the puny works of man—this reverse of the loving exuberance of Kansas nature affected him slightly.

Then, too, the people at the time of his coming settled, and settling, in this rich environment attracted my father—a people for the most part of the blood of Anglo-Saxon state-makers, a democracy saving to

the world the courage and tenacity of their forefathers—ranchers and lovers of livestock; farmers and such lovers of growing grain that, like Job of old, they never "let thistles grow instead of wheat, and cockle instead of barley"; farmers, as the farm was in those days, not seeking to specialize as in this of ours, but growing a little of many plants for its family's needs and comforts, having its own orchards, its own berry bushes, its own vegetable garden, its own cows, chickens, pigs, and even sheep. Sometimes these people were children of frontier dwellers for generations, cradled in supplies so slender that they had developed an amazing adaptability and stoicism of feeling.

Also there were citizens—craft folk, professional folk—gathered in the community of tiny cities where no man owned, in considerable degree, any social advantage over his neighbor, and therefore was not apt to assume to himself airs of advantage. This united people my father thought as free a democracy as the world had ever seen; earnest in our American faith in education and local self-government, spendthrift in strength, restless in experiment, inebriate of optimism, and self-confident to an appalling degree.

These two makers of environment—the magnificence of nature in Kansas, and the spirit of its people—led my father to think of casting his lot in the state. He pushed on to Paola, and from there sent this letter to me. Its date is July 28, 1865:

"I don't know but you have tired waiting for an answer to your very welcome letter, but I have for more than three weeks been most of the time from here and so situated that writing to any one was inconvenient. Many days I have ridden from twenty to thirty-five miles on horseback. One week I averaged upwards of twenty miles a day for the whole week. This is no great feat, yet you see it keeps me quite busy and indisposed toward writing or any such employment. But amongst it all I have had almost the best of health.

"The warmth in town is many days very uncomfortable, but as soon as I get out on the open prairie, where the wind blows, I suffer little from the heat and feel the weather delightful. That is one reason for my riding so much, or rather for my being so willing to do it.

"Here there are many places where petroleum, or oil, runs out of the ground, as it does in Pennsylvania, and people are now boring wells, as they have done in Pennsylvania, in order to get great supplies of oil. One well is now down to a depth of 220 feet, and is fast going deeper. I have bought a farm on which are two such springs. I do not expect to live on the farm, but bought it expecting an increase in values, and so that I could sell it at a profit. A great deal of money has been made in other places by such purchases and sales, and I hope to make some. The farm is a very rich and beautiful farm, but if the country were well settled up would make a delightful place to live. But as it is I hardly think it would please you. The woods are close by the house (or where the house was before it was burned), and there is a fine orchard of apples and peaches, and a nice brook running through the woods, and a spring in the field. Plenty of neighbors were near, although they have been removed by the army. Many will be back this fall, and nearly all next spring.

"How would you like to come here and live on such a farm; have a pony to ride; milk cows; feed lambs, and be a western farm woman? The women on farms in Missouri generally milk the cows, kill the chickens, shear the sheep, pick the wool, spin and weave it into cloth, and sometimes cut the wood, drop corn, and at times plough and do other

such work. How would you like to live so? True, they don't all do that, yet many do.

"This country produces many fine fruits, such as peaches, blackberries, strawberries, melons. Wild plums are very plenty, and the other day I found a wild grapevine loaded with ripe grapes—very sour, but they were excellent stewed.

"When we all get moved to the western country, and are settled here, I think we shall all enjoy ourselves better than ever we have yet done.

"You must try hard and learn all you can. I don't want you to teach school, and yet I want you qualified to do it. You will find that learning gives you a geat many opportunities for enjoyment that you otherwise would not have, and makes it much easier to live your life successfully. Try to learn, and remember me kindly and affectionately your father."

But finally, going farther into the state, the attractiveness of Lawrence prevailed, both of its people and because the young State University was there and open to his daughters. He bought several "patches of land" northward of and adjoining the city, summing in all considerably over two hundred acres. To that woodland he brought us from Hartford, Conn., in April, 1868.

Then, as now, Lawrence had its own physiognomy. The little city's sufferings and martyrdom before and during the war had graved its face and spirit with startling emphasis. Northern and southern people made the town. The New England element had its inevitable simplicity and directness; the southern element the strong, appealing human sentiment of our South, a mental view that sometimes suggested the eighteenth century we find in English books, and a marked self-consciousness. But New England blood was most active and predominated, even if filtering in through Ohio, Illinois and other western states, and one or two generations removed from the Atlantic soil. New England characteristics were in the fore.

The honorable secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society, Mr. William E. Connelley, has kindly suggested that in writing down these memories I give in them "a Lawrence local color" as I saw it in those early years. I fear I cannot so much as I should like. In those times, it seems to me, the town's social life fell oftenest in the groupings of church membership. To sketch the people as a body of unity of like color I do not think would be true. The community was too newly gathered, too unlike in its elements, too nerve-fatigued by horrors of war; it was not yet closely enough knit by continuity of identical interests to have a general social spirit. Academic life which now stamps the town had not yet evolved. The University was a small institution, struggling with legislature after legislature for its very breath, and having no appreciable influence on the social will. Still, even then Lawrence was what a professor of Harvard University told me twenty years after he found it, and what other strangers find it even now, "A New England town set in a western environment."

After we had made our flight from the East—that is, during the summer of 1868—those with whom my father had already formed acquaintance paid my mother visits, and we came to know a number of delightful people. The first we met were of the family of Judge Hugh P. Welch, formerly of Litchfield, Conn. Mrs. Welch was a woman of unusual

intellectual vigor and vivacity and love of social recreation. After the form of those days, she used to entertain our family at six o'clock "teas" —not our present-day four-o'clock brew with lemon slice and wafer, but the last hearty meal of the day. Her hospitality pictures itself before me yet—her table, spread with damask linen hanging low, set about with cold meats, sour and sweet conserves, biscuit hot and steaming through an overspread doily, and on one side the table invariably a tall, broad, glass dish holding boiled custard flavored with bitter almond and flecked with whites of eggs beaten to a snow, and centering flakes of currant jelly.

The hostess herself sat behind a silver tea service, an heirloom, grouped in splendor upon a big tray. She was always the life of the party. Her fund of anecdote was great, and her brilliant dark eyes would sparkle as she related some tale of "Uncle Nott," a former characterful president of Union College; or traditions of such ancestors of hers as Philip Schuyler, who about 1650 settled in the town of Rensselærwyck, now Albany, N. Y.; Annneke Jans and her famous farm (the ownership of which was in those days contested with Trinity Church of New York); Robert Livingston; and Mary Dyer, martyr to the cause of religious liberty for the Quakers, who offered up her life on Boston Common in 1660.

It was at one of these teas that I heard Mrs. Welch tell the story of how, when a little girl of ten and visiting relatives in Albany, she was invited by Mrs. Alexander Hamilton to dine with her at her hotel. During the serving of the dinner an elderly man entered the dining room. The waiter led him to a table where Mrs. Hamilton and her youthful guest were dining, and gave him a seat. At once Mrs. Hamilton's face became white, and otherwise she seemed deeply affected. The little girl in turn was distressed at the agitation of her hostess, not knowing the cause, however. In a moment the waiter became conscious of his blunder and invited the gentleman to another table. It was Aaron Burr, who twenty-six years before had shot Alexander Hamilton on the heights of Weehawken, across the Hudson from New York city.

In those early summers of 1868 and '69 my parents also saw much of Mr. John Hutchings—one of the quartette of brothers who have since become noted in the law in Missouri and Kansas—always accompanied by his winsome wife. Mrs. Hutchings had a native gift of music, and would sometimes accompany herself on the piano, singing old English, Scottish and Irish songs and ballads with most sympathetic and intelligent interpretation. At one of these visits, an Independence Day dinner, I remember Mr. Hutchings told us how he and others had fled to cornfields the morning of Quantrill's raid, and, pointing to lands that my father then owned, skirting the Kansas river, he said tall corn of that rich loam had saved their lives by concealing them as they ran between the rows. Always when Mr. and Mrs. Hutchings came, sometimes bringing Doctor Summerfield, there was a flow of delightful anecdotes and law stories. One such time I recall with detail and distinctness, when an intense heat drove us to a sitting on the grass in the shade of an oak. I think it was a Sunday, and the fifteenth of August stays in my mind because it was the centennary of the birth of Napoleon; and what the Corsican did; his puny successes; his selfishness and failures; his moral significance and insignificance, were the substance of the talk that afternoon.

Others visited my parents, so many I cannot readily name them. Yet I distinctly recall the visits of Mr. and Mrs. Henry Simpson, Mr. and Mrs. T. D. Thacher, Messrs. Elliot and George A. Banks, Mr. W. S. McCurdy, Mr. and Mrs. William Sutliff, Mr. and Mrs. J. C. Horton. Those ladies came in strictest formality, and without masculine attendants, to call upon my mother; as, for instance, Mrs. Trask and her sister, Miss Helen Hibbard, who was later Mrs. Wheeler—such dames drove out in hacks, if they had not their own carriage; and oftenest they were clad in light-colored silks, soft greys, blues, and lavenders (the skirts full and reaching to the ground and giving an effect of the wearers' floating), in summer set off by diaphanous llama lace shawls, white or black, pinned to the dress at the shoulders, or in colder weather by velvet cloaks or Paisley shawls. Light-colored kid gloves covered their hands, and in the left they almost always carried, together with a lace-edged handkerchief, a card case of mother-of-pearl, or ivory, or silver; while above their fine faces they wore a mazy, filmy little patch they called a "bonnet"—a bewitching apology for the formal head covering Paul demanded from the women of unregenerate Corinth. How differently we pay our visits nowadays—we of the serge, or tweed, or at best broadcloth suit, and a *bona fide* hat on our heads! The spirit of the times has wrought changes for women—the word *women* tells the whole story—we are women; they were *ladies*, and many of them would have been apt to resent any other descriptive.

The talk of these dames was oftenest of the advantages of their old home, the elegance and comforts of it, and the disadvantages and narrowness of the new—a form of the lugubrious note, common in the conversation of the anæmic, old-fashioned women, shut off from companionship and interchanging ideas of the world—evidences women unconsciously bore to their unhealthy, circumscribed lot. But the universal optimism of founders and upbuilders was these ladies' also, and in strong degree; hopeful lines of the mouth far outnumbered lines of despair.

The afternoon that marked the advent at our house of Mrs. Shannon and her daughter stands clear in my memory. Governor Shannon, who had had a notable career as governor of Ohio, United States minister to Mexico, and later governor of Kansas, accompanied his handsome wife. The talk was very interesting. A late number of a magazine—*Harper's*, I think—lay upon the table, and in it was an article about Tom Corwin, and referring to his famous Ohio campaign against Governor Shannon. Through this coincidence we had the pleasure of a full recounting of how the brilliant Corwin met Mrs. Shannon in a stage coach, and on learning who she was paid her marked courtesies; and how, when a change of coaches came, and he was to leave her, he laid her baby Wilson on her lap with the remark that he would soon lay the old governor as flat on his back as he was now laying the young governor, thus disclosing to Mrs. Shannon who the man of cavalier politeness really was.

Of all that afternoon, most clearly I recall Sallie Shannon, dressed in a close-fitting, black silk frock (the family, I think, were in half mourning) with a band of tiny white artificial roses forming a collar and encircling her throat. She was the most beautiful human creature I ever saw—

brown hair, limpid, lustrous eyes of grey, a perfectly modeled nose, delicately curved mouth, and fine complexion. Not attractiveness of color, but the higher, exquisite proportion and expression, marked her in every way. A little later on in years, when the fame of her beauty had spread even beyond the seas and brought her much homage, a worldly look settled upon her countenance and made her beauty less. She paid the penalty public admiration and fame levy, whether on poet, painter or beautiful women. But at this day of which I speak she was about seventeen or eighteen, like an opening, dustless lily—how beautiful it is impossible to tell. She bore herself with great grace and with somewhat of the artificial repose convents stamp, or at any rate stamped, upon the girls bred in their cloisters. But in these days I did not know the artificiality, and her natural beauty awakened in me, her junior, a sort of hushed wonder. I wanted only to look upon her till her form and face were fixed upon my mind and I could in leisure find analysis and description—just as later I felt before some Greek masterpiece.

When the University opened in the fall of 1868, my sister and I entered, she the freshman class, I the first year of the preparatory school. In this school we formed acquaintances and friendships that have given us years-long and dear companionship; for there we met Annie, daughter of Dr. Alonzo and Mrs. Fuller; Kate, Susie and Gertrude of the family of the urbane merchant, Lathrop Bullene, and his sweet-faced wife; our brilliant Fanny Saunders; Hannah Oliver, now associate in Latin at the University; Carrie M. Watson, faithful librarian of our alma mater. Many and delightful were those girls, and meaningful association with them. These and others who paced with us the top of Mount Oread after a breathless climb, and had our tasks under such instructors, now with God, as D. Otis Kellogg from Hobart, Frederick Bardwell from Harvard, Francis Snow from Williams, and David H. Robinson from Rochester. The youngest member of our family entering the church school, brought us into relations with the rector of picturesque Trinity, and with Bishop Vail, of all men most simple-hearted.

My father had always loved country life. Even when, years before he saw Kansas, he was practicing law in New York state, he had had a farm near Canandaigua, and to this he would often go, spending the day in the open, walking over the place and laying out work for its men. Besides delighting his taste for retirement and opportunity for thought, such outings increased his frail body's strength. And now, after ill health had seemingly shut him off from practice of his profession—for a number of years he felt that he could never again take up law—he determined to be a farmer, theoretical, if not practical, but practical as far as possible.

From the main-traveled road on the west line to the Kansas river and skirting willows on the east, the land he had chosen for our home had many features unusual to a Kansas farm; for instance, in its upland and lowland and forest. And it held some especially lovely spots. At that time wooded ground which had never known the plow lay on its southern border, along the little stream and backwater known as "Brewery brook," and on the north a like band stretched from highway to river. Primeval forests nature had planted and mixed, after her sweet fashion of making;

her garden, and in the shadow of the trees wild geranium and columbine and phlox blossomed luxuriantly, and windflowers nodded, and purple violets carpeted the openings in spring. The most striking feature of the south woods was a majestic black walnut standing with a girth of towards twenty feet, rising loftily above its brothers and so apart from their shade that the sun had rounded its branches and foliage to an almost perfect globe. A little way from the walnut a ravine intersecting this woodland ran north and south, and a sycamore laid low by a wind had in its fall spanned the gully. Upon this sycamore's smooth bark we walked across the ravine when river waters backed up in time of flood, and there, too, we sometimes rested—for instance, on warm afternoons in spring I found it a good place for studying Virgil.

Such little localities as these I name were especially beloved by my father, and he spent many a day in their company, himself gaining vigor; here in rescuing from deformity some young tree caught by freakish winds and pinned under a weight; there slipping pruning knife at the root of a growth he knew to be noxious. Then again he loved the rich bottom land and its bountiful yield—its wheat fields, shadowing clouds of the sky; its whispering, dark-green corn blades; its fragrant purple clover, booming with the music and industry of myriad bees. For hours he would sit on the upper land, where the house stood, and gaze with calm delight on such sights. And where, in all God's broad earth, can you find any sight more beautiful than the blue of a Kansas sky and the light of a June day resting over such products of fertility!—and the message they speak of the industry, intelligence and furthering of man!

Then there were the early mornings, when the sun brightened the willows fringing the river and struck upon the waters till they stood out like a silver ribbon binding the land. And the wonderful closings of the day! My father taught us to watch the sunset, and many a time we gathered like a group of Parsees to look upon its wonders—the marvelous colors and forms of the clouds, or the gleaming globe sinking unattended and in solitary splendor behind the western hill.

One of our family cults was to find the firstling of spring, the dog-tooth violet—true and inviolable sign that winter had ended. February's last days were apt to see each one of us trying to slip off without the others' knowledge to turn over and search leaf mold in the woods, or to lift fallen boughs from bank-sides, heckling our brains to recall where it was that in foregone years we had seen the sturdiest plants. As weeks went on and the sun got higher, our hunt grew more thorough, and perhaps, early of a biting morning, one of us would plunge outdoors to see if the plants settled on had not, coaxed by the warm wind and sunshine of the day before, put forth a pale bell, nodding in spite of the frosty skies. In this devout contest of ours my father was commonly victor, and offered his flower with his violet-blue eyes dancing in merriment, and his fine, sympathetic mouth smiling[2] to our chorus, "Where did you get it?" From the day of the finding of the dog-tooth violet, we knew spring had come.

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2. No likeness of him exists. An oil painting from life is so false in drawing that it distorts his face and equally traduces the expression of his countenance. From this painting certain photographs have been made and hung in several courthouses—testifying more to the kind hearts that sought to preserve his memory and do him honor than to his real appearance.

The poetic redbud was also one of my father's favorites for telling of the incoming spring. I still recall mornings when he announced that down on the south bank, amid a group of pawpaws and coffee-beans, one of the trees had put on its imperial colors. With the redbud is mentally identified our first sight—my mother's and we children's—of Kansas verdure, for that eleventh of April morning the train from Kansas City panted up the Kaw Valley and bore us towards our new home, my father pointed out the river gleaming on our left, and on the right ridges far and woods near blotched with the purple of the lovely tree.

One other instance of my father's love of beauty through which nature speaks in Kansas comes to memory. On a little rise between our house and town, in the highway, just outside the fence and therefore public property, a wild crab had lifted its warty trunk. It was a sturdy little fellow, the tree, not so tall as wild crabs sometimes grow, but making up for a dwarfish stature by a particularly beautiful and symmetrical umbrella of branches and foliage. My father loved the crab, just as you love some cherished growth, and he protected its sturdiness, so far as he was able, and also the weaker mandrake that grew close to and straight up from its foot.

A number of springs as we drove to and from town, we watched for the coming of the mandrake and crab blossoms, and when they did set forth their wonders we would climb from our vehicle, whether buggy or phaeton or "red wagon," to look closer at the marvelous shading of the crab buds and the pale, waxy mandragora. Somehow we never thought of picking or tearing at the blossoms. That would have been desecration —a sort of expectancy of the future and regard for others' rights forbade it.

But at last, in an election, a new roadmaster (I think that was the name the law gave him) came to power; a man, I fancy, who endeavored to do his duty in whatever place it pleased God to call him—and to do it thoroughly. Leastwise, one day, when we were all gone about our various duties, and no one was at hand to defend the helpless, this roadmaster came with a squad af malefactors—road workers they called themselves—and they cut down the crab tree and drove a scoop shovel over the mandrake. Back in the centuries ancestors of ours had a legend that mandrakes cry when torn from soil: "And shrieks like mandrakes torn out of the earth, that living mortals, hearing them, run mad," said Romeo's Juliet.

What wail did our mandrakes send forth that morning, I wonder! But those road makers did not run mad. They were mad before they destroyed the beauty of the pair nature had set in lovely intimacy. That fact alone pardons their act. Nothing in the way of making the road broader and fitter was gained by their havoc—nothing save another stretch of brown clay ready for gulleying by Kansas rains, not to be protected even by such gardens as nature is sometimes able to plant in Kansas—"sumach and buckberry, mullein and butterfly weed, and the old, native bluestem grass." The wanton cutting off of the unoffending crab and helpless mandrake; and their beauty, was one of the disillusionings of life, to us all a cause for lament.

My father had gone on the farm to stay by it, but he was not satisfied

with all vegetable and animal growths he found at hand. He remembered affectionately others of his New York home and farm, and he sent to Marblehead, Rochester, Philadelphia and other nursery centers for many a tree, bush, vine and vegetable. Orchard planting with him was almost a passion. He imported varieties of apple trees he thought fitted to Kansas climate. I still remember one afternoon when he and another lover of apples, whose name I do not have the good fortune to recall, had by appointment met—how the two pomologists walked about my father's young orchards in the mellow fall sunshine, discussing various new sorts, opening pocketknife now and then and striking off a sucker, affectionately rubbing the palm over a sapling's bark, and finally picking first fruits and going with heaping hands to the dining room for sampling. They had kindly included me in their excursion, and I recall that after I had got silver-bladed knives for cutting the fruit (for that metal would resist the acid of the apple and not defect the taste), they also invited my opinion as to flavor, crispness and tenderness and succulency of meat, and other points worth attention in the product of Eve's goodliest tree.

Among his importations of beauty, and not of practical use, that my father regarded with special affection, was a "fringe" or "smoke" tree which grew to luxuriant proportions; and also a rosebush, a "perpetual bloomer" as the catalogues say, which we knew as "Madame Laffay." The rose was of a deep pink color, fragrant scent and modest turn of petal, and it did constant duty for my father's habit of picking a flower and laying it by the breakfast or dinner plate of some member of the family. The tray that bore food to the one of us confined to a sick room commonly carried his greetings of a "Madame Laffay." I recall one such tray laden with tender shoots he had, on a blustering spring day, searched the asparagus bed to find. And there beside the toast lay his good wishes, the Madame Laffay rose. It is painful to think that, within the years since my father passed away, all these growths, in spite of his care to conserve them, have perished; trees and shrubs of use and beauty, a centennial oak planted in 1876 and guarded with utmost care, many evergreens—nearly all are gone. Where stood an orchard from which winds of early May bore the fragrance of apple blossoms through the house, lately I saw alfalfa growing. Alas! alas! But he who cut down the orchards had at least one pleasure—for apple-tree wood burns brightly in a fireplace, we found from trimmings of the orchards, and when the wind curls down the chimney and sends whiffs of its smoke into the room, the scent is delicious.

Although my father had bought other farms—"Hawk's Nest" and "White Turkey," lying across the river and northeast of Lawrence, and also other lands—it was upon the home place he spent his love of the growth of things. To other farms he went mainly to guide the work. "Renters" might bring him presents of a watermelon weighing fifty-three pounds from "White Turkey," or a bagful of astonishing yams, or succulent corn just ready for the hungry tooth (such ears as our negro friends called "roastin' years") from Hawk's Nest"; nothing could tempt his loyalty from the home place.

In propogation he wanted to improve breeds, and he introduced strains of blood he had known before he knew Kansas. So it happened that he brought mares with good pedigrees from his old New York home and imported cows of the Shorthorn breed to better beeves grown for market. Each beautiful offspring of these animals we rejoiced in, and when one came my father would commonly invite the family to say what it should be called. None of us seemed so successful as he in hitting just the right descriptive, as "Miggles," after Bret Harte's heroine, for a grey colt; "Beauty," for a Shorthorn calf of perfection of outline and color. A bull he named "Robert Burns" because of certain lines of the poet about a "rantin', roarin' laddie." In one instance alone do I remember that I succeded with a name—when a tiger-striped, tramp cat took up abode with us and I dubed her "Sallie Brass," because her countenance so much resembled that heroine of Dickens; and on looking at the cat our friends, with a burst of laughter, recognized the likeness.

Different sorts of pigs our farm also bred by the scores, and although about those interesting and sagacious animals, who so loved the freedom of the fields and crunched yellow corn with such gusto, my knowledge is somewhat hazy, I know I am safe in saying they were of the Berkshire breed—and yet in my mind's eye I seem to see certain broad, smooth sides of Poland China pedigree. The beauty of the piglings just born, their slickest of black satin skins, their shrewdest of wits, their cunningest of eyes and hungriest of all "tummies"—how could one forget the wights! What a sight it was when a mother threw herself on one side, with half-shut eyes of rest and satisfaction in her motherdom, and the brood fell to rooting, squealing and crowding for their suppers! Was ever natural, untutored sight more mirth-provoking to onlookers hanging over the fence, or agreeable to actors themselves! With what appetite did the tiny, scareful scampers pump their milk, and then grunt and pack together for sleep when they had their surfeit!

In fowls my father brought to Kansas Spanish pheasant poultry of brilliant plumage, each industrious hen laying an egg a day—eggs that had, like fine pearls, a certain quality of moonlight in their shells.

Through my father's fondness for animals and household pets we always had various sorts indoors as well as out, and our adventures with their personalities were unnumbered. Most wonderful of them all, I think, was a little hybrid who inherited a half-shaggy tail and upright ears from his mama, a milk-white, finely proportioned spitz named Nipha (the Greek word for snow), and for the rest the short hair and colors of his black-and-tan terrier father. That he came to be an important member of the family would seem all the odder if you were to know my father's care for purity of fine strains in his dumb friends. The little fellow won his way by the sheer beauty of his truth and sincerity, his affection and unswerving loyalty—qualities he may have inherited from his dog-lady mother. He answered to "John" in everyday life, but his full-sized name was Jonathan Edwards, because, just as the distinguished divine of that name, at an exceedingly precocious age, interested himself in his days' burning question of freedom of the will, so this black-and-tan spitz-terrier, when a few weeks old, finding himself alone in the

library, proceeded to riddle a pamphlet treating nineteenth century views of liberty and necessity.

As the little creature grew in months and years he came to be the canniest of all dumb creatures we had ever known. His knowledge and understanding were beyond canniness—they were uncanny. All things touching the life about him he understood. Even if, knowing his upright ears were on the alert, you in circumlocutory phrase told the man to bring up your horse at a certain hour, John understood, and just before that hour he would have pressing business calling him out of the house—and there he would wait to accompany you, sometimes, for fear of getting sent back if he appeared too soon, hiding in a hedge a part of the way to town.

After my father went on the bench, John seemed to find that he must accompany the judge to court every day the roads were not muddy—not in muddy weather, for he was exceedingly neat about his person, and on such days he would look drearily at the roads and stay behind. Keeping clean feet was a hobby of his. When he had been forced into the wet Kansas clay he would glance from his slender extremities to you and stand with a deprecatory expression over his sensitive face, till from sheer laughter and pity you fell to and helped him restore the neatness he loved. A storm might come up when he was in Lawrence. Then, oftenest, he would bid my father farewell and take the sidewalk direct to my sister's house, scratch at her door, and go in and pass the night as her guest, staying sometimes more than one night, if the roads kept bad; but in three days, even with "mud more'n bootleg deep," as one of our faithful "aunties" described the mire, picking his way home with crestfallen looks and pleas for forgiveness in every line of his small body. He could not ride in any vehicle because the motion upset him.

John had a most extraordinary sense of time, as I have intimated—the time of day—and if, when my father was holding court, the usual hour for adjournment had passed, the little rascal would issue from the judge's room and go to my father and strike him on the knee with his forepaw. Lawyers practicing in the court have told me this, and that my father would pat the dog's head and answer, "Yes, John, after a while"—when John would go off contented.

Such minor interests—of animals and plants—brightened my father's years on the farm. With many others crowding in memory and left unrecounted, I have here repeated these in order to let the light drift in round him and his life in Kansas. Care and oversight of land, increase of basket and flocks, and the events these brought about, were of the homelier things of his daily life. Neither his physical strength nor lifelong habits of study permitted his taking active part in the farm work. I saw him in the seat of a mower and reaper, and driving the horses one hot morning, I remembered; and in the few times the picturesque threshing machine set up its engine and broad chute near the stone barn, he stood among the workers and had such duties as counting and tying bags of wheat. So with other members of the family, our helping in the farming developed by some sudden impulse or spur—our individual interests and tastes led us to other fields, which wanderings my father's executive force and my mother's efficient housekeeping permitted.

I have recalled, I repeat, a few details of happenings in our family, not only because they of themselves set out a certain beauty of farm life in Kansas, but first of all because they witness to my father's human feeling, his many-faceted interests and strong love for what is fundamental and sound. Letters written either when he or I were from home prompt me to support all, and more than all, I have said here. To publish them entire would make clear his views and a native humor that warmed his own and others' lives. But they would also bare most confidential expression. The opening of one long letter in ryhme, which reached me in New York in July, 1874, I may, perhaps, quote—he smilingly lamenting my absence:

"I believe I'm growing old, Kate;
I sit and dream at times;
My thoughts at hours of midnight late
Shape strange, fantastic rhymes;
I watch the chickens scratch the ground,
I mind the kitten's play,
With pigs and calves I stray around
And spend a long, long day.

"But something's lacking, something's gone—
A void is left to fill—
Something is out of the way at home—
What 'tis I cannot tell:
Old Tab has lost an eye, 'tis true,
And Tiger's cast his tail;
But these be trifles to us two—
What is it Me doth ail?

"The sun goes down in gold and red,
The stars shine through the blue,
The soft night wind cools the weary head—
But where, Kate, where are you?
Do you think of us, as we think of you?
Do you count the weary hours?
Are your nights as long?—are your cares but few?
Is it sunshine all?—and flowers?"

Along with my father's view of life and love for the fundamentals of our being lay, as I said at the beginning, devotion to truth and loathing of pretense and shams of all sorts. This, with him, included an abhorrence of the intellectual dishonesty which twists and distorts words from their commonly accepted meanings and cloaks itself in canting phrase. Of the Eternal Power,

"Which wields the world with never-wearied love,
Sustains it from beneath, and kindles it above,"

he spoke not readily; but of its mighty works he spoke with unceasing awe and interest. In those times, towards fifty years ago, every day saw publication and popularization of age-long hypotheses upon our world's evolution and life. Now, at first blush, these scientific hypotheses seemed at war with the prevalent theology; and therefore those days also saw and heard anathemas of fear-stricken and short-lived ecclesiasts. But theories of evolution went on winning. They appealed to thinkers of

the time—those seeking enduring foundations, not endeavoring to square their reasoning to some mushroom dogma.[3]

In all the then ferment and stir, calm thinking ruled at our house[4]—to those standing firmly on the truth the world and "angels" will ultimately come. Darwin's books, and Huxley's and Tyndall's found ready readers with us; nowhere more interested discussers. We brought the teachings into various, although necessarily minor relations. For example, my father not infrequently called our attention to coloration in plants and animals, and taught us constantly to seek and reason towards causes from effects. One indicative instance—but at once I must add, exceedingly minor—rises in my memory: A damp September morning, as he and I were driving, I exclaimed, "I smell tube roses in the wind." "Let us keep to the scent till we find them." he answered. At last we came upon a field of "the sweetest flower for scent that blows"; there for business purposes, the owner said, for he told how he was raising the bulbs to market in colder climates. Another day I found a dried field mouse on the thorn of an osage-orange hedge, and my father and I studied how the butcher bird had caught the little pilferer and impaled him for its use. These are shreds of happenings in our everyday life, but they show my father on our Kansas farm and amid the rich and varied interests the farm afforded.

Now and then, of Sundays and evenings, he would read aloud to us. Those times he chose the book of Job, Pope's "Essay on Man"; Burns' "Cotter's Saturday Night" and "Tam O' Shanter"; poems of Hood, such as "The Elm Tree," "Miss Kilmansegg and Her Precious Leg," and of "Dame Eleanor Spearing's Trumpet," and Mark Twain's "Roughing it," I most clearly remember. His intelligent sympathy with the author, and his sincere, full tones richly interpreted all he read to us.

But gradually my father was drawn from the retirement he had sought and the farm life he loved. First he was invited as consulting attorney. At that time various suits were instituting to defend the people; for instance, from facile-tongued promoters who had got the plodding, often penniless farmers to vote bonds for constructing railways, upon the claim that the roads would open up and increase the values of their lands. Occasionally such promoters kept their contract and went on to build an "angelmaker." Other times, however, the farmers prepared road beds and had not a tie or rail delivered. My father denounced the principles that led counties and townships to issue bonds to railways, and again and again he went into court to aid and uphold the swindled landowners.

This feeling of helpfulness towards and protection of the undefended and less prosperous—the admixture of altruistic simplicity and benefactiveness that has for centuries distinguished the well-bred English,

3. In those days they appealed to thinkers as in fact nowadays they appeal to spiritual heirs of the anathematizers, who apparently realize that the hypotheses endow our earth, and all it carries, with a divinity beyond most arrogant assumption—spiritual heirs whom I (so great changes may one life witness!) have lately heard taking texts from, for instance, Hebrews, xiii:2, "Be not forgetful to entertain strangers: for thereby some have entertained angels unawares"—the "angels," their sermons explained, being current theories of evolution and "Darwinism."

4. On pages following, my father speaks somewhat of his views.

their blood and tradition—the very esence of democracy, and yet also a sort of *noblesse oblige*, since it means obligation to give or share with others whatever superiority one may have—was a foundation in the training our parents inculcated. Fruits of such implanting I can trace throughout their children's lives—a characteristic or quality often misunderstood, often leading the shallow or merely shrewd to name us "quixotic" or "fools," bringing much hard luck, many superficial, self-seeking friends, parasitic people spotting the trait and by it endeavoring to further their own advantage; but, nevertheless, a quality having its recompenses in the idealism it nourishes—the simplicity of fools, as the story of Perceval witnesses, alone vouchsafes vision of the Grail. Within late years only have I realized how our training, "Look out for others and what you can do to help those you meet," differed from inculcations which, from my experiences, must be vastly commoner, "What can those I meet do to help me?"

The first call for defending the people from bond promoters came to my father, I think, from a county to the west of us. Then another from one near by—Jefferson—in a suit in which, Mr. George J. Barker and others have told me, he saved the county nearly $300,000. And also these men of Kansas added that for the county in which he lived—Douglas—in behalf of the people, "without fee and without pay," he obtained injunction after injunction restraining the issue of bonds to uncertain railways. His legal acumen and his quality of fighting without emolument for others' rights made him prominent in the courts. They made him friends. But they also defeated certain self-seekers and made him enemies, who through years malignantly misrepresented him:

> " 'He has no enemies', you say;
> My friend, your boast is poor;
> He who hath mingled in the fray
> Of duty that the brave endure
> Must have made foes. If he has none,
> Small is the work that he has done. . . .
> He has never turned the wrong to right;
> Has been a coward in the fight."

His self-imposed tasks revived my father's love of activities of the courts, and his improved health permitted him to take up active practice of the law. A few years later he was elected judge of the fourth judicial district. Excerpts from addresses while he was on the bench show views of his of the law, and are given a place farther in this memoir.

While his children were attending the University of Kansas my father's knowledge of and love for the institution grew with the passing years. The students as well as the University itself interested him. That what I here say is fact, let me bring witness from the "Reminiscences" of the head of the Latin department, Prof. David H. Robinson, of ever-blessed memory—testimony not only to the interest and affection of my father. but also to that play of humor of which I have spoken as irradiating his life:

"Soon after the first Greek-letter society was established here," wrote Professor Robinson, "and the boys were flourishing their new badges quite conspicuously, suddenly another society seemed to 'break out' with

much larger and more conspicuous badges, consisting of the mysterious device 'T. C.' wrought out of bright new tin. These letters were about two inches long. There was much speculation as to the meaning of this strange device. Some thought it was intended only to ridicule the Greeks; others thought the letters concealed mysteries of dark and fearful import.

"But of the real meaning of the device, when or where the society met, or what was done at the meetings, no one, for a long time, seemed to have the least conception. Curiosity being deeply roused, a close watch was kept upon the movements of the members. It was at last ascertained that the society had no regular time nor place for meeting, but assembled usually on dark nights at no inconvenient distance from some nice turkey roost. Feathers, broken bottles, paper bags scattered round a few firebrands, sometimes gave a slight clue to the nature of the festivities. Turkeys were missed in various localities, but no one seemed to know where they had gone.

"Thus the matter ran on, until, in an unlucky hour, the boys raided the poultry yard of Judge Nelson Timothy Stephens. But the judge was no man to be trifled with. Possessing a rare knowledge of human nature and great skill in detecting the wily ways of crooked men, he soon found out who the rogues were, and resolved to punish them in his own peculiar way.

"Without mentioning his discovery to any one but the members of his own family, he politely invited all the T. C.'s to supper," continues Professor Robinson. "They were delighted at the invitation. The judge received them with unusual kindness, if that were possible, and kept them in a roar with funny stories until supper was announced. The boys had never had so good a time before in all their lives. Still shaking with laughter, they were shown into the dining room and assigned their places."[5]

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5. The boyish impudence of the T. C. exploits struck Professor Robinson's humor (a quality with which he was highly gifted), and twice he told the story in verse. His accomplished Latin verses I have quoted complete in my book, "American Thumb-Prints; Mettle of Our Men and Women." His lines of English and Latin mingled, I subjoin:

IN RE T. C.

Quatuor youths ad suburbs venunt,
Quatuor lads their cursus tenunt,
Versus granger's domum.
Numquam stop to rest their pedes
Numquam find sequestered sedes,
Sub the shades arborum.

Saepe look in partis omnis,
Fearing quidam, waked from somnis,
Eos sequiturus,
Gallus from some far off tectum,
Tuba sounds with great effectum,
Putit day futurus.

Mox they reach a procul valley,
Round a fallen truncus rally,
Nubes espectorunt,
Turn with cordes faintly beating,
Nunc advancing, nunc retreating,
Castris repererunt.

Now ad portum Crito venit,
Captures hostem, duos tenunt,
Whispers "cave canem."
Wild the pugna, charge they fecunt,
Wilder tamen viam makunt,
Homeward primam lucem.

Thus far Professor Robinson. Now let an eyewitness continue the narrative. When the boys had filed into the dining room my father took the head of the table. In front of him lay a huge turkey, fresh from the oven, smoking hot, redolent; and others like it where midway the table and at its foot. But before he fell to the old-fashioned gentleman's carving of their totem, he told his visitors how he had guessed their secret and had invited them to supper in hopes of satisfying their hunger for turkey meat; and to beg them, if they ever wanted fowls to devour in T. C. orgies, to come to him; but never again to stoop to robberies or other breakings of the law, even in fun. He then related how their raid upon his tenant's, Mr. Crooks', roosts had deprived Mrs. Crooks of her pin money, and that on learning who the thieves were he had paid for the turkeys they had stolen.

At sight of the big, trussed birds and the beginning of the talk, the faces of the T. C.'s showed consternation and confusion. But as my father went on, sympathetic smiles and self-convicting laughter came, and he ended amid great applause, and cries of "We will come to you." In those days were many merry suppers at our house—dinners and suppers to other bodies of students; also to men of the world, as to members of the Douglas county bar; to the Old and New Club of Lawrence.[6] But of them all, this supper to the T. C.'s was the heartiest and merriest. After the boys left the table they danced and sang college songs till midnight. In fact, they had so good a time that when they were half way to town they turned about and walked back and serenaded my father and cheered him—this after our lights were out.

In those days of the T. C.'s (when I was a University student) I not infrequently heard at our house discussions upon University developments then crying for realization—for the engineering school, founded in 1870; about the remoteness of a school of music because of the difficulty of getting men and women fittingly educated in the theory and art. But the two subjects which appealed most strongly to my father's views and natural tastes were, first, arrangements for definite support of the University, if no better way could be devised, then by a mill tax, thus setting the institution on sure feet and giving it its rights of natural evolution and growth; also saving loss through its executive forces' going biennially, in the guise of beggars, before a legislature possibly hostile to —in other words, ignorant of—the values to the state of such an institution.

My father's second hoped-for plan was the establishment of a law school in the University. Solicitude for the law foundation was leading him through years to press the idea upon officers of the University. The strength and tenacity with which he ceaselessly urged beginnings I recall so early as the summer of 1872, six years before the school came into

6. The idea of the Old and New Club sprang forward in a conversation between Byron Caldwell Smith and Edmund Sanborn, a Unitarian or Free Congregational clergyman. Both men were lovers of and skilled in dialectics. They invited friends to a first meeting. Colonel Learnard told me, in the last conversation I had with him, that the meeting was at Mr. Sanborn's house. At one of the early meetings, with my father at our house, I recall seeing Colonel Dorrance, Colonel Harris, Colonel Learnard, Mr. Sanborn, Professor Smith, Mr. T. D. Thacher, and Mr. B. W. Woodward. Others were present whom I do not recall.

being, when the then chancellor, General John Fraser, one day drove out to sup with our family and spend the evening, and there was general discussion of the possibilities of the school's establishment. General Fraser resigned, and a new chancellor, Dr. James Marvin, came in. To him also my father set forth his views, the impelling need "to educate the people . . . to protect the state itself." Slow processes of evolution were going on.

And finally his vigorous initiative work had the return he sought. In a letter dated at Lawrence, August 23, 1878, and sent me while I was visiting friends of Esperanza Farm, New Hartford, Conn., my father wrote in the way he had of skeletonizing family news, leaving the framework to be filled in by long talks when we should be gathered at home:

"I had a meeting with the regents and was offered the office of dean of the law faculty in the department about to be organized. My modesty as well as the law [because he was on the bench] forbade me.

"They then resolved to institute the law department in a modest way and trust to Providence and the legislature."

This meeting my father here tells of was that entered in the records of the Board of Regents under the date of August 20, 1878:

"Law Department: Moved: That a law department be organized in the University, and that the preparation of a course of studies and the employment of a competent instructor, who will accept as compensation fees collected from students who enter the department, be referred to the committee on instruction, with power to act."

Consciousness that the law would not permit his connection with the school in any other capacity than that of urger and adviser of its foundation lent my father a sense of freedom, permitted him an expansive zeal and enthusiasm in furthering the idea, served to protect him from charge of self-seeking—an imputation rising easily in a commonwealth where conditions are not yet firmly moulded, a state to which many men have come because they believed competition lighter there than in their old home and "getting on" easier—jealousy playing a greater rôle there than in less fluid social conditions.

After his direct and immediate refusal of the deanship at their meeting, the regents, my father afterwards told me, asked him to name some person he thought competent for the duties. This also, he told them, he must refrain from doing. Cherished ideas of his were about to find material expression. To name the one who should work them into definite form he preferred leaving to those appointed by the law for choosing.

The paragraph quoted above, from the records of the Board of Regents, left choice of the instructor to the committee on instruction. Frank T. Ingalls, a Congregational clergyman, brother of Senator Ingalls, an associate at Williams College of James Woods Green, Judge Stephens' son-in-law, was chairman of the committee. The fitness of Mr. Green, a practicing attorney of the state, for instructor in the new department suggested itself to his old friend and cograduate of Williams. Mr. Ingalls wrote and asked Mr. Green if he would accept the post. That Mr. Green made affirmative answer is a fact well-known in Kansas, for now (1916) he has been head of the law school thirty-eight years.

Less than three months after the formal declaration that "the law department" be organized, my father opened the school. "The state owes to itself to adopt that policy which shall most advance the welfare of its inhabitants," he said in his address that evening. "It is of public importance," he also said, "that knowledge of the law be widespread—that knowledge makes men better citizens, more moral, more honest, more upright; . . . to love justice and hate iniquity the more." Again, "it becomes of greatest importance that the educational institutions of our state . . . educate her people in the knowledge of the law, not necessarily to make practicing lawyers, but to protect the state itself."

Excerpts of his address are on following pages.

I remember one point he made was how rightly the University should, in addition to its rigorous courses for on-coming lawyers, give popular instruction in the law. Many years after, it is curious to note, the institution in which he made the plea did establish such courses, having been forerun by universities in the east—for example, New York University. The newspaper published by Kansas University students in the year 1915-'16, tells that, "The new course in elementary law, which is being given this semester for the first time, is proving very popular." The same issue reports the instructor to have defined the course's purpose, "to give a general knowledge of the law, but not to turn out lawyers"—one of the advantages my father talked to regents and people for years, and pled for formally at the opening of the Law School in 1878. Processes of evolution are slow, one must learn, but that results do come from hard work heartens struggles for the prevalence of justice—the changing wrong to right.

So were teachings of our country's law founded in the University of Kansas. Now, it is an undeniable fact that many distortions creep into history. Lovers of truth, workers for truth, all see them. A thing is done; for instance, you plant a young apple tree. You say, "I am working to plant this tree in what folks say is a lone, soilless and rather profitless spot; but I have faith it will flourish and cheer men by its beauty and support and further men by its fruits." The tree grows and bears precious help to men. Later comers on the earth, seeing its good works, which at its beginnings were clear only to long-visioned souls—later comers bunch legends that have accumulated because of the use and beauty of the tree, and ascribe its planting to others than you who remembered the thirteenth chapter of Luke and its grain of mustard seed, "which a man took and cast into his garden, and it grew and waxed a great tree; and fowls of the air lodged in the branches of it."

Such a history as your apple tree's happened regarding the "law department" of the University of Kansas. In the year 1910 graduates of that Law School set up a bronze tablet which calls the venerable dean "founder." They fell into the fallacy I name above—a fallacy for the most part of the shallow-minded, uneducated or unthinking—of taking a familiar name and round it grouping some slight legend of the origins of things waxing large. Philologists call such doings myth-making. Fancy commonly plays a larger part than fact in such processes. The pity of it is that this myth-making may not only set forth an untruth, but destroy

that spirit which Solomon of old called "an understanding heart"—love of justice and truth, and ability to discern what is true and what is not true.

The foundation of the University of Kansas is to the service of truth—to bring truth to its people, to inculcate all ancient truth and further all modern, to guide the young people of the state in ways the light of truth shineth. That truth might prevail, the University was founded, to be a mighty guide to truth and that fulness of life truth brings. Truth is the center of the University's strength, is vital to the University in all its fuctions, all its schools; and upon directors of the institution my father urged the foundation of the Law School that truth might prevail in the state's laws and justice dwell among the people. Truth may have abundant strength in the state, if the University follow it unfailingly, and the University, guided by truth, shall continue through ages of ages, in *sæcula sæculorum.*

My father was born on Genoa, N. Y., the 2d of November, 1820. His father, Timothy Stephens, of English stock with a strain of Irish Celt, died of typhoid, then called "nervous" fever, shortly after the son was born. His mother, Katherine Ingraham, of Massachusetts, of the English blood first settled in New England, fell victim of consumption when he was twelve years old. I have heard her described, by those who knew her, as a woman of unusual beauty and strength of character. Apart from the care and protection of his beloved "Aunt Mary," wife of an uncle, the boy faced the world alone and earned his own education at Groton and Ithaca, N. Y.

When barely twenty-four—in those days admission to the bar of New York was after seven years' study and service in a law office—he opened an office of his own in or near Moravia. About that time, also, he married Elizabeth Lydia Rathbone, of Brooklyn, N. Y., a girl of delicate physique and unconquerable spirit and activity, born in Connecticut, and of the breeding and traditions of New England.

Death found my father on the 29th of December, 1884. His body's resting place is Oak Hill cemetery, Lawrence.

To those most closely associated with him, the best of life vanished when he passed.

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Excerpts from the address of Judge Stephens formally opening the Law School of the University of Kansas, on Thursday, 6th of November, 1878:

"In all communities there exist the conservative element of law and order and the contentious element of restless violence and contempt for right. The early history of this state probably presents its people divided by sharper lines upon the questions of respect for law and reliance upon mere brute force than that of almost any organized community of modern times.

"The seeds of the wild saturnalia of border conflict have been scattered far and wide and have taken deep root. They have become indigenous plants, and may be seen blossoming in our fundamental laws and bearing fruit in our statute books. Legal obligations sit lightly upon a man's mind, or conscience, after he has for a time lived and associated with a people the majority of whom find little binding force in the obligation of contract or legal liability.

"A need has grown up to have the dominion of the law again established, to bring back the rule of judicial decision to the common mind, to put away physical might, and let it give place to logical right.

. . . . . .

"The middle and after part of the nineteenth century finds us living in communities controlled by law, and so organized that every conceivable question of right may be determined and settled peacefully and properly by tribunals formed for the purpose, which tribunals ought to be so organized that any person can safely, cheaply and expeditiously obtain a rightful decision upon every question affecting his welfare.

"It is of interest only to the man of speculative thought, and to the antiquary, how this organization came about, whether by the slow development of thought and the gradual accretion of ethical demonstrations, or whether it has been the result of one creative brain that had given a code of rules and made them obligatory upon the mass—whether they come from the imperial fiat of the ruler, the deliberate utterance of representative bodies in the form of statutes or enactments, or the gradual development of rules of exact right in a long course of judicial examination and decision. The fact is, we find the communities organized under their growing laws, and our interest lies in their examination and the means by which we may become possessed of the method of their workings, the science of their application, and the rules and practice by which they are applied to settle differences among men.

"To apply the law, courts were organized and are constituted a coördinate, but by far the most important, branch of the government. The army of the country with its immense equipments and powerful engines of defense and destruction, the navy with its floating batteries, its rams and torpedoes, the immense swarm of economic and executive officers—the great mass of employees in government places, the whole complicated machinery of what constitutes a nation, are only the means by which is assured to the people the certainty of a peaceful disposition, according to the laws of the land, of every question affecting the life, liberty, property or welfare of every citizen. All that this wondrous array of force, of dignity, of considered design and amplitude of capital secures to us is the right to have our differences of fact determined by twelve honest men, and our differences of the law applicable to such settled by a court of learning and integrity. If we pay more than is necessary to secure this we are cheated in the bargain. This is all we get, and in many instances it is much more.

"To know the law and abide by it is the perfection of good citizenship. How shall we obtain that knowledge?—and what advantageth it us that the whole people have it? So far as his acts may be affected by knowledge, or by want of knowledge, every person is bound to know the law. Ignorance of even the nicest distinctions avails no one. Let the most intricate question that it is possible to present to a court arise in the affairs of a man, and each person who is an actor in those affairs is bound to know the law and to square his conduct by its requirements.

. . . . . .

"The statutes of a state are a fair index of the civilization and advancement of its people. Go to the written laws of any nation, and a little discrimination will tell you what is that nation's rank in the great families of the world. As you find the statutes written with clearness and perspicuity, as you find the definitions sharply drawn, as you find the spirit of justice, right and equity to pervade them, as you find the power of the great subordinated to the public good, as you find class distinctions eliminated and the policy of general welfare before personal ambition to pervade them, so will you estimate that nation in the scale of material, moral and social advancement.

. . . . . .

"Slightest consideration leads us to see that it is of public importance that the knowledge of the law be as widespread as possible—that knowledge makes men better citizens. It makes them more moral, more honest and upright in their dealings. It makes them love justice and hate iniquity the more.

"It then becomes a matter of greatest importance that the educational institutions of our state take hold of the quesion so far as they are able, and educate her people in the knowledge of the law—not necessarily to make practicing lawyers, but to protect the state itself from the acts of charlatans and quacks; so to educate our citizens that when they shall act as legislators the results shall not make our people blush with humiliation. Every one, whether ignorant or not, is bound by the law. So all should know the law that they may not break its bounds.[7] If we cannot bring all to the knowledge, let us do as much as we may, and send from the University young people to do necessary work in this useful field.

. . . . . .

"The state owes to itself to adopt that policy which shall most advance the welfare of its inhabitants—that shall to the greatest extent diminish or prevent crime, that shall make the detection and punishment of crime easy and inexpensive. An education of the people in laws which govern them I deem likely to accomplish this result.

"I know there is, to a very wide extent, a prejudice against practicing lawyers. This may be owing to a variety of causes. First, it is not required that lawyers, in order to be admitted to practice, should be educated men, thoroughly grounded and drilled in the branches that go to make up the educated man of the world. They have not in many instances learned from the schools the precepts and maxims of the great moralists, and writers on ethics, whose teachings are canons of right and wrong.

"Their pecuniary wants often induce such lawyers to acts from which their instinct shrink. But they still their consciences by overlooking the moral bearings of the act and heeding only the crowdings of their physical wants. Often they have graduated to the bar from the training received in the trial of petty cases in inferior courts, where the practice of tricks before ignorant justices commends them to the applause of clownish men and begets in them a desire for a wider and higher range for their skill. Once received into the community of the bar, they only lower its standard by addition of a bad quality, for the practice upon which they have lived and obtained their position must be kept up to get them business.

"We want the bar of this state filled by people educated in a different school. A different school is requisite to preserve the character of the state and advance it still further onwards.

"The first requisite of a good lawyer, and I speak unhesitatingly, is moral honesty, strict integrity. He needs not only that lively sense of honor which will not allow a man to use another's property without payment, but also a sense of justice—that instinct which makes up the gentleman, and which scorns a dishonorable act that may detract from another's reputation or diminish him in public esteem. He must be diligent and faithful in his employment when he has once undertaken it, whether compensation come or not. He must be true to the law, must not misadvise the court, for he is the law's officer and the court's adviser.

"In criminal cases, when he defends the accused, his whole duty is accomplished when he sees the rights of his client disposed of as the law directs. To ask or to obtain more is to make himself morally, as an accessory after the fact, guilty of his client's crime.

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7. It was in my father's mind, in this part of the address touching the more general knowledge of the law, and was that evening so stated, that the University should have popular courses in instruction of the law, such courses as were afterwards established at the University of New York and at the other institutions, and thirty-eight years after this address—that is, in 1916—have been established at the University of Kansas.

"When he acts as prosecutor for the state, his duty lies as much in the protection of the accused against an unwarranted prosecution as in seeing to it that legal guilt goes not unwhipt of justice. To obtain an unwarranted conviction is to use the powerful engine of the state to commit a crime against the convicted man. To let the guilty escape is to bring the administration of the law into contempt, and to foster that wild and lawless notion, now so prevalent, of hot-headed people taking the law into their own hands, and inflicting punishment or death according to the wild will of the lawless mob.

. . . . . .

"To these young people I wish to speak briefly about how the knowledge of the law shall be most advantageously obtained.

There is no danger of any person knowing too much of that which is, or may be useful. No branch of human industry—farming, mechanical, artistic, professional, including both medicine and theology—which may not, nay more, which is not certain to become useful and valuable in the practice of law, to the one who takes a high stand among his fellow lawyers. The investigation of scientific truths and discoveries is a matter of everyday occurrence.

. . . . . .

"And the grand, sonorous old Latin tongue, the keen Greek with its philosophic reasoning and its logical demonstrations tend more strongly than almost any other study to prepare the student for legal practice. *Law is logic.* Whatever now exists of legal enactments or legal declaration that is illogical and unjust is bound to go down and out from the binding rules of the law. In the courts is constant warfare against any illogical deduction and every wrong enactment, and in the end the truth must and will prevail. That is as certain as any matter that exists. It is more certain. The law of nature and the law of nature's God both work for that end.

"While you are still young become well grounded in your school studies. Learn with the Greek to define clearly and sharply your distinctions. Learn with the Roman the forcible and massive, albeit at times pompous method of gathering up your points and hurling them upon the center of your adversary's defense, as that wonderful people hurled its military phalanx upon the opposing forces. Study carefully the Greek and Roman authors. Their moral teachings are often great. Their habits of exact thought, of logical demonstration, will in that way become yours. Thus you will become informed of their virtues, of their skill, of their power. You will have superadded to these the knowledge of your own day.

"You will then learn to shun artifice. Learn to discountenance everything which tends to overreaching and trickery, if you aspire to legal distinction or to a respectable standing among lawyers. It matters not that you are pointed to this one and that who have seemingly prospered under a contrary practice. The inexorable shears of fate have severed, or will sever, their connection with respectability as certainly as that now they do not deserve such connection.

"If you will stand as a lawyer, stand upon your integrity, upon your capacity, upon your skill in legal disquisition, upon your power to wield the weapons of logic. In order so to stand, study, reason, reflect, discuss.

"Study that you may learn, and learn that you may be useful. It is requisite that you learn to be exact in all that pertains to legal studies. Therefore by far the best source from which you can gather information is from textbooks, supplemented by examination of leading cases in the reports.

"Let me here caution you against ever exercising the supposed arts of sonorous delivery and stage posturing and declamation. They produce no good results. They are always estimated at their real value, and they provoke vulgar criticism. Mouth no one's oratory but your own. Borrow

no gestures, and use none except they are involuntary and come unbidden to emphasize the thought expressed.

"Again let me ask you to get your knowledge from the books. Closely con your task, and recite it, if you can, for recitation leaves behind its trail—without recitation the reading may soon be lost. Your text-books are, if well chosen, the works of men of distinguished thought. They have been analyzed and criticised by lawyers practicing at the bar and have stood scrutiny and test.

. . . . . .

"Don't assume to know what you do not know, for you will be sure to get your ears uncovered. In the practice of law every assumption is open to investigation and criticism before a presumed-to-be-competent court, and also before an appreciative public. You cannot hide yourself behind the plea of not disquieting a devotional assemblage; nor can you cover your error by the sods of the cemetery. You must be willing and able logically to sustain yourself, or you must suffer defeat. Logic takes little note of gesture or delivery. Flowers of rhetoric fade before the points of a well-put legal argument, however poorly or obscurely stated.

. . . . . .

"There is luxury in the consciousness of power based on superior knowledge. This luxury is refined, and surpasses all other enjoyments. It is not the luxury of the Sybarite, but of mental triumph. It is exquisite and is one that all who will may taste. You have to put forth effort to obtain it, but the effort being honest, your success is assured.

. . . . . .

"There is another peculiarity of the study of law—it is never ended. It behooves every one who will continue its practice to continue its study. As you climb upward in its heights, you will feel the full force of Pope's lines:

> " 'The increasing prospect tires our wondering eyes,
> Hills peep o'er hills and alps on alps arise.' "

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Extracts from "The Influence of Lawyers upon the Development of Law as it Now Exists Among English-speaking Peoples," an address by Judge Stephens, given in the lecture course of the University of Kansas, 1879-1880:

"It is a difficult task to show the practical value of any class of men, as a class, upon legislation. The bar is eminently conservative, feeling its way by study and close reasoning, always uncertain until fortified by judicial decisions from the courts of last resort. Not that such decisions are always so entirely trustworthy as to end doubt; but they are the end of the race, and criticism, speculation and discussion are usually set at rest because they are no longer of practical value.

"Let me start all with a definition of the word *lawyer*, as I understand and shall use it. By that term I do not mean simply the person who has, by the court, been admitted to practice the profession for a livelihood—the man who has passed a prescribed number of days in an office, with his attention divided between tobacco smoke and books, and who has finally passed the terrible ordeal of an examination by a committee who graduated from a like severe mental discipline. Nor that other kindred class, who, having had the experience of listening to the wisdom of country magistrates, have finally been smitten with the ambitions of dignifying their pettifogging, and, through grace or favor, allowed to sign their names as attorneys and be excused from jury duty.

"I mean rather that class of legal practitioners who are learned in the knowledge of men, who look beyond the letter of the statute and the language of the precedent, to see whether the conclusion is logical,

whether justice, the end sought by all law, is secured; who study, labor, reflect, digest and bring to the mastery of the intricate problems, which the varied interests of men carry to them for solution, the utmost perfection of their skill.

"Such men write themselves upon the jurisprudence of the country. They mould its thought. They make rules for its government, rather than hunt up and apply rules made by others. These men make the bar proper. Of such, and what they have done and assisted in doing, we will now consider.

"Nearly the whole interest of the people in legal proceedings centers in the trial, which with but little variation is now recognized to be the judicial examination and determination of the allegations and denials between the respective parties. When these reach the phase of an allegation upon one side, which the other side denies, an issue is said to be joined. This is determined by the court or by the jury, according as it is a question of law or of fact, and the determination is a judgment.

"Although this seems a very simple, plain and natural rule for the determination of questions of difference, yet it has reached us after a long struggle and course of development almost as extraordinary as that claimed for man himself.

. . . . . .

"Who has not watched the effect of slow decay in the deep shades of the forest, under the brooding trees? or amidst the mountains seen how vast pinnacles of rock have, by erosion, been eaten away? Immense columns of granite by slow and silent upheaval have been reared among the clouds, seemingly capable of defying time. Dews gather, rains fall, a niche is formed, the moisture is congealed by frost, the cleft is gradually enlarged. Then heat comes, followed again by cold and freezing. So alternating, the swelling and shrinking form chasms. The seemingly solid ledge is fianlly split, crumbles and falls. Floods then take up their part, and the crumbling fragments are ground in the mill of nature, and finally washed away and strewed upon the plains below, or borne to the ocean to be brought to light only by some such upheavals as creates continents, changes seas and renovates the earth.

"So influences have changed the laws. During the life of man knowledge has been imparted by human testimony. Credulity is natural to us. Experience tells us, our own consciousness supports it—that the knowledge of events is obtained from actors and witnesses.

. . . . . .

"Advance has been made by a minority working within the bar—and by bar I mean as well the bench as those who advocate before it.

"Lawyers in the mass are conservative. They are wedded to existing things. They give opinions based upon adjudications, and like to have cast-iron rules so that they may be able to tell the persistent client that the law is so written. But some bolder, wiser, better men look beyond what has been to what ought to be. They seek to make and to make a distinction between that rule which is written and some given case. They show that justice requires the exceptional case to be taken out of the rule. When such matter is demonstrated, a long train of variation and change follows, until there grows up seemingly a new system in such branch of the law. In many cases the profession has been in advance of the public, but oftener it has been behind and carried along with the people's march.

. . . . . .

"The first laws of any state, especially of a people in the primitive stages of development, are necessarily crude. Sources of disagreement are few. If the people be pastoral, the laws must relate mainly to their rights of occupancy of lands and streams, and the exchange or sale of their stock, and protection of their persons. If the people be also agri-

cultural, other provisions must be added. If they are also commercial and manufacturing, additional laws must in some way be framed to meet further exigencies.

"No people at this day who has outward intercourse with the world can be successfully governed by an exact code, or by what are termed a few simple laws. In order to successful government there must somewhere be lodged a power to adapt the general rules of the law to variant cases. There must be some man, or body of men, who shall be capable of applying the reason of established rules to new phases of fact, and through such reasoning working out and administering justice.

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"It is a maxim of the law of interpretation that no statute can have that construction which will wrongfully deprive a person of his property, and another maxim is that no statute shall be so construed as to give it a retroactive effect—that it shall affect vested rights.

"Notably this latter rule, attempts have several times in Kansas been made to infringe—attempts by legislative enactment—and in each instance the attempt has been frustrated by the decision of the court.

"The value of these rules to a people of a newly settled state it is difficult to estimate. With a population made up of restless and adventuresome spirits collected from every land, the floating of a thousand wild schemes will be sought by legislative enactment, under which cunningly devised plans for personal advancement will be concealed—often at the expense of the vested rights of others. Only through the wathchfulness of a skillful bar, fortified by capacity and integrity upon the bench, is there hope that the weaker may come out without being shorn.[8]

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"But it requires no uncommon spirit of prophecy to forsee that whenever the liberties of this country are to be destroyed—if destroyed they shall be—it will be when public opinion in the integrity of the judiciary shall be lost. When the conspiracy shall be bold enough to corrupt, and judges be found so wanting in character as to consent to be corrupted, then shall we see courts of justice brought into public odium, and then shall be removed the last barrier between the people and despotism.

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"Not by any means are all the judges ready to receive and act upon the new departure. Decisions and counter-decisions are made, until the logic and equity of the exception have forced themselves upon the convictions of the whole bench. It is true that occasionally accident, or some untoward event, has given to the bench a judge of pretence and pomposity equaled only by his ignorance and conceit, who, with two or three ideas playing at skittles in his barn-like head, thinks he grasps the whole broad extent of judicial inquiry. This class of men, ignorant and contented, never entertain a new proposition except for its absurdity, and agreed facts are constantly rectified by their findings. With such there is no development. Through such there is no legal growth.

"More than enough, it seems, has been said—although but a trifle of the great mass has been barely alluded to—to demonstrate the vast importance, to us and to our country, of the thorough training, the virtuous conscientiousness and capability of the class of men to whom these trusts are committed. I may be pardoned for here again appealing, as before I have done, to the instructors in charge of this institution of learning.

"Call up out of the depths of research, to which your vocation has directed you, the logic of the great past.

"Discard all the contemptible and sickly blandishments of rhetorical success.

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8. This paragraph doubtless refers to Kansas conditions, certain of which my father fought in the courts, as told in foregoing pages.

"Point the young, who will soon fill our places, to the great truth that logical demonstration only secures lasting profit.

"Let them learn, through you, that weighty responsibilities, on which great destinies hang, are soon to be theirs, and that they must be fitted for the ordeal.

"Drill them to know that the logic of nature is to be the rule of their lives; that to err in it is to suffer, to understand it is success. Teach them so that when they go forth from their halls to write their work upon the world, it shall be the universal verdict that human education has here reached its best development.

"The Judgment of the Law is the voice of God."

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Part of a paper, "The Judiciary," by Judge Stephens, read before the meeting of district judges, at Topeka, 8th of January, 1878:

"A properly organized, competent and independent judiciary is the great conservative force of republican government. It is the barrier built up by the constitution to restrain wild license upon one hand, and to check and control the exercise of unwarranted or centralized power on the other, one of its great offices being to subject to the crucial test of the constitution the acts and enactments of the other two coördinate branches of the government. This being one of the judiciary's chief and important, although not one of its commonest, duties, it is obvious that it should be so constituted that by the mere force of its decision—that is its decisions by their inherent force *as decisions*—should occasion acquiescence and a general satisfaction that the truth and right have been reached.

"In order to have this result it is not only necessary that members of the judiciary should be persons of acknowledged learning, probity, moral worth, determination and independence, but that there should be sufficient numbers of the body pronouncing the judgment to give it weight. These considerations lead to some reflections upon the constitution of our judiciary, and from that to further thoughts upon the machinery by which it operates.

"It seems to me that no judgment of a court of last resort can carry with it the weight properly to influence and satisfy the public unless the court is composed of a sufficient number of able men—to have added to its *reason* the weight of *numbers* of concurring minds; and it further seems that no act of the lawmaking branches of the government should be held invalid by the concurrence of a mere majority of the court of last resort. The public mind will reason, and it seems not unjustly, that the vote or decision of the one who makes the majority ought not to overturn the deliberate convictions of the legislature and the executive, all of whom act under a solemn official oath. Perhaps such an exigency has not yet arisen; and yet it may come to-morrow or any day. It should never be possible, although, Mr. President, to yourself and to me the reasoning of that one who constitutes the majority may seem conclusive beyond cavil. It will leave the contending parties with minds unconvinced, with reflections of being beaten by a bare majority, ready at all times to arraign the tribunal pronouncing judgment, and willing to adopt any means to wipe out the majority vote and make a final judgment upon the question a political rather than a judicial determination to be pronounced—rather by a court at the polls than by sober reasoning from the bench.

"It is my opinion that there are grave and weighty reasons against composing a court of final resort of simply three judges, and no solemn enactment of the lawmaking power ought to be held invalid by a majority of a court so constituted, or by a bare majority of any court, however constituted.

"Instead of the present number of judges upon the bench of the supreme court, I would make a court of five judges, one of whom should

be chosen every two years, and if elective, to be chosen at a time no other officers are elected. It would take the judiciary out of the question of general politics. The electors' minds would be directed to the single question of a fair, competent and proper tribunal, and the reproach which rests, whether justly or unjustly, upon the general political managment of bargaining and trading for office would be eliminated from judicial contests.

"Such a plan would give a longer official tenure; would make a court which could better challenge the public confidence; would weaken the chance for evil of the possible choice of a bad man; would expedite the determination of causes by giving a greater judicial force, and would lessen the chance for error in the final determination.

"It seems to me, also, important that the system for the organization of the district courts should be essentially modified. Some means should be resorted to, whereby different judges may be called to the hearing of cases in the same county. If the state were divided into three judicial districts with three or four judges to be chosen for each district, one of whom should be chosen every two years, and the whole number to constitute an intermediate court of review in some particular cases to be provided by law, it would sift out much of the business which now goes to the court of final resort, would expedite and make less expensive litigation. It would save the necessity of the tranfers of litigation from the counties where suit is now compelled to be brought, to other and often remote and inaccessible localities. It would contrast and consequently improve the members of the bench. It would tend to harmonize the now incongruous rules of practice of the several districts, and generally raise the credit and improve the usefulness of this branch, really the most important branch of the judicial force.

"There ought also to be promotion possible upon the bench. The office of chief justice seems an incongruity. Under the provision of the constitution making a judge ineligible to any other office during the term for which he shall have been elected, it is impossible for any one who has been elected to the office of associate justice to attain the first position. That honor must be left to an untried man, and the people are shut out from the advantages of having the benefit of the experience of tried men at the head of the bench. If, instead of the present plan, the member of the bench whose term of office was first to expire should be the presiding judge, then no one but a person who had several years of judicial experience would be in the position, and the honors, if honors they be, would be passed around as they were earned. It is possible that no greater or more onerous duties devolve upon the chief justice than upon the associates. If so, the distinctive office should be abolished.

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"Another great source of evil is the practically almost limitless number of motions and dilatory proceedings which may be resorted to without expense to the party taking them. Legislation seems to have been shaped so as to endeavor to put the indolent, the ignorant and incompetent attorney upon a level with his opponent without regard to merits. In fact this can never be done, and to excuse his blunders and allow him constantly to patch up and repair damages, without compensation to the opposite side, is to bid a premium for ignorance and incompetence. Let it be understood that expense awaits the blundering practitioner, and his case, if possible, will be carefully studied and clearly presented, the issues well defined. Foreign and immaterial questions will not occupy the court, and the party will be relieved of much of the danger of having his questions in litigation buried and smothered by a mass of immaterial rubbish.

"Steps should be taken to make the rules of court uniform in all districts of the state, and this ought to be made compulsory by statute. The rules are now as variant as the districts, and what is an essential thing

to be done in one county may be a matter never thought of and held for nothing in a county adjoining. The law should compel the meeting of all the judges in convention as often as once in two or four years, to revise and adopt rules of practice to govern all the district courts of the state until changed in a like convention thereafter held. And the terms of the several district courts should be fixed by the judges thereof, and subject to a change by them when exigencies require. Power should also be given to the district court to order the attendance of sufficient deputies to act as bailiffs, and to order the supplying of anything necessary to the convenient transaction of business either in the courtroom, its furnishings, or the supply of refreshment to jurors when under charge of an officer for deliberation, when provision therefor has been neglected.

"These powers seem so necessary for the conduct of business that to one unused to our statutes, it is a matter of wonder that they should ever have been neglected."

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From a charge by Judge Stephens to a grand jury of Franklin county these extracts are taken:

"It has come to be a general complaint that crimes are being compounded, criminal prosecutions abandoned or condoned, and this sometimes even with the assent or connivance of officers charged with the execution of the law. Such complaints are a great approach to the cause of justice, and such acts are in the highest degree criminal in themselves, as well as pernicious and demoralizing.

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"You are charged diligently to inquire as to all breaches of the election law, in order that offenders against that law may be brought to trial and punishment, and the purity of elections preserved.

"You are also charged to inquire as to all trespasses upon school lands, and other violations of the statute relating thereto, that this species of public property may be protected and preserved for the purpose for which it was originally designed.

"Your attention is also directed to the action of those officers to whom is committed the assessment of property. Many complaints are made that favoritism in regard to assessments is widely exercised by those officers, and that property owned by some is compelled to bear an undue proportion of the public burdens. Probably it is an impossibility that these burdens should be exactly, equally borne. But willfully to distribute them unequally is a serious crime, and a conviction thereof forfeits the office of the person found guilty. Among the many means resorted to by these officers, as stated by report, is the assessment of unoccupied real estate at a valuation equal to or higher than improved property adjacent thereto which is much more valuable. Such conduct is highly detrimental to the public welfare. It is official corruption and malfeasance in office. It is demoralizing in its tendency and should receive your careful scrutiny. If you shall find that persons have been guilty of such practice it will be your duty to present the same for trial, that they may be removed from office and otherwise punished and the state no longer be subject to their nefarious practices. Citizens are all to be treated as equals, and for officers to discriminate in favor of their neighbors, against those who live however remotely, is such an act of official misconduct and dishonesty as calls for serious consideration and prompt punishment.

"The grand jury is an ancient institution, and one of the distinct marks of Anglo-Saxon civilization and jurisprudence as distinguished from that of continental Europe. It has stood between the exercise of arbitrary favor and defenseless men in times of public excitement and peril, and has sought out and presented for judicial examination the

criminal acts of men who, but for the grand jury, would have stood above the law. It is the sheet anchor of safety for the private citizen. It is not an obsolete nor a ponderous nor an expensive institution, and it ought not to be abolished nor laid aside. It is the place where the humble may appeal for justice without the expense of lawyers attendant upon a magisterial trial. Composed, as it should be, of men from the body of the county, who are representatives of its intelligence, its integrity, its virtue, and who are informed of the condition of each little community within its jurisdiction, it affords a cheaper and better vehicle for bringing offenders to answer before the law than any course yet devised.

"Grand jurors are conservators of the law and order of their county. They are not obliged to seek out every technical offense and present it, but so discreetly manage the matters committed to them that there shall grow up and prevail a general order and security for persons and for property."

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Parts of an address, "Revolutions," delivered by Judge Stephens in the seventies of the nineteenth century:

"Revolutions move forward. They are not drilled in the tactics of retreat. They emanate from the governed mass, and are not skilled in the science of precision or governed by the laws of caution.

"They are born of honest conviction, of sturdy manhood and womanhood working out the problem of the situation, of physical daring encountering the perils and exposures of resistance to organized authority, and of that persistence which alone can obtain success. They are fanaticism utilized and harnessed to the car of human progress, subdued by reason and guided by the reins of soberness and justice.

"They may start in cabal. They may be incited by ambition or pushed forward by vanity and for personal aggrandizement—when they become mere episodes in the world's history; such spring up, vegetate and die.

"But when they take their hold deep down in the foundations of right, when in the progress of the world they become an effort of nature to slough off a diseased part of the structure of human government, and mend the system with healthy growth, there is small doubt of their ultimate success; it is questioning the power of a righteous God to enforce his decree.

"Nature is a succession of growth, maturity and death; of youth, age and decay. She shows herself in all her kingdoms, and nations are not exempt from her general rule.

"Systems of government are even more ephemeral, because they so often depend upon the personal superintendence of their authors to carry them out. It is *revolutions* which do not retrograde—those great efforts of man wherein the foundations and depths of society are stirred; where right is pushed to the front, and wrong, although sanctioned by usage and authority, is eventually forced to a back seat; where simplicity is enthroned in place of regal pomp, and integrity in place of peculation—those struggles where the masses attempt to displace portly placemen (fattened swine of the political establishment) and substitute vitality in their stead, with less cost of keeping; where idle ceremonies and forms which may once have had a meaning are put aside; where worth is not kept back, and accidental birth or fortuitous circumstances are not allowed before all other considerations.

"Of such a revolution this is a birthday. Its cardinal idea is, perhaps, as old as history. It has started up, struggled and been put down again and again. But though seeming to retrograde, it has all the time been gathering strength. The force of many a seemingly trivial circumstance can only be estimated by taking centuries into account.

"The protesting idea of religious Europe was in many respects crushed out. Many of the states hunted it from their borders. It was driven

from their land. It crossed the ocean side by side with its antagonist. It grew here. That idea was man's individual responsibility, his individual accountability, his equality—that divine right extends to all manhood, and that the lowest creature may approach his Maker by himself equally with the most exalted.

"It displaced the man-mediator. It displaced the man-superior, and brought each individual person into separate and sole accountability with his God.

"This is the educating idea of republicanism: each man to stand or fall by his own acts—self accountability—second only to his Maker, the consequences of each and every man's act to come back upon himself.

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"This republicanism, born of this day, is yet in its infancy. It is not an accomplished revolution. It is a youth full of strength and manliness, of latent and developed energy, but in many respects ungainly. I know it is customary to call our revolution accomplished, a thing of the past, and we are in the habit of celebrating our birthday—the day of our independence.

"It is true our political connection with the mother country is severed. We have set up for ourselves. We are housekeeping in our own way. But yet the revolution is only begun. We are yet in preparation. We have had vigorous battles. We have swept away many old abuses. We have laid aside the troubles of kingly state, and perhaps in too many cases put in its stead the red cap of the demagogue. But for all this our revolution is not accomplished. Nor will it soon be.

"We have set out, all of us, to do away with wrong. Our course is, and must be, forward—taking no look at the past except for instruction, seeking only for what is right, aiming for man's advancement, for his freedom.

"The Declaration you have to-day heard read contains the keynote of our effort—that all men are created equal, and the liberty and the pursuit of happiness are equally the birthright of all—not of the people of thirteen colonies of Great Britain, but of the whole family of men.

"Those brave and good men who put forth this Declaration spoke it in the broad, catholic language suited to a world. They established their school, keeping it so as to educate man to the idea of his equality with his fellow man, and to fit him for self-government. They appealed to each individual of the human family as well as to the nations of the world. The appeal was to their truth, their virtue, their loyalty—their loyalty to right, to justice, to God. If we are true to a principle, if we are loyal to our ideas, if we labor as earnest, patriotic men, the cause will and must go on.

"The cause is one that appeals to each and every man. It appeals to him not in the airy, fulsome way of a prince calling for the support of a subject, but of every one to his own self-respect. It says to you, 'Be self-reliant. Be true to your own person, your own rights, to yourself.' Our republicanism—this government—is for yourselves and not for officers. It is to protect your own individual interest, and that of each and all of you, and not to enrich the man in place. You are the government. To you are confided its interests, and its and your own future. Be instructed by the example of those who have gone before you. Be somebody for yourselves. If you sell your right, if you confide it into unworthy hands, you support the enemy against whose cause you have enlisted. Your banner is that of the republic—of the Revolution. That banner has written on it: 'Right, Justice, Security, Liberty.' It has no corruption, no defalcation, no plundering of public treasuries, no peculation or ruling by juntas or terrorism, and whoever shall be guilty of these crimes is recreant to the cause and deserves your reprobation.

"If you will be republicans in fact, you must be earnest, diligent, vigilant. Watch the candidates for public favor as you would watch your

own interest. If they betray their trust they betray you, and the consequences fall upon you. If a man steals the public money he steals your money, for you are taxed to replace it. If he steals it once he will do so again if the opportunity offers. The man who upholds him in his act will steal also. The appointees of an officer are his exponents. If you know them well you need not err as to their principal.

"Do your whole duty and the republic is safe. Do less than your duty, and although you cannot stop the result, yet yours is not the triumph, but the victory is against you.

"Bear in mind that in the cause you cannot shift the responsibility. There is no scapegoat upon whose horns your sins can be borne to the wilderness of oblivion. Your trust is personal. It is a cause requiring the assertion of your manhood, your independence; a cause to be defended by freemen with the education and independence of freemen, and not that of slaves. To be true, to be loyal, you can follow no leader but the right and just cause.

"Remember what your rights have cost. . . . Remember all the treasure of blood poured out in the great Civil War. . . . Think that here in Lawrence, independent of her murdered citizens, mementoes of the sacrifice lie scattered widely around, and if you can sanction misrule or overlook official recreancy, if you can still give the hand to your betrayer and raise your voice for one who has sold you, then is there a dark day for the republic.

"I voice these warnings in no narrow, partisan sense, but rather after the manner of those who were wont to go up to the altar of their country yearly to renew their oaths of fealty. We cannot look too closely about us, or watch with too scrupulous anxiety those to whom we have entrusted the care of our treasures. If once they fail, or even falter, a proper caution will imperatively compel us to vary our choice. The public officer should stand beyond the breath of suspicion, and if the foul words of a foul man shall attempt to blast a fair reputation, then the cause is your own and the remedy also."

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"Law," by Judge Stephens, read before the Old and New Club of Lawrence, supplemented by additions by word of mouth, and introducing the subject for discussion one evening when the club met with him:

"Situated in communities, as we find man to-day, a system of laws for his government is a necessity only secondary to the means of actual existence. That he shall be protected in his acquirements, restrained in the exhibition of his passions, made secure in the enjoyment of personal liberty by some rules other than the natural instincts which govern men, seems as unquestionable to-day as the most simple axiom.

"But this is the sentiment of civilization. It is the outgrowth of cultivation—development, if you will so call it. The ignorant see in the laws but restraint—impositions governing and controlling by force of their punishment—restraints which they would and do throw off whenever temptations offer, and it is thought the wholesome fear of punishment may be avoided.

"As we recede from barbarism we approach to a recognition of the virtue and necessity of legal restraint, not only as a curb to the evil passions and licentiousness of men, but as a measure of right to the well disposed in communities. It has its force in public necessity. It has its necessity in the grouping of men into thickly settled communities, where public and recognized rules are necessary to protect the weak against the strong, the simple against the crafty, the straight against the crooked, the mildly disposed against the violent.

"Law is man's necessary ally in advancement; without it he is relegated to the domain of force, where contention crushes all justice. But secure under the protection of wise and beneficent laws, he goes on

from one step of advancement to another, until from the savage, whose aim and ambition is gratified by passionate indulgence or the satisfaction of animal instincts, he rises to the exploration of the domain of science; investigates the mysteries of the planetary and stellar world, opens the laboratory of material matter, reads the buried history of the past in the rock-books of the earth, and finally challenges creation mysteries by bold theories of the origin of life, the development of reason, and the final consummation and purpose of this mighty creation.

"But law was before man, and is and will be above, beyond and superior to him; law which starts with no uses beyond which the memory of man runneth not to the contrary, no legislative enactment, no imperial decree or edict; law which needs no trial to vindicate, no court or execution to enforce, no proclamation to announce; law which alters not, which everywhere vindicates itself, which never becomes obsolete. It envelops the earth and all material matter. It embraces all things to us comprehensible by our faculties or incomprehensible by our reason.

"Man, in his ignorance, is wont to attribute to some special interposition of a malign or superior power any seeming change from the ordinary routine of occurrences. The tree which uniformly bears a particular fruit will sometimes produce a limb in which the fruit is in some particular and marked manner changed, and the change will continue in scions grafted from the limb. This amongst fruit growers is termed a "sport." It is supposed to be a freak of nature wherein she has departed from her uniformity. Yet it is not doubted that, like causes occurring, the same result would as uniformly happen as the former practice of production. There is no change in the law. That law is general, and to our ignorance we must attribute the apparent departure from rule.

"A particular season is prolific. The rains are uniform. The sunshine is genial and not blasting. The cause may perhaps be found far back; found it certainly will be if we have the ability to inquire and accurately to draw right conclusions. Investigations lead to the belief that floods, hurricanes, earthquakes and volcanoes are as certainly the result of fixed laws as the commonest occurrences, and those which we count upon in annually raising our subsistence.

"The commonest plant has its law of growth and development. It reproduces its kind through its seed—in all things governed by exact law—reaches its full development, dies and decays, its very decay being strictly according to rules of natural law. Wherever there is apparent change it is owing to the introduction of some extraneous cause, the law still governing and the result always the same under the existence of like causes—as a body put in motion in a direct line through space, when a new force strikes it upon one side is deflected and takes a new course, which new course will always be the same upon the application of like forces.

"We see various minerals, when reduced to liquid state by heat, crystallizing upon being cooled; yet the crystals always take like form, and the very form is used to indicate the substance and is proof of the material. The chemist, in his department, explores and gives results with mathematical certainty. He detects the presence of a substance by its giving a particular color under certain circumstances, or by a peculiarity of taste or smell. Under the microscope the analyst has been enabled to distinguish the blood of men, of beasts, of birds. So well has this been demonstrated that courts and juries have accepted the results, and human life has expiated crimes by force of such evidence and its truth has been demonstrated by confession of the accused.

"Looking abroad from the earth and upon our planetary system, we see matter controlled by law as it is with us. The planets have their motion around the sun, and their motion upon their own axes. They have the attraction of gravitation as we have. They have their atmosphere, their waters. They have been weighed and their density

determined. Their motions and the influences which control them are so well ascertained by calculation that their position a thousand years hence may be determined; the calculations backward for a far greater period agree with recorded observation.

"Whether their mighty orbs are the growth of nebular accumulations, or whether they have been thrown complete, or incomplete, from a creative hand and caught and held in circular motion by the strong chain of gravitation, or whether they have been placed where they are through or by other or different causes, it matters not. When their light is tested by the close observation of the analyst it reveals the fact that our laws are in force there. When meteoric stones fall upon our earth they reveal to us materials like those found with us—materials crystallizing as ours crystallize, and showing that the matter floating loose in the void is akin to our earth, and inferentially that planets with their whole compositions are such matter as we see from day to day. So far as distance allows of observation, so far observation reveals the control of the same universal law governing matter in all its various phases. And reasoning from analogy, the systems beyond ours, lighted by suns which are fixed stars to us, and forming parts of a still greater system, as they are all connected in that greater system, must all be controlled by the same laws governing matter, subjected to the same fixed rules, guided by the same unknown and unknowable wisdom.

"Thus we see the world is a world of law, the same law which gives our seasons, which governs the vegetable growth, guides the steam car or ticks off the telegraphic message. That same law governs the currents of the ocean and of the air, sends the burning simoon or the healthy breeze. That law brought the locusts upon Egypt and upon Kansas. That law dried up your fountains and parched your fields.

"Physical causes produce physical results. Malaria produces disease. Typhoid fevers come from uncleanliness. All are the logical results of physical causes. They come not capriciously, come not without cause, but logically, always superinduced by adequate cause, always the natural, legitimate and inevitable result.

"It is only a question of human power whether we shall be eventually able exactly to forecast the season and prepare for its defects and excess; whether we may not be able, not only to predict but to know the coming tempest and pestilence as we now know their history in the past. It is partly accomplished in the weather predictions from Washington. These may be improved, and who shall say that by broader observation exactness in the end may not be wrought out?

"But the domain of law is not bounded by the application of law to matter solely. On the contrary, where a man is intellectually and morally considered and weighed, the rule of law is as clear, as certain and as demonstrable as in the world of matter. Man does not live simply to grow, develop and die. There is more to and of him than simply the animal existence that is perfected in physical development. But when he is intellectually and morally considered, the problem is more complicated. There is will, volition, choice, the various intellectual phenomena which have been wrought into supposed science by thoughtful man.

"Man is unquestionably developing, and whether his existence dates back, and has run the whole race from the lowest form of organic life until it has developed into its present proportions, it matters not. There is in him progress—not the progress of traveling up a height from which he has fallen, but an onward progression governed by a fixed, inscrutable law, the consummation of which is more certain than life. It is as certain as death.

"The law of his physical being is the law governing matter. But the law applied to his moral being is a higher law—the law of moral right. His physical law requires his exact conformity to its rules, and inasmuch as he varies in his practices from that law, so far the physical penalties are inflicted in his person.

"So with his breaches of the moral law. Man's progress indicates that nature's design is human moral perfection. When this is reached her end is subserved, and if that end be the one contemplated by the law of our being and our development, its attainment is as certain as our existence.

"Such accomplishments are only attainable by the discovery of truth in whatever place it may lie. Truth, or, in other words, the law of our moral being, is the end to be attained, and whatever investigations are necessary to bring it forth, let those be had; had they will be, if not to-day they will be in the future.

"Truth is not to be obtained by blindly accepting theories as though we had reached the consummation of all investigation. Truth challenges all things undemonstrated.

"The law of our moral being is the great problem. Nature has been at work upon it since the advent of man. Nature is always prodigal in her supplies. This is demonstrated in the world of matter. Of all the great heat evolved by the sun, observe the small proportion that is utilized by matter within its reach. Of the fruits and seeds of the earth plants, see what of the vast proportion comes to nothing.

"The seeds of almost any variety of tree, if all utilized, would in a few years occupy the earth. Observe the multitudinous insects swarming from a parent. Behold the products of fecund fishes and reptiles. Nature is lavish—lavish in all of her departments—lavish in men as in all things else.

"Her great end is to be accomplished."

## FRANKLIN BENJAMIN SANBORN, A. B.

1831-1917.

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society by VICTOR CHANNING SANBORN, of Kenilworth, Ill.

SELDOM can a son's biography of his father carry a sound, critical value. The intimate connection of their lives deprives judgment of its true perspective. Perhaps an absence of thirty years, relieved, to be sure, by frequent and affectionate intercourse, may give to these notes a correct appreciation of one whose character was varied, strong and striking.

Franklin Benjamin Sanborn was born at Hampton Falls, N. H., December 15, 1831, on the same farm which his ancestors took up in the seventeenth century, and in the farmhouse which his great-great-grandfather, Lieut. Joseph Sanborn, built in 1743. His ancestry, which included nearly all of the early settlers of Hampton, is set forth in my "Sanborn Genealogy."

The incidents of his childhood and youth have been so well told by himself[1] that a further account of them would be repetitious without being enlightening. His family, though *adscripti glebæ*, had a distinct turn towards scholarship. This was emphasized and directed in my father's case by his early love for Ariana Walker, a daughter of James Walker, of Peterborough, N. H., and a niece of Webster's friend, Judge Jeremiah Smith, of Exeter, N. H. The Walker family has been described by my father,[2] and so much of this early love and marriage as

1. Recollections of Seventy Years, pp. 255-267.
2. The Walkers of Peterborough in New Hampshire, 1899.

may be told to the casual reader appears in his "Recollections."[3] He was married to Ariana Walker August 23, 1854, on her death bed, and she died August 31, 1854.

Under the inspiration of this youthful love, my father had decided to study for a year at Phillips Exeter Academy, and then to enter Harvard, where an uncle of Ariana Walker's was president. Entering as a sophomore in January, 1853, he attained some prominence in the class of 1855, a class which numbered among its members Phillips Brooks, Alexander Agassiz, Francis Barlow, Henry FitzGilbert Waters, James Kendall Hosmer, Theodore Lyman, and the cousin of the last-mentioned,

F. B. SANBORN AND HIS GRANDCHILDREN.

Benjamin Smith Lyman. Graduating seventh in his class, he was elected to Phi Beta Kappa; but, with the first scholar, Francis Barlow, he declined the election, possibly from a dislike of what they may have deemed an unjustifiable intellectual aristocracy.

During his early years at Harvard my father had won the friendship of Ralph Waldo Emerson, then living at Concord, and forming the bright particular star of that brilliant group of Concord authors who have made the little town so well known in literature. Mr. Emerson asked my father if he would come to Concord and establish a private school there, agreeing that the Emerson children should attend it. My father seized this welcome chance, and started in Concord, before he graduated, that small school which flourished until the activities of the Civil War put an end to it.

3. Recollections, pp. 268-294.

In 1856, enrolling himself on the side of individual liberty, he became secretary of the Massachusetts Free Soil Association, whose aim it was to preserve Kansas as a free state. He spent the summer of 1856 in a tour of inspection of the western states and territories, traversing Iowa and Nebraska. This brought him into connection with John Brown, the liberator, whose plans for the Harper's Ferry raid were known to a small group of Massachusetts men; and in 1860 my father was arrested by United States marshals for disregarding a summons to testify in regard to John Brown before a committee of the senate. This incident, with the subsequent failure of the senate's case, is fully dealt with in the "Recollections."

In August, 1862, my father married his cousin, Louisa Augusta Leavitt, a daughter of Joseph Melcher Leavitt, a native of Hampton Falls, N. H., but later a merchant in Boston, Mass.

The Civil War decreased the attendance at his school in Concord so much that it was given up in 1862. For seven months he edited the Boston *Commonwealth,* but in 1863 his friend, our war governor, John A. Andrew, appointed him secretary of the Massachusetts State Board of Charities. This was the first board of its kind in the United States, and it became the exemplar for similar boards in other states. Its urgent needs withdrew my father from participation in the war, for he and Dr. Samuel G. Howe were incessantly active in framing laws and seeing them enforced.

For twenty years my father took a leading part in charitable, remedial and penal legislation in Massachusetts and throughout the country. In 1865 he was one of the organizers of the American Social Science Association. In 1867 he obtained the charter for the Clark Institute for the Deaf, and remained a trustee of this wonderful establishment until his death. In the same year he helped to organize the Massachusetts Infant Asylum, the first public institution whose aim it was to decrease the tremendous mortality among motherless children. In 1870 he was one of the organizers of the National Prison Association, and in 1874 of the National Conference of Charities and Correction. In 1874, also, he was appointed chairman of the State Board of Charities, and in this capacity conducted those legislative inquiries into the almshouse at Tewksbury and the insane asylum at Danvers, which resulted in great economies for the state and a better system of caring for the insane and pauper classes. In 1879 he was made general inspector of charities, holding this latter office until 1888.

Along with these labors in the field of public charities, my father steadily contributed to American literature. In 1872 his friend, Samuel Bowles, appointed him one of the resident editors of the Springfield *Republican,* to which he had for many years been a contributor. This took him from Concord to Springfield, but in 1874 he returned to Concord, which was his home from 1855 until his death, except for this short sojourn in Springfield.

In 1880 he built the gambrel-roofed brick house on Elm street, at a bend in the Concord river. Here, among his book-lined shelves, he wrote most of his published works, and on his modest three acres he spent his

leisure hours in gardening and orchard work. He knew every wood and field in Concord, and each Sunday afternoon when he was at home with his sons he took long walks over the fields and hills, which he varied in winter with excursions on the frozen river. Without being a profound observer of nature, as was his friend Thoreau, he loved her every mood, and spent each idle moment in his busy life out of doors.

In Concord he had become from his earliest residence there a valued member of the little group of Concord authors, which included Emerson, Thoreau, Alcott, Ellery Channing, and (for a time) Hawthorne. His intimate friendship with these men has made him in some respects their ideal biographer.

His literary labors were tremendous and unending. Besides his two weekly letters to the *Republican*, he wrote for some time a column daily for the Boston *Advertiser*. His contributions to the pages of charitable reviews and to the proceedings of the many associations with which he was connected, and his reports as a state official, were voluminous.

In 1879 he organized, with Alcott, Doctor Harris and others, the Concord School of Philosophy, whose contributions to the field of American philosophic thought were of great value, and some of those lectures he edited in 1886.

He published definitive biographies of Alcott, Channing, Thoreau, John Brown, Doctor Howe and Pliny Earle, and lesser volumes on Emerson and Hawthorne. His "History of New Hampshire" is an accepted authority. To attempt to catalogue his published works would require several pages.

In 1885 his friend, Andrew D. White, president of Cornell University, appointed him lecturer on applied social science at Cornell. This connection existed for several years, and he delivered to the students many lectures illustrated by visits to the New York institutions for penal and charitable reform.

In 1890 and again in 1893 he made extended visits to Europe. He spent much time in Greece and Italy, and visited institutions for the care of the pauper and defective classes in many countries.

Since 1893 he devoted himself to general literary work. In 1894 he became a resident member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, and was a frequent visitor to the society's rooms on Somerset street, and later on Ashburton Place, Boston, as well as to the Boston public library, the Harvard College library, and the rooms of the Massachusetts Historical Society, of which also he was a member, and to whose proceedings he was a frequent contributor.

Finding the winter climate of Concord somewhat severe in his old age, he and my mother spent the last few winters with my brother Francis in Westfield, N. J. On January 18, 1917, he was injured by a baggage truck on the platform of the station at Plainfield, N. J. His hip was broken and he never recovered from the shock, but died on February 24, 1917. His burial service was at the old Unitarian church in Concord, where for years he shared the Emerson pew.

His turn of mind was essentially individualistic. An intellectual aristocrat, he was also a true social democrat. He resented bitterly any

infringement of the rights of himself or of others, and was a stern opponent of arbitrary power. This made him both friends and enemies; but he usually kept the former, while those of the latter who had real vision grew to respect and admire him.

My father acquired friends easily, valued them highly, and had hundreds throughout the country. This invaluable possession—friendship—he never abused, nor did he welcome such presumption from any one. It should be impossible to catalogue his friends, or to distinguish which among them formed the greater influence in his life. One of his oldest friends writes:

"We sadly miss your father from this world of ours, and can but heartily sympathize with you in the loss."

A more recent friend writes:

"The world is poorer for his going. From his college days to the end of a long useful career he never failed to champion the rights of the downtrodden and oppressed. Every worthy cause could count on his whole-hearted support. He was lavish in the gift of himself."

He was a real scholar, at home in both Latin and Greek, and familiar with the best of ancient and modern literature. His versatility was surprising, and his range of information a constant wonder. Mr. Emerson called him "the man who knew everything." In addition, he was almost the last survivor of the best type of New England literary man. His long life and incessant activity had brought him into contact with nearly every phase of life, and I may conclude with the somewhat trite phrase, *Et nihil quod tetigit non ornavit.*

He had by his second wife, who survived him, three sons: (1) Thomas Parker, born February 23, 1865, A. B. (Harvard University), 1886, a youth of much promise, who died under exceptionally sad circumstances in 1889. (2) Victor Channing, born April 24, 1867. (3) Francis Bachiler, born February 5, 1872, who married Mary DeCourcy, and lives at Westfield, N. J.

Among the many tributes which appeared after his death, none would have touched my father more, and none, I am sure, touched us all so much as to know that the flag at the Massachusetts statehouse, where he spent so many years, hung at half-mast in his honor for three days. Representative Odlin, of Lynn, offered the following motion in the House on February 27, 1917:

"WHEREAS, on the 24th day of February, 1917, Frank B. Sanborn, of Concord, the friend of Emerson, Hawthorne and Thoreau, died in Westfield, N. J., and thus passed on an adopted son of Massachusetts who in his early manhood espoused the cause of the abolition of human slavery in the United States, at the call of William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips, and later became the confidential advisor of John Brown at Harper's Ferry, for whose sake he was ostracized, maltreated and subjected to the indignity of false arrest, having been saved from deportation from Massachusetts only by mob violence and the writ of *habeas corpus*: Be it

"*Ordered*, That the house of representatives hereby expresses the sense of loss felt by the commonwealth in the death of this great man, who, conscious of the voice of duty, asked only to be guided aright and courageously undertook all risks in the great cause of emancipation. Philoso-

pher, philanthropist, sociologist, and man of letters, in the service of the state and in private life, by reason of his fealty to the truth, the strength of his intellect, his interest in the deceased, the unfortunate and the despised, he lent distinction to every cause which he championed; and a grateful commonwealth hereby pays its tribute of respect. Be it further

"*Ordered*, That the sergeant-at-arms be requested to maintain the flags of the statehouse at half-staff for the next three days. And be it further

"*Ordered*, That the foregoing be made part of the records of the House and that a copy be sent to the bereaved family."

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## PERSONAL REMINISCENCES OF F. B. SANBORN.

By WILLIAM E. CONNELLEY, Secretary Kansas State Historical Society.

FRANKLIN B. SANBORN was one of the early friends of Kansas. He was a member (and director) of the New England Emigrant Aid Company, and was one of the first to discover that that institution was designed primarily to make money, and only incidentally to aid in making Kansas a free state. He then chose to succor Kansas from another direction and through a more efficient and patriotic organization, the National Kansas Committee. This organization came into existence when the true aims of the New England Emigrant Aid Company became generally known, and when it was realized that the company had never intended to devote its energies to the founding of a free state, but to profit from the rise of land values in Kansas as the territory and state should be developed. It was a commercial organization, and not a patriotic one, as had at first been supposed.

Mr. Sanborn became secretary of the Town Committee of Concord, of the Middlesex County Committee, and in the year 1856, of the Massachusetts State Kansas Committee. All these committees were auxiliaries of the National Kansas Committee, although they did not transact all their business of aiding and relieving the Kansas people through that committee. In August, 1856, the Massachusetts State Kansas Committee sent Mr. Sanborn on a tour of inspection. This tour carried him across the Missouri river. He went through Indiana, Illinois and Iowa, passing into the territory of Nebraska. This was his first journey into the Great West, and no doubt it had an influence in shaping his character and a lasting effect on his life. As to the object of this journey Mr. Sanborn has recorded: "My own errand in this journey was to inspect the emigrant route through Iowa, in order that it might be kept open to men, arms and ammunition during the autum of 1856." He crossed the state of Iowa by the Lane Trail[1] and was some distance south along the Missouri river, though he did not enter Kansas. He found that the settlers were striving in good faith to set up a free state, and that they were in a tremendous conflict with the proslavery forces and propaganda of the Southern states. It was impressed on him in this journey that the free state men needed money to aid them to reach their destination and to sustain themselves in their desperate battle for freedom. While Mr. Sanborn never boasted of the amount he raised,

1. For an account of the establishment of the Lane Trail, some incidents of it, and map showing its course, see pages 268 *et seq.*, volume XIII, Kansas Historical Collections.

and, in fact, never said much about it, it is very doubtful if any other one man raised as much money as he did.

It was in this work that Sanborn and John Brown first came to know each other. The circumstances of their first meeting are set out in that delightful work "Recollections of Seventy Years." Therein it is recorded: "I was sitting in my small office in School street [in Boston], early in January, 1857, when Brown entered and handed me a letter of introduction from my brother Walker of Springfield."

From that time until the execution at Charlestown, Mr. Sanborn was the first friend of John Brown. Later he became the biographer of Brown, and his "Life and Letters" is one of the principal authorities on the early history of Kansas. But the services of Sanborn to Kansas did not end in his espousal of the cause of Brown. He became more and more identified with the history of the state. New England and Kansas constituted the field of his endeavors for more than sixty years. His interest in Kansas never waned, but rather increased with his years. Few men have written so much and so well of a state as has Sanborn of Kansas. For more than half a century he was one of the contributing editors of the Springfield (Mass.) *Republican.* Each week there were two columns headed "Our Boston Literary Letter." And it was rare indeed for these letters to omit a reference to Kansas.

Sanborn was the one man who understood John Brown and who appreciated his work to its full extent and its ultimate effects. Of Brown he said: "He was, in truth, a Calvinistic Puritan, born a century or two after the fashion changed." Immediately following the great meeting of the Kansas pioneers at Bismark Grove in 1879, there was an effort to make it appear that the New England Emigrant Aid Company and its founder and agents had established Kansas. To do this the public prints of the times were filled with articles and communications upon the "Revaluation of History." It was believed necessary to destroy the characters of both Lane and Brown, that the work they did in Kansas in aid of freedom might be discredited and condemned. Mr. Sanborn stood for the truth and contributed much to the controversy, which raged for many years, and which, in fact, ended only about the time of his death. And it was largely through him that the truth finally prevailed and the stream of Kansas history remained pure and unpolluted.

Mr. Sanborn was constant in his devotion to the thankless task of relieving the financial needs of the family of John Brown. The children met many misfortunes, and I never saw Sanborn when he was not collecting a fund to relieve the stress of some of the descendants of Brown. And he usually had two or three, or maybe half a dozen, other funds in process of formation for the help of needy persons. These were, sometimes, the last representatives of old and worthy New England families, of whom he knew more than any other one man of his time. And I am convinced that to each and every fund he raised he was a liberal contributor himself.

It was fortunate that D. W. Wilder had settled in Kansas. He and Sanborn were at Harvard at the same time, where they were warm friends, though in different classes. Their friendship was firm and en-

during, ending only in death. After Wilder came to Kansas, Sanborn had information from the state from one of the keenest observers and most impartial writers in the new commonwealth. Wilder was editor and writer from the first, and his pungent English and classic style had a permanent influence on Kansas journalism. He wrote that wonderful book, "The Annals of Kansas," the most complete and comprehensive history of any state up to that time. Wilder was of one of the oldest New England families. The West had modified the serious mood of the New England character, making him the most genial and companionable of men. He was the center of a brilliant group of Kansans, all pioneers and statefounders—among them Ware, Prentis, Martin, Greene, Gleed and Simpson. Ware was "Ironquill," the poet and historian, and a successful lawyer. Prentis edited more newspapers than any other man of his day; he was a poet by nature and instinct, and his writings contain much of the finest of Kansas literature. Martin founded the Junction City *Union*, was one of the most vigorous writers of his time, and was long secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society. Greene was soldier, editor, and long connected with the United States Land Office. Gleed was a young lawyer of New England extraction, self-made, self-reliant, with a range of the whole realm of literature, successful, and now and for many years resident director of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Company. Simpson was a member of the Wyandotte constitutional convention, the first attorney-general of the state, a shrewd politician, and one of the ablest lawyers of Kansas. There were many others in this famous circle, and I was admitted as one of the belated and younger members. In keeping in touch with Wilder, Sanborn was always in touch with the best thought of Kansas.

My personal acquaintance with Mr. Sanborn began in May, 1900. Before that I was familiar with his writings—both of his books and his contributions to papers and magazines. He was attending a session of the Conference of Charities and Correction, held in Topeka. I knew he was to be present, and I sought him in a meeting at the statehouse. At first he insisted that we give attention to the very dull paper being read by some minor delegate. But he fell away as the paper droned along, and we soon ceased to give it heed. I had written my brief work on John Brown, and was enlarging it into my "Life of John Brown." This made our introduction easy. I found him simple and direct of speech and an inexhaustible fountain of information. He remained in Topeka some days, and I saw him frequently. He warned me that in espousing the cause of John Brown I should incur the enmity of the sinister influence at Lawrence—strongly intrenched there in high places. After glancing through my then meager published writings he said I could be trusted to stand for my convictions without regard to future consequences—which he regarded as the first requisite for a writer, teacher, or divine. When he returned to Concord he carried with him copies of my books, a review of which appeared in "Our Boston Literary Letter" in the Springfield *Republican*.

Sanborn was again in Kansas in April, 1903. I was then in the service of the Bureau of Pensions, under Mr. Ware, and stationed at Kansas

City, Mo. Sanborn was to visit Wilder, who lived at Hiawatha, and I went, by invitation, to meet him there. Wilder was a delightful host. I could remain but one night away from my post, but it was well and most agreeably spent. Most of it we passed in conversation, and the remainder of it Sanborn and I occupied the same bed.

In 1908, I went to Boston to arrange for the publication of Mr. L. A. Bigger's "Around the World with a Business Man," which I had edited. I visited Mr. Sanborn at Concord, remaining a guest at his house two or three days—most enjoyable days. It was the last week of an exceptionally fine October. We had time to discuss many historical questions and

HOME OF F. B. SANBORN, CONCORD, MASS.

incidents. I remember that he could not understand why the Appalachian mountaineers—of whom I am one—having later fought for the Union in the Civil War, had not gone to the assistance of John Brown at Harper's Ferry. I explained to him that, socially, the mountaineers regarded the negro exactly as did the cotton and rice planters of the lowlands of the South. That the mountaineers had not enlisted in the Union armies to in any way modify the status of the slave. That their devotion and loyalty to the Union rested on the principles and traditions of the Revolutionary War, without any reference to the condition of the slave. That the mountaineers are more largely descendants of soldiers of the Revolution than are any other people in America. That it was to save and preserve these principles and traditions of liberty to mankind that the mountaineers fought for the American Union. That this was the key to Lincoln's attitude in the Civil War, though in the later deification of him this main fact had been overlooked. All this was entirely new to Mr. Sanborn, and he accepted it with caution, but after due

deliberation it was clear to him that I was right. He wondered why these reasons had not occurred to him before. It was only another instance of Brown's having lived and acted in advance of his time—far in advance of the common mind of his day.

It was through Mr. Sanborn that I began to clearly understand the character of the New England people. I had always appreciated their enterprise, their lead in education and commerce. I had supposed that all the energies of the people had been engrossed in material progress. But at Concord I saw a deeper meaning to New England life. Mr. Sanborn said that Calvinism had broken down many of the old class distinctions and had led the people far toward democracy; and I found that the common life of New England rested on ideals of the highest order.

Mr. Sanborn made plain to me the reason for the absence of New England people in the general movement of population to the westward. The New Englander took to the sea. He expanded upon the ocean. His ships trailed up every coast. His sons were sailors, or, failing that, remained in the shops and forges to manufacture articles to be sold in the markets of the world, and particularly in the agricultural districts of the West and South. The expeditions of the New Englanders were for the purposes of developing trade—not for the colonization of new lands. To these general rules there were but two exceptions, which he could call to mind—the Connecticut Western Reserve and General Putnam's Purchase —both in Ohio, and both getting finally more inhabitants from other quarters than from New England.

I found that I had a wrong conception of the country. I had pictured New England as a land of bare and sterile mountains, "stern and rock-bound coast." I found it a country of lovely rolling hills and woodlands. Beautiful valleys I saw there, and fine streams that withstand the summer drouths. So in our walks about Concord I came to a new conception of New England and her people; to a new and high appreciation of both.

Mr. Sanborn came to Boston to go with me to the principal places of interest in that historic city. When I spoke of Faneuil Hall, I found that it was called "Funnell" Hall by the Bostonians. There I saw a marble statue of John Adams, which suggested a story of him, which Mr. Sanborn related. It seems that when Adams was an old man he was a guest at some house or public place where there was a marble statue of himself and General Washington. It may have been that the statue we were then standing before was the one that Mr. Adams found where he had gone to spend an evening. Mr. Sanborn knew, but I have forgotten. In any event, the attention of Mr. Adams was called to the two statues; when some conversation relative to the two men was had. Mr. Adams closed the remarks by saying, as he indicated General Washington, "He had sense enough to know when to hold his tongue." Then tapping his own statue lightly on the head with his cane, he continued, "But this damned fool never did."

I found that the name "Quincy" was pronounced "Quinzy" in Boston. In Kentucky I knew a number of men named for President John Quincy Adams. Some of them were familiarly called "Quince." I had not heard the name pronounced as though spelled with a *z* until I went to Boston.

At the Hancock House Mr. Sanborn told me that John Hancock, the Signer, was treasurer of Harvard College. During the Revolution his accounts became confused, and when the college funds were demanded he was unable to produce them, and it was many years before he could replace them.

At the house of Paul Revere we saw many relics of the famous rider. Mr. Sanborn said that there was not so much to Revere's ride as Mr. Longfellow had made it appear in his poem, and that in fact it was something like the story of William Tell. That while Revere did ride, the people had already had notice, and he found them alarmed and in some places assembled and armed to meet the British.

At the Old South Church he suggested that I call for the record of the pastorate there of Dr. Samuel Blair, later one of the founders of Princeton University. We found that he was the pastor of Old South from 1760 to 1763. I had told Mr. Sanborn of my descent from this particular Blair family, and was glad to secure the record.

So we went about Boston. Mr. Sanborn had something interesting to tell me of the history of every street, and of all the older buildings. No more pleasant or profitable day of my life do I now recall.

The prediction of Mr. Sanborn that I would incur the wrath of those persons engaged in the attempt to defame John Brown and James H. Lane came all too true. The late G. W. Brown, of Rockford, Ill., formerly editor of the *Herald of Freedom*, at Lawrence, was employed to write a book to discredit me in Kansas. Mr. Brown's book was of great benefit to me. I was then comparatively unknown as a writer, and people believed that if I had ability and reputation enough to require the publication of a volume to put me down, my books ought to be worth reading. Immediately large numbers of them were demanded by the public. The circumstance really established me as an authority on Kansas history. I replied to Doctor Brown's book in a small pamphlet, "An appeal to the Record," published for me by Crane & Company, Topeka. My friends throughout the Union were more than satisfied with my response. Mr. Ware wrote me from Washington that not only had I "hit the bull's-eye, but had knocked down the whole works, leaving nothing else to shoot at." Mr. Sanborn said that until he had read my reply to Doctor Brown he had supposed the New England Emigrant Aid Company had accomplished a little good, but that he then saw that the company had been a detriment to territorial Kansas. Consulting my diary of those days, I find that Mr. Sanborn told me in May, 1900, that Mr. Thayer proposed, in a meeting of the directors of the Emigrant Aid Company, at Boston in 1856, that assassins be employed to murder Atchison, Stringfellow and other proslavery leaders in Kansas.

Mr. Sanborn spoke from personal experience in foretelling attacks upon my historical writings. He had suffered from this cause himself. The following is taken from page 73, volume 1, "Recollections of Seventy Years":

"Circumstances have made me, as testimony is measured in our courts of law, a competent and fairly credible witness as to the struggle to make Kansas a free state, and most of the men who took part in that struggle. I knew quite thoroughly, I think, the early history of Kan-

sas, both as unorganized and disorganized territory and as a state in the Union. I became interested in that sparsely settled territory, not as a landholder or settler, but as a friend of free institutions, early in 1855, when I was of full age and able to understand facts and draw inferences—so far as a course of instruction at Harvard College could enable me. I kept up my acquaintance with events and persons there through the whole disturbed period, from 1855 to 1862, by correspondence, travel, and careful reading of the conflicting evidence furnished by newspapers, Presidents' messages, and printed books and speeches. I never allowed my opinion to be biased by buying lands there, or running for office. I expended a year's time, first and last, and what was for me a good deal of money, to make Kansas a free state, and have three times visited it and traveled through portions of it to see what had been the upshot of our early efforts. I have never been hired, as several of the would-be historians and chroniclers of Kansas were, to write up any man's merits or write down any man's faults. I am therefore puzzled sometimes to know why I should be attacked and traduced by men whose cause I espoused when the whole force of the national government was against them, and with whom I had no quarrel until they picked one themselves with me. I am a member of the Kansas Historical Society, which has collected the largest mass in the world of the documents illustrating the early history of the state; have spent days examining this collection, and been in friendly correspondence with its secretaries from the beginning."

Mr. Sanborn lived long enough to realize that hired scribbling to write one man up and another man down can never accomplish its purpose. It was his good fortune to witness the disastrous reactionary effects of a $5,000 effort by the same parties to discredit the fine work of Oswald Garrison Villard on John Brown.

Mr. Sanborn's last visit to Kansas was in the winter of 1908-1909, about the middle of February. He was delivering a series of lectures in the West, though I do not recall that he had any engagements in Kansas. He was my guest for nearly a week. The pleasure of his visit rises fresh to my memory at this moment. My daughter Edith was then a student in the Topeka high school. She was charmed with the simplicity and elegance of his manner and bearing. He knew thoroughly all that she was finding difficult in her studies. Latin was as familiar to him as his mother tongue, and he told her much of his travels abroad—of Italy and Greece and their wonderful stories. Concord is the mother of American literature, and he had known all the creators of it. All these things he reviewed in the most interesting manner, for she was dealing with them in her school work. She wondered why her teachers had not been able to make a dry text a living, absorbing delight, forgetting that teaching is the highest mission given to man, and that its gift is the rarest to be found in this world.

At the rooms of the Historical Society, in the statehouse, and in my library, Mr. Sanborn gathered much of Kansas history. I found pioneers for him to interview. I remember that we went one evening to visit Samuel J. Reader, whose wonderful journals and diaries of pioneer days in Kansas he examined with the deepest interest. He was making some revision of his "Life and Letters of John Brown" for a new edition, the publication of which he arranged for with the Torch Press, at Cedar Rapids, Iowa. He was also preparing for publication the letters of Hern-

don, the law partner of Lincoln, and these he had published at Cedar Rapids. While at my house he did not neglect his work, but wrote much every day. He complimented me on my facilities for work. He thought it odd that I was able to do my best work only when using the very best material and appliances for the mechanical part of it.

I was certain that Mr. Sanborn enjoyed his visit in my house. I know he experienced the greatest pleasure in visiting the state he had loved and worked for so long and faithfully.

The last time I saw Mr. Sanborn was in the spring of 1913. I had gone to Boston to arrange for the publication of my biography of Senator Preston B. Plumb. I was again the guest of Mr. Sanborn at his home in Concord. The exact time was April 6, 7 and 8, 1913. Years were beginning to weigh upon him, but he could not see that he was in any way excused from doing his usual immense amount of work. I always found in the morning, on his table, much that he had written after I had retired for the night. I came back to Boston with an appointment to meet him on a certain day at a family hotel on the east side of Boston Common, opposite the point where the street railway burrows into the earth to become a subway. We visited some of the principal libraries, ending our research at the rooms of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Once during the day we were alighting from a street car. After having stopped, the conductor started his car just as we were stepping down. I kept my feet and caught Mr. Sanborn as he was thrown from the car. I was alarmed, for I knew the consequences likely to follow a heavy fall for a man of his years. Fortunately my efforts made his fall a light one. But the reprimand he gave that careless conductor was no light matter.

Few so obscure as I am have met so many men of national repute. Among them all I count Mr. Sanborn the best student, the most constant to convictions and ideals, the best informed, the most faithful to friends, and the most industrious. He was one of the great men of his time.

There is little doubt now that the two men most responsible for an unprejudiced record in Kansas history are Wilder and Sanborn, both sturdy, uncompromising New Englanders, and graduates of Harvard University. They blazed the trail which has become the great historical highway in Kansas.

# JOHN MAC DONALD.

1843-1916.

JOHN MAC DONALD was for many years a member and director of the Kansas State Historical Society. Because of his interest in the Society, and his work for it, we publish here two tributes to his memory, one read before the Saturday Night Club, the other read before the Topeka Press Club.

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## IN MEMORIAM.

Read before the Saturday Night Club by FRANK P. MACLENNAN.

The founder of this club, of thirty-three years existence, is gone, but the organization goes on indefinitely. It is fitting that something of a formal nature regarding this man—John MacDonald—who passed away October eleventh, should be spread upon our records. Hence these resolutions—certainly not perfunctory in spirit, although they follow a typical custom of expression of the regard in which men of more than ordinary life have been held.

The "Gentleman from Kansas," as he was always known to us at these meetings, was really the "Gentleman from Scotland"; yet he was a true American, with high ideals, giving inspiration to others and seeking it himself. Over his desk, where he was daily wont to work, three busts still repose; these are of Burns, of Scott, and Lincoln, and typify his love of things Scottish, and equal love for things American.

He was born February 6, 1843, on the Island of Lewis, one of the Hebrides, made famous by Dr. Samuel Johnson, and near by the beautiful island of Skye. He lived sufficiently long in the highlands of Scotland to become proficient in reading, writing and speaking the Gaelic language. Once annually, on New Year's day, he remembered his friends by the distribution of his card with Gaelic mottoes. To the card was attached a sprig of purple heather, grown near his birthplace. The mottoes were typical of his daily greetings to his acquaintances: "Many blessings to you"; "Every day to you"; "A good year to you"; "A blessing to thy soul and victory."

His religion was practical; he was as well a constant church attendant. His faith in immortality was expressed in a beautiful tribute to his mother, which appeared in his paper, the *Western School Journal*, five years ago, following the demise of the mother, who had lived to the wonderful age of ninty-seven. Her son paid her periodic visits, and many partings seemed the last, but were often renewed. He spoke of her good deeds in the mountain parish; of her ministrations to the sick; her Christian counsel to the erring; her help to the unfortunate; her hospitality to the needy; her words of cheer to the despondent—closing with this reference to his letters to his mother: "The correspondence is forever closed on earth, but there remain blessed memories. These memories, and the firm hope that we shall meet again, I would not ex-

change for all the wealth, bliss and power this old world can give or take back."

The "Gentleman from Kansas" came to the state in 1870, two or three years after he lived in New York, whence his emigration from Great Britain. Since then, during these forty-six years, he lived in and about the capitol of Kansas.

A natural teacher, he filled many places high and low in that vocation —a country schoolmaster, a county superintendent of schools, a member of the State Board of Education, president of the Kansas Teachers' Association, president of the Educational Press Association of America, and a member of the board of directors of the National Educational Association. For a quarter of a century he was editor and owner of the *Western School Journal*, a periodical for teachers.

He founded this Saturday Night Club thirty-three years ago; it was his own idea, and the customs and conduct he laid down for it at the first meeting are those followed since and to this time. It was his thought that it would be a cultural club, and it was his plan that a paper should be presented by one member at each meeting, and the same subject discussed by each member. "It is thus," he said, "we will get the many sides of the question and be better able to gather accurate and correct information."

Even in those early days he saw the present weaknesses of the members, and suggested then an occasional banquet was good for the soul and body. From the very first, he was selected as the critic, generally "for this evening only," and no president, from the first to the one presiding at the meeting where he last met with us, had the temerity to ever appoint another critic, unless he was presiding, had the paper of the evening, or was absent. The latter was a rare occasion, for he was devoted to the club and to its members. Leading a life which might be termed lonely by some, he took great enjoyment in the fortnightly meetings of these kindred sprits.

He was essentially an educational editor. He frequently quoted Edmund Burke's statement that "education is the chief defense of nations"; believed with Horace Mann that "schoolhouses are the republican line of fortifications"; and with Ralph Waldo Emerson that "education is the armory of nations." He was in reality a grand old man. He was truly a guide, philosopher and friend, and he became the dean of this club. About him were ways which were whimsical and wholesome and winning. His humor was quaint and stirred the risibles.

Mindful of his parental duties, he leaves his interesting library to his son Roderick, expressing the wish that the *School Journal* be sold, and aside from a few minor bequests, that the proceeds be divided equally among his son, his daughter—Mrs. Chandler, of Massachusetts—and his sister Mary, who still lives in the highlands across the sea.

We shall sorely miss the "Gentleman from Kansas"; but as long as this club exists he will be remembered, and, as he said of his mother, "there remain blessed memories."

I move the adoption of this resolution and that it be spread upon our records.

## OUR FIRST ABSENT MEMBER.

A paper read before the Topeka Press Club, and the Kansas State Editorial Association, by D. O. McCray.

I have been asked to say something about our dead friend, John MacDonald. This is not the time or place for extended eulogy; these tributes have been paid by hundreds of our fellow workers in Kansas, and by scores of friends in other walks of life. I think the beautiful and eloquent sermon by the Rev. Dr. S. S. Estey, in the First Presbyterian church in Topeka, was a fitting climax to the wealth of tribute paid this grand old man by the newspaper men and women of the state.

My acquaintance with John MacDonald dates back to March 5, 1887. That was the day I commenced work on the *Daily Capital* as associate editor under Maj. J. K. Hudson. I had arrived the evening before from Leavenworth, where I had served Col. D. R. Anthony in the same position on the *Times*.

I met Major Hudson at the old *Capital* office, across the alley east of the *State Journal* building, at nine o'clock on the morning of March 5. While we were talking of my work, in the northwest corner room of the second floor, John MacDonald called, and I was introduced to him as the "educational editor." He was conducting an educational department, and his copy came to my desk.

At our first meeting Mr. MacDonald asked me if I had relatives in Scotland. He said he would like to know before we established friendly and confidential relations. And then he told me that in a backwoods district in Scotland roamed a band of outlaws known as the "Clan MacRae," who bore reputations similar to those of the James and Younger gangs in Missouri. However he proved an alibi for me in the spelling of the name—M-a-c R-a-e.

In all these years our friendship strengthened and cemented into affection. Every one of my co-workers of the years past in Topeka and Kansas, I am sure, will bear similar testimony. There is not one but can recall the daily greetings on the street and the quaint humor of John MacDonald as he told his latest story. His love for his childhood home—Scotland—was next to that of mother love.

One day I met Mr. MacDonald on the street and asked him to come to my home that evening and hear some music. Of course, the first record I played was "Annie Laurie," sung by John McCormack. I followed this with "When the Bloom is on the Heather." The next day's mail brought me a tiny envelope filled with sprigs of heather with its blue blossoms which my friend had gathered in Scotland with his own hands.

Two other Scottish heart-songs, "The Blue Bells of Scotland" and "The Hills o' Skye," touched my friend, for they brought back to him the memory of a loved spot on the western shore of his native country. The Isle of Skye, he said, was a little larger than Shawnee county, and with its hills in the center is one of the beauty spots of the world. Its charm is all the greater because it is surrounded by the blue water of Little Minch and the sounds of Cullen, Sleet and Applecross. Mr. MacDonald's home was forty miles away, in the Outer Hebrides.

John MacDonald was a teacher of mankind. He was happy in mixing

his quaint humor with quotations from the great men of the world. With Napoleon, he believed that public education should be the first object of government. He frequently quoted Burke's statement that "education is the chief defense of nations." He believed with Horace Mann that "schoolhouses are the Republican line of fortifications," and with Emerson that "education is the armory of nations."

Alone in the night death came.

"Then with no throbs of fiery pain,
No cold gradations of decay,
Death broke at once the vital chain,
And freed his soul the nearest way."

Those of us who knew John MacDonald for a quarter or a third of a century will recall the philosophic view he held of life and death. He contended that the grandest dream the human heart has ever cherished is the dream of a glad immortality. It is a dream, but it goes down with us all-glorious to the end; flushing with more than sunset radiance the clouds that hang over the valley of the shadow. John MacDonald held that loss of life itself to him that dreams that dream brings greatest gain of all. What glory if the dream be true! And what if it be but a dream? It is the only one which, thus far, has never failed the sons of men. "All else may end in dust and ashes long before the last scene comes. This alone blooms on to the end like the fabled amaranth of the fair gardens it pictures, whose freshness is unfading. The Book of Time and of Eternity, which alone tells the story of an immortality beyond the grave, is more than all others, the Book of the Dreamer."

The *Western School Journal*, a pioneer in educational thought, was more than a mere guide to teachers; it was a publication of uplifting benefit in the home. Probably no other editor in Kansas gleaned from the great authors so many gems for publication as did John MacDonald. In hundreds of scrapbooks, and between the leaves of thousands of Bibles and other treasured volumes, may be found these messages of hope culled from the pages of the *Western School Journal*. I recall one selection reproduced by Mr. MacDonald many times during the past twenty-five years. It is the "Rainbow of Hope," by George D. Prentice, and I beg your indulgence to quote it:

"It cannot be that earth is man's only abiding place. It cannot be that our life is a mere bubble cast up by eternity to float a moment on its waves and then sink into nothingness. Else why is it that the glorious aspirations which leap like angels from the temple of our hearts are forever wandering unsatisfied? Why is it that all the stars that hold their festival around the midnight throne are set above the grasp of our limited faculties, forever mocking us with their unapproachable glory? And, finally, why is it that bright forms of human beauty presented to our view are taken from us, leaving the thousand streams of our affections to flow back in Alpine torrents upon our hearts? There is a realm where the rainbow never fades, where the stars will be spread out before us like islands that slumber in the ocean, and where the beautiful beings which now pass before us like shadows will stay in our presence forever."

As we, the members of the Topeka Press Club and the Kansas State Editorial Association, pay tribute to John MacDonald, our friend and

benefactor, let us remember with gratitude that he bequeaths a rich memory to the generation his work has so abundantly blessed. He sleeps under the humble, but not inglorious epitaph, commemorating "one in whom mankind lost a friend, and no man got rid of an enemy."

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## SENATOR E. F. PORTER,

FOUNDER OF THE STATE MANUAL TRAINING NORMAL SCHOOL, AT PITTSBURG.

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society, by F. DUMONT SMITH.

THE establishment of the Manual Training Normal School at Pittsburg and the general extension of manual training and teaching of domestic science in practically all the schools of Kansas is one of the most extraordinary pieces of constructive legislation ever enacted in Kansas, and the most extraordinary ever accomplished by a single legislator.

The man who did this was Hon. E. F. Porter,[1] of Pittsburg, a member of the state senate from 1901 to 1917. During eight years of that time, from 1901 to 1909, I was also a member of the senate, closely associated with him, had his fullest confidence, and probably know more about the passage of that legislation than any other person except the senator himself.

When Senator Porter came to the senate in 1901 he was practically unknown in state politics. He had played the game in Crawford county and the third district, and had hosts of friends and allies in that corner of the state. He was a lumber man in a large way of business, had accumulated a fortune by thrift, tireless industry, far-sightedness and keen judgment of men. The last three qualities gave him his place in public affairs. He was not an orator, used no frills or flowers of speech, but he always spoke clearly and to the point, never used a superfluous word, talked only of the things that he knew and knew thoroughly, and was always listened to with profound attention.

He came to Topeka with a hobby—manual training. As a member of the Pittsburg school board he first suggested it, and then had helped to establish it there in a small way. He had seen the difficulty of procuring competent teachers; he had seen the magnificent possibilities of manual training and domestic science; he had seen boys who were hopeless at their books and mainly truants become immediately profoundly interested in the manual training and grow to good citizens, many of them now occupying high and responsible positions in the manufacturing

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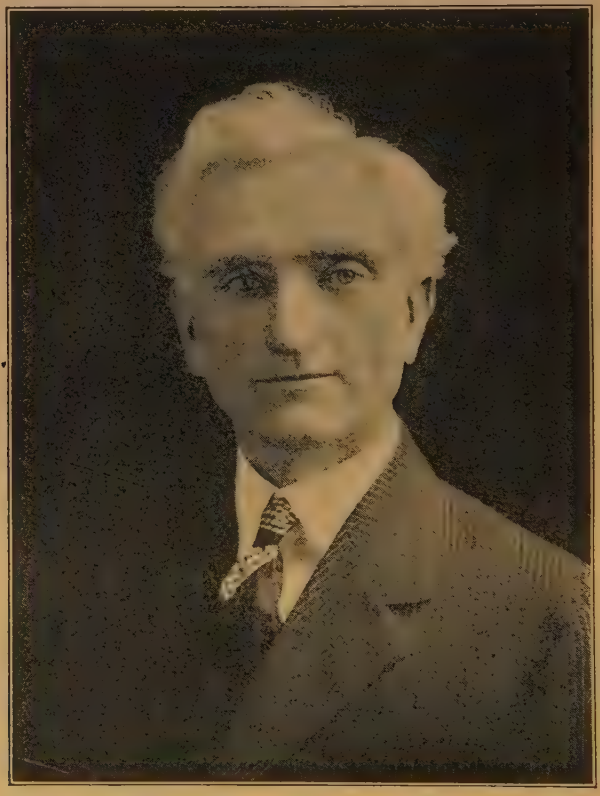
1. Ebenezer F. Porter, son of John Thomas and Phœbe Jane (Finley) Porter, was born July 14, 1859, in New Salem, Pa., his father being one of the pioneer merchants of the town. The year following his birth his parents moved to Illinois, and in 1876 to Iowa. Young Porter's education was acquired in the public schools, and after he had attained his majority he went into business, establishing a lumber yard in Clarinda. In 1885 he sold out and came to Kansas, settling at Wa Keeney, where he became manager and part owner in a lumber company. In 1888 he sold his interest there, and in 1890 went to Pittsburg. Here he reorganized the Plater lumber interests, and in 1893 became auditor of the Casey-Lombard Lumber Company, and later secretary-treasurer. At Clarinda, Iowa, on February 23, 1882, Mr Porter was married to Miss Anna I. Berry, a daughter of one of the early business men of that state. Two sons have been born to them, Harry Huston and Harold Berry.

world. His senatorial career held but one object—neither honor nor advancement for himself—those things counted for nothing. He wanted to extend over all Kansas the benefits that he had seen from this training in his home town, and he wanted to place a great public institution in Pittsburg. It looked pretty hopeless; times were still hard; people were afraid of higher taxes, and it was felt that appropriations must be kept down. No one was interested in, or knew anything about, manual



HON. E. F. PORTER, PITTSBURG, KAN.

training or domestic science. They were regarded generally as mere fads, and Pittsburg as a location for a state institution was badly situated, on the extreme eastern border of the state. Senator Porter had not confided to any one at home his intention and ambition. He first consulted Hon. Cyrus Leland, then the most powerful figure in Republican politics in the state. Mr. Leland sympathized with him, but advised him to wait, and pointed out existing conditions and the fact that we must go slow that winter; that everything must be subordinated to electing a Republican United States senate in 1903. He advised him to wait until that session, and promised his help; in the meanwhile to help all the

strong fellows secure alliances wherever he could, and lay the groundwork. Porter came to me with the proposition. I was enthusiastic for it, but gave him the same advice as Mr. Leland had. It was characteristic of Senator Porter that he went no further at that time. He saw instantly that it was too early. He took no one into his confidence besides us two. He looked about for the strong men in politics, and tied up with them. Wherever there was a worthy bill that needed help, he put his shoulder to the wheel. He helped the Fort Hays Agriculture Station in the sixth district. He helped the sugar-beet bounty in the seventh district, and made friends all over the state. He was a tireless worker, never missed a committee meeting, and was always to be found at his desk when the senate was in session. His tact, his strong common sense and his energy made him before the close of that session one of the most influential members of the senate.

In 1902 there was a bitter fight on for the Republican nomination for governor. Senator Porter, with his usual shrewdness, picked Governor Bailey for a winner. By hard work he was able to carry the greater portion of the delegates from Crawford county for Bailey, although that county was supposed to be a stronghold of the opposition. Shortly before November, when it was apparent that Governor Bailey would be elected, Senator Porter sought his help for manual training. Governor Bailey promptly and cheerfully promised it to him, and kept his promise to the letter, as he always did his promises. Not until September of that year did the senator divulge to any one of his home people what he had in mind. This was first presented to Professor Russ and then to intimate friends. They, of course, were enthusiastic for it. A strong committee of business men came to Topeka and did what they could to help him.

At the opening of the session he introduced his first bill, which became chapter 34 of the Laws of 1903, appropriating $9,000 for each of the two succeeding fiscal years to pay the expenses of a training school as a branch of the State Normal, for the purpose of training teachers in manual training and domestic science. The city of Pittsburg was to furnish the necessary rooms. When the bill came up in the senate it passed thirty-two to nothing. Mind you, this was a new proposition, its merits unknown to most of the senators. It was here that Senator Porter's tireless work, tact and gift of making friends and alliances told. In the house it passed ninety to nothing, which was even more extraordinary. When Governor Bailey had signed the bill and given the pen to Senator Porter—the pen which he still treasures—Senator Porter asked the appointment of Prof. R. S. Russ as superintendent of the new institution. Professor Russ had been principal in Pittsburg for some years, was thoroughly familiar with the subject, and alone of the senator's townsmen had been in his confidence from the start; and Governor Bailey appointed him.

In the same session Senator Porter introduced a bill establishing manual training and domestic science in the public schools of Kansas, and providing means by taxation for the direct support of the same. This bill had a twofold object, in giving the benefit of manual training to the public schools of Kansas, and was creating a demand for their instructors

in the state institution at Pittsburg. This bill passed without a dissenting vote. This created immediately a demand for graduates from the Pittsburg Normal. From the very start the school under Professor Russ's able management was a great success, unequaled in the history of educational institutions in the country, crowded to its capacity, and immediate employment found for each graduate.

At the opening of the 1905 session this success was so apparent that the senator felt emboldened to increase the appropriation and lay the foundation for a permanent institution, and he secured an increase to $17,500 per annum for maintenance, and $10,000 for the purchase of a site upon which to erect a building. Again there was not a dissenting

MANUAL TRAINING NORMAL SCHOOL, PITTSBURG, KAN.

vote in the senate and only seven votes against it in the house. An attractive site was immediately purchased and plans prepared for the erection of a building. In 1907 the idea was so firmly established as a part of our Kansas education that the appropriation for maintenance was increased to $25,000 per annum and an appropriation of $150,000 made for buildings and equipment. These appropriations passed without a dissenting vote in the senate, and by a vote of eighty-eight to eight in the house. Since then the appropriations have been continuously and generously made for additions and extensions.

For instance, in 1913, thirty-five acres of additional ground were bought, $25,000 was provided for an industrial-arts building and $32,500 for a heat and light plant. Here is a striking illustration of the interest of Senator Porter's local people and the backing that he has always received in his home town. In 1914 the buildings were so seriously damaged by fire that they could not be occupied. The legislature could not

meet and no appropriation could be made until 1915, which would mean that the school would be discontinued for a year. Under the leadership of Senator Porter, the citizens of Pittsburg immediately got together, appointed a committee and promptly raised nearly $150,000 to repair the buildings. This was done in time for the fall term of 1914, and a year saved. The legislature of 1915 reimbursed the citizens of Pittsburg. Last year there were nearly 2,600 pupils, and teachers graduated from there go all over the United States. To-day manual training and domestic science is a part of the curriculum of nearly every school in Kansas. So from the little appropriation of $9,000 for an unknown idea has grown this magnificent institution, which now is firmly a part of our educational system, and it is due solely to the originality, the initiative, the tact and tireless industry of one man.

I suppose that the average reader will say that the senator's methods must have savored of the "pork barrel." It is well here to say a word on that subject. Senator Porter, in all his sixteen years in the senate, never promised to vote for any bill in return for a vote for the Pittsburg Normal. That is not the way things are done. In a body like the state senate, which is more or less continuous in its membership, friendships are formed, alliances made, and, in a sense, an organization of the strong men prevails from one session to another. The senator who desires to secure legislation for himself must help others. There is, of course, always an implication of a return for such assistance. Senator Porter helped his friends in the house and senate, not merely by his vote, but by active assistance, by timely presence and voice and vote in legislative pinches, by helping mold the bill, by defeating hostile amendments, and by continuous work; so that in addition to making hosts of friends, he had accumulated obligations on which he could draw in time of need. When the sugar-beet bounty bill was passed, enough senators who were opposed to the bill, in principle, to make a majority against it, voted for it against their inclination because of their obligations to Senator Porter and myself. This is about the extent of the "pork-barrel" proposition as I have seen it. There is never a specific promise, but with men who know how to play the game, and are successful, there is an implied promise that is always kept. Senator Porter says that while he has had many men in the business world break their promises to him, he has never had a man in politics go back on a promise. This is probably due to two things: Senator Porter religiously keeps his own promises, and he knows who to tie up to and whose promises to take.

The extraordinary vote in 1903 in both the senate and house for this novel proposition is the strongest tribute to Senator Porter's extraordinary efficiency as a legislator that could be given.

The senate of 1915 knew where the credit was due, and in its closing hours unanimously adopted the following resolutions, offered by Senator Carney:

WHEREAS, Our honored fellow senator, E. F. Porter, has been for sixteen years a member of this body, and during all these years has been a consistent and able friend of all the educational interests of this state; and

WHEREAS, Senator Porter is entitled to first honors for the inaugura-

tion of manual training in Kansas, and particularly as founder and friend of the State Manual Training School at Pittsburg, Kan., has endeared himself to the people of the state, and especially to the members of this body; and

WHEREAS, Senator Porter's long and efficient service in behalf of all the state schools, and especially in behalf of his pet child, the State Manual Training school at Pittsburg, Kan., his home city, is deserving of special and permanent recognition: therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That it is the sense of the senate of Kansas that this permanent recognition should be accorded Senator Porter in the naming of a building in his honor at the State Manual Training School, to be known as Porter Hall, this inscription to be in some enduring form and in some prominent place on the building, to be decided by the Board of Administration.

It is proper to say here that powerful assistance to the project was continuously given by the women's organizations of the state, but this does not detract from the fact that the Pittsburg Normal School is a monument solely to the unselfish work and legislative capacity of Senator E. F. Porter.

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## ABIJAH WELLS.

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society, by IRA K. WELLS, of Seneca.

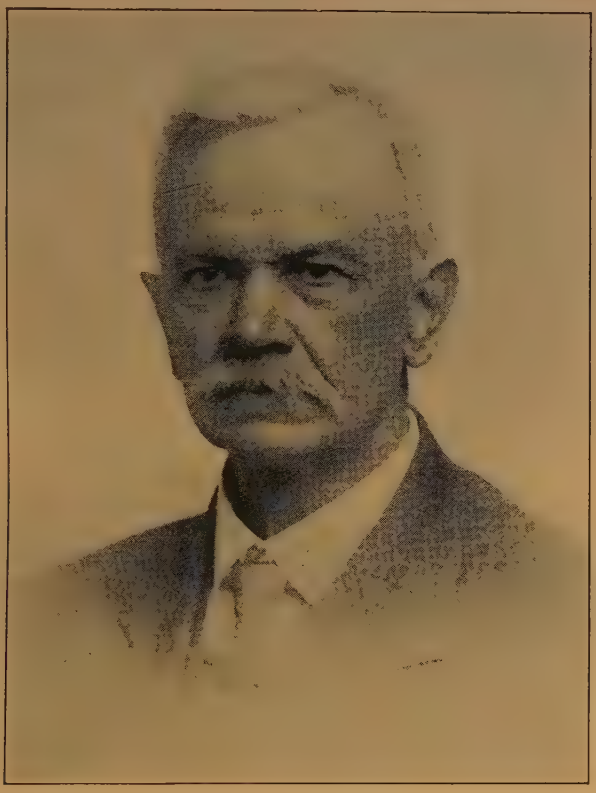
HISTORY in the aggregate is but the composite results of the doings of men in the mass; whatever is accomplished by the citizenship of a city and county as a whole composes the historic annals of the body politic. All that can be told has been accomplished by men as individuals.

Abijah Wells was a product of the early pioneer days of Kansas. He was born in Susquehanna county, Pennsylvania, June 12, 1840, a son of William R. and Betsy K. (Skinner) Wells, both of whom were born and raised in Orange county, New York. They were married in Susquehanna county, Pennsylvania, in 1832, and removed from Pennsylvania to La Salle county, Illinois, in 1845. They resided there until they removed to Nemaha county, Kansas, in the spring of 1857. William R. Wells had visited Kansas in 1856, and located on a wild tract of land about three miles south of Seneca. He returned to Illinois in the fall of 1856 to vote for Gen. John C. Fremont for President, and in the spring of 1857 set out with his family in wagons drawn by oxen for the great West. Abijah Wells, then a boy of sixteen years, walked behind and drove the cattle. On the 18th day of June, 1857, they landed at their new home, which had been picked out the year before, and here they built their first log cabin in Kansas. Not long after his arrival in Kansas Mr. Wells conceived the idea of founding a city in the exact geographical center of Nemaha county, and, with others, purchased a tract of land and laid out the town of Wheatland, with the idea of making it the county seat. These dreams came to naught, however, and the plan of building a city miscarried, principally because of the diversion of the overland stage route through Seneca and its subsequent selection as the county seat.

William R. Wells prospered in the land of his adoption and became prominently identified with the early and formative period of Nemaha county history, and was a member of the first board of county commis-

sioners of the county. He lived on his farm until 1864, when he retired to a home in Seneca.

In June, 1882, William R. Wells and wife celebrated their golden wedding anniversary in Seneca, and three years later Betsy K. (Skinner) Wells died, on June 18, 1888, and William R. Wells died on December 16, 1893.



JUDGE ABIJAH WELLS.

The early education of Abijah Wells was obtained in the district schools of La Salle county, Illinois; and after he came to Kansas he enrolled as a student in Centralia College, which was the center of a utopian society called the Home Association, founded in Nemaha county, Kansas, by a colony of idealists from Galesburg, Ill. Later he attended the first session of the Kansas State Agricultural College at Manhattan, his father driving him overland at the commencement of school, and he walking back to Nemaha county after the completion of the term.

His ambition in youth was to become a lawyer, and with that end in view he entered the law office of Judge J. E. Taylor at Seneca, where he

pursued his legal studies until he was admitted to the bar in 1866. He practiced his profession in Kansas for more than fifty years.

Early in 1881 he became the editor and proprietor of the Seneca *Tribune*, which he sold during the same year to A. J. Felt, afterwards lieutenant governor of Kansas, and devoted his entire time to his legal business.

The law firm of Wells & Wells was established in Seneca in 1866 by Abijah Wells and his brother, Frank Wells. This brother died in 1867, while he was register of deeds of Nemaha county, and years afterwards the son of Abijah Wells, also Frank Wells, came into the firm of Wells & Wells, and later another son, Ira K. Wells, came into the firm. In 1901 Frank Wells moved to Oklahoma City, Okla., where he is now a member of the law firm of Keaton, Wells & Johnson. After that time the firm of Wells & Wells was continued by Abijah Wells and his son, Ira K. Wells, until the death of Mr. Wells, on March 1, 1915, since which time the business has been carried on by Ira K. Wells under the old name of Wells & Wells.

The political, judicial and official career of Abijah Wells was a remarkable one, and the best evidence of his pronounced ability and powers of leadership among men.

His first political office was that of county superintendent of public instruction of Nemaha county, to which office he was elected in 1863, serving one term of two years. In 1866 he was elected clerk of the district court, which office he held for one term, during the last year of which he was also register of deeds of Nemaha county, having been appointed to fill out the unexpired term of his brother, Frank Wells. He was then elected to the office of register of deeds. In 1874 he was again elected county superintendent of public instruction, which office he continued to hold until 1883. Upon the expiration of his service as county superintendent he devoted his time and talents to the practice of law, and continued in general practice until 1896, when he was elected judge of the court of appeals, northern department, eastern division, he being the only republican elected that year on the state ticket. He served on the court with honor and distinction until it was abolished by the legislature four years later, when he returned to Seneca and resumed the practice of law. He also served as mayor of the city of Seneca and member of the board of education for several terms, and was appointed postmaster in 1884, resigning later, when his brother-in-law, Justus H. Williams, was appointed in his stead. He was a director of the National Bank of Seneca from the time of its organization until his death, at which time he held the position of vice president. He also assisted in organizing the State Bank of Summerfield, Kan., and the State Bank of Kelly, Kan., in both of which institutions he was a director until his death.

He was noted and admired for his upright and straightforward methods of doing business and his universal fairness in dealing with those with whom he came in contact.

The married life of Abijah Wells was an exceedingly happy one and began on October 18, 1866, at which time he married Loretta C. Wil-

liams, of Sabetha, Kan. To this marriage were born seven children: Frank, now a lawyer of Oklahoma City; Arthur, who died in infancy; Ira K., of Seneca; Elsie, who became a teacher in the Seneca public schools, and died September 4, 1897; Maude, married Robert E. Deemer and at present is living in Omaha; Wiliam A., an architect, now living in Spokane, Wash.; and Roland, who lives on a ranch in Sherman county, where he is engaged in stock raising.

Loretta C. (Williams) Wells was born in Greenville, Green county, Wisconsin, March 5, 1847, and is the daughter of Capt. Arthur Williams and Mary Angeline (Nordyke) Williams, of English and Scotch ancestry. Capt. Arthur W. Williams was one of the well-known figures of the pioneer period of Nemaha county history. He was born in Rochester, N. Y., March 21, 1817, and died in November, 1886, on his farm south of Seneca. When he was but a boy his parents moved from New York to Canada, where he was reared to young manhood and learned the trade of carpenter. In the early days of the settlement of Green county, Wisconsin, he located in that county and was married to Mary Angeline Nordyke, who was born in Vienna, Ohio, June 7, 1826. In 1857 they migrated westward to Kansas and made settlement on the Sabetha town site, and Mr. Williams became owner of the land where Sabetha now stands. At the outbreak of the Civil War he raised company D, Eighth Kansas infantry, and was elected its captain.

Abijah Wells was a member of the Universalist Church, and was one of the organizers of that church in Seneca in 1865. He became widely known in Universalist circles throughout Kansas and the West, and served for twenty-five years as president of the Kansas Universalist convention, holding that position at the time of his death.

He belonged to Seneca lodge, No. 39, A. F. & A. M.; Nemaha chapter, No. 32, Royal Arch Masons; and Seneca commandery, No. 41, Knights Templar, and assisted in organizing these three bodies. He held the offices of master, high priest and commander, respectively, in these bodies, and was the first eminent commander of Seneca commandery, No. 41, Knights Templar. He also belonged to Abdallah temple, A. A. O. Nobles of the Mystic Shrine, located at Leavenworth, and was a charter member of Nemaha lodge, No. 19, I. O. O. F., and of Seneca council, No. 132, Knights and Ladies of Security.

He died at the home of his daughter Maude, in Los Angeles, Cal., on March 1, 1915, where he had gone for a much-needed rest and recuperation. He was buried in the family lot in the cemetery at Seneca, on March 6, 1915.

He died, as he always said he wanted to die, in full possession of all his faculties, with his mental powers still strong and active, and his ability to work and do good unimpaired, and he left to his friends and relatives the record of a continuous lifetime of good deeds and unselfish service to others.

## AVRA P. RUSSELL.

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society, by MRS. SEIGNIORA RUSSELL LAUNE, of Woodward, Okla.

HOWEVER heroic and well known a soldier's life may have been, there are childhood and boyhood years of which the world knows little. The purpose of this sketch is to acquaint Kansans with these early years in the life of one of her adopted sons, whom she had been pleased to honor.

Avra P. Russell was born April 7, 1833, at Marion, Wayne county, New York, on the old family homestead which was founded by his grandfather, Daniel Russell, who pioneered from Rocky Hill, Conn., in 1796.

Avra Russell was the fifth of nine sons born to his parents. His father, Daniel Wright Russell, was the first white child born in Williamson, N. Y.; his mother, Mary Turner Russell, born in Pelham, Mass., was of typical New England stock.

With no sisters, but eight brothers, it may be well imagined that the House of Russell, during Avra's childhood, was the scene of great activity. The mother, small, gentle, but of adamant firmness, required much of her boys in the way of homely household tasks, even teaching them to knit as skillfully as girls. And during the long, cold winter evenings, while flax and wool were spun and woven for the family's clothing, and carpet rags were cut and sewed, the boys took turns reading from the Bible and the classics. They were early taught to read and were instructed in all branches of practical education. Only the most correct English was permitted to be spoken, and any lapse in this respect was promptly and severely dealt with.

Pride of family was instilled in their lives, and family records were jealously guarded. They were told of Olaf, the king of Rerick, from whom the House of Russell is said to derive its descent in the sixth century; of his descendant Trustian; of Hugh, who accompanied William the Conqueror in the invasion of England and fought in the battle of Hastings.

From these Scandinavian ancestors Avra boasted that he inherited his red hair—red-haired Russells are rare—and his daring courage. Be that as it may, from his childhood Avra was wont to do unexpected things. Lovable and sunny hearted, with a quick, impetuous nature, he was a constant surprise to his conservative family.

As a lad he attended Sodus Academy, and had for his chum a young Texan, John Borden. Very alluring were the tales he heard of the adventures waiting in Texas and Kansas. Avra's great-grandfather, Daniel Russell, was a Congregational minister and a graduate of Yale. His great-great-grandfather, Noahdiah Russell, was also a Congregational minister, and a graduate of Harvard. It was he who called, in his study, the first meeting to consider the founding of Yale College, and who for many subsequent weeks called meetings and worked to perfect plans which at last culminated in establishing that great institution. These were the natures that warred for supremacy—the red-headed

blood-lusting Scandinavians and the gentle, scholarly Congregational ministers. Many of the Russells were educators and several of his brothers taught school, yet when Avra was seventeen years of age he astonished every one by accepting a school at the village of Ontario. His mother was amazed.

"Why, you foolish boy," she exclaimed, "you cannot teach that school; those big boys have turned every teacher out they have ever had."

To the delight of his family and the trustees of the Ontario school he taught the term out. He was paid $60 per month for his work, and at its close was offered $75 if he would teach the school the next winter. This offer he rejected, and instead of following the path of decorum he purchased a pair of Arabian horses and a gorgeous red wagon, lettered in white, and drove to Rochester, where he filled it with notions and went through the country selling his goods, to Lockport, Ill. Here he sold his magnificent outfit, the outfit that filled his boyish heart with delight, and engaged in business. He made money here, and with his magnetic personality, many friends. Best of all, he won the love of a charming girl.

When he was twenty-five he responded to the lure of Kansas and went to Leavenworth. He was in a new world. What could people in New York know of Kansas in those days! He established an express line from Leavenworth to Pike's Peak, Colo. Here was adventure, indeed! There was another more extensive line over the same route, also run by a Russell, but not of the same family.

While he was exulting in his business the Civil War broke out, and with his characteristic enthusiasm he raised a company for the Second Kansas infantry. He was elected first lieutenant of this company by the Union Guards of Leavenworth, on the 3d day of May, 1861, and Governor Robinson commissioned him on the 10th of May.[1] This regiment was mustered into the United States service at Kansas City, Mo., June 10, and mustered out October 31, 1861. During this period they engaged in various skirmishes and battles in Missouri, Forsythe, Dug Springs, Wilson Creek, Shelbina and Iatan. The most important of all was the battle of Wilson Creek, August 10, 1861. In this battle General Lyon was killed. Avra Russell was very near him as he fell from his horse. The death of this gallant commander was a great personal loss to the young officer, as well as a national calamity.

The following episode was one of the many on that field, and a remarkable one:

"Sigel had been defeated on the left, but on the right it was not known. General Lyon was killed; Bob Mitchell, the colonel of the Second Kansas infantry, had been wounded at the same time. Lieut.-Col. Charles W. Blair had command of the regiment. All at once, on a hill, nearly in front of the regiment, the stars and stripes were displayed. The men of the Second Kansas thought that it was Sigel coming; they believed it the

1. Avra P. Russell was mustered in to the Second Kansas infantry as captain of company G, on June 20, 1861, and mustered out with the regiment October 31, 1861.—Adjutant General's Report, Kansas, 1861-'65 (Reprint), p. 74.

He was first lieutenant, company K, Second Kansas cavalry, mustered in December —, 1861; promoted to captain, April 5, 1862; died December 12, 1862, in field hospital near Prairie Grove, Ark., of wounds received in battle of Prairie Grove, December 7, 1862.—ibid, p. 113.

more readily because the advancing troops did not fire. The Second Kansas dressed up line and gave three cheers. Just then Russell rushed from his place in line to Colonel Blair to warn him that it was a trick, a ruse.

"I tell you, colonel, it is a Manassas again," he exclaimed with great emphasis. The words were hardly uttered before the fiercest fire of the day opened on the Second Kansas line, from beneath the old flag, and the battle was renewed with greater fury than ever, until Blair received orders to retire."

That was the closing scene of that battle.

In the fall of 1861 Governor Robinson delegated Avra Russell and James H. Lane to go to Washington to have his regiment transferred to cavalry. This regiment was formed out of several skeleton organizations.[2] Russell spent thirteen weeks in Washington before the transfer was accomplished. Before returning to Kansas he went to New York to visit his parents, who were saddened and anxious in the old home, alone. Their oldest son had died, and several of their boys had enlisted in the army in the East. One, Oscar, or "Doc," the seventh son, having gone south when a youth of eighteen, had enlisted in the Confederate army and was serving as an aide to General Hindman, and also as General Pike's private secretary. This was a source of much sorrow to the Russell family, their viewpoint being wholly northern and their home ties of the strongest and tenderest. Brother against brother—brothers, too, who were bound by the closest bonds of love. Such conditions made the Civil War doubly tragic. Avra Russell was five years older than his brother Oscar, and had been a "little father" to him when they were children in the old home in New York.

On his visit home that fall, in 1861, Avra was his merriest self. All the tenderness of his nature was called into expression. He told stories of his war experiences, talked freely of the work he had done and of his plans for the future. Spoke of his comrades, their bravery, their oddities and their lovable attributes, so that they became known to the home folks. He was happy in the personnel of his company, as most of his employees of the past years had joined him under the promise that he would stay with them, even though promotion were offered him. He declined more than one promotion because of this promise made to his boys, whom he so loved, but he was called to fill other positions so often that, because he could not be with them all the time, his men finally released him.

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2. The Second Kansas cavalry, as first organized under authority granted Alson C. Davis by Major General Fremont, was called the Twelfth Kansas. Organization began on November 8, 1861. Between November 22 and December 15, five companies were organized. December 26, by order of Governor Robinson, four companies of Nugent's regiment of Missouri Home Guards were attached to the newly organized regiment, and its designation changed from the Twelfth Kansas to the Ninth Kansas. These last four companies, raised for home service, had been organized in Douglas, Johnson and Miami counties, and were commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Wm. Mewhinney, of Douglas county. They were temporarily attached to Nugent's regiment, and their term of enlistment would expire February 4, 1862. The organization of the ninth Kansas was completed January 9, 1862. On the 4th of February the four companies of home guards were mustered out, and on the 28th Major General Hunter assigned to the Ninth three reorganized companies formerly belonging to the Second Kansas infantry, also two companies formerly part of the Eighth Kansas, and one company which had been part of the Third Kansas. These last three companies, however, were shortly transferred to another regiment. All these changes brought about a change in the field and staff and placed Robert B. Mitchell in command as colonel. On March 15, 1862, the name of the regiment was changed to the Second Kansas volunteers, and on March 27 to the Second Kansas cavalry.

January 29, 1862, he received a captain's commission signed by Abraham Lincoln and Edwin M. Stanton, and was appointed an additional aide-de-camp on the staff of Major General McClellan, and detailed for service under Brigadier General James H. Lane.[3]

The campaign of 1862 in Missouri and Arkansas was inaugurated, and with Hindman's army went "Doc" Russell, Avra's younger brother. There were skirmishes at Cross Hollows and Holcomb Springs, Ark.,—a battle at Old Fort Wayne in the Cherokee Nation, another at Cane Hill, formerly Boonsboro, with Marmaduke. There were continual reconnoissances and many skirmishes prior to the fatal battle at Prairie Grove, and in one of these engagements Avra Russell received a slight wound. For him the days were filled with a haunting dread that one day he would meet "Doc" in deadly conflict. He had a dreadful premonition that he or his brother would be killed when the Second Kansas should be engage against Hindman's army.

On December 4, from the camp at Cane Hill, Russell was sent down the Cove creek road.[4] After discovering the enemy's pickets he dispatched a messenger back to the camp, and with his command remained near the enemy's line until the next day.[5] On December 6 came the engagement at Reed's Mountain, and this was immediately followed by the battle of Prairie Grove—the battle with Hindman's army.

To a comrade Avra Russell voiced his dread that he would meet his brother. "I feel, though, that I will be taken and that "Doc" will be spared," he said. And it was in vain that Captain Crawford tried to dissuade him.[6]

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3. Avra P. Russell commissioned by the President, January 29, 1862, and named aide-de-camp. Discharged March 21, 1862.—Adjutant General's Report, Kansas, 1861-'65 (Reprint), p. 7.

4. "From Thursday evening until Saturday night preceding Sunday, December 7, the day on which occurred the battle of Prairie Grove, Ark., Captains Crawford and Russell, with a battalion of the Second Kansas cavalry, held Hindman's army in Cove Creek valley, south of Cane Hill, while Herron's division of the Federal army was making forced marches from Springfield, Mo., to join Blunt's division on the morning of the day the Prairie Grove battle was fought; . . . Captain Russell, brave among the bravest, received his death wound in that engagement."—E. C. Manning, in Kansas Historical Collctions, vol. 10, p. 422.

5. "CAMP OF THE SECOND REGIMENT, KANSAS VOLUNTEERS,
CANE HILL, ARK., December 5, 1862.

*"Lieut. S. K. Cross, Acting Regimental Adjutant:*

"I have the honor to report that, pursuant to orders received on the afternoon of the 4th instant, with a detachment of 147 men from the Second Kansas volunteers, I left camp to reconnoiter, and, if possible, to discover the position and movements of the enemy. About two miles from camp I sent Lieutenant [H. L.] Moore with about 60 men (companies A and D) down what is known as the Mount Air road, while I proceeded with the remainder of the party in the direction of the Cove Creek road. I came into the Cove Creek road at Price's old headquarters, nine miles southeast of camp, where our advance pickets are posted, and after following this road about six miles the advance discovered a fire, supposed to be that of the enemy's pickets. After reconnoitering, I became satisfied that it was either a very strong picket or the advance of the main force of the enemy, and concluded to wait until daylight before proceeding any farther. I posted a picket, and with the remainder of my men fell back half a mile and formed line in a field. In this position, every man standing by his horse, I remained until the morning of the 5th, when just before sunrise my picket was fired on by the enemy, and at once retired. I then sent forward about thirty men dismounted, as skirmishers, under charge of Lieutenant [J. M.] Mentzer, holding the others mounted in line as reserve. A brisk skirmish ensued, lasting for several minutes, when, seeing a movement made to flank me, I withdrew the skirmishers and fell back about four miles, where I again formed line and remained nearly two hours. Seeing nothing further of the enemy, I returned to camp, reaching it about three p. m.

Respectfully,
AVRA P. RUSSELL,
*Captain, Commanding Detachment."*

From Rebellion Records, series 1, vol. 22, part 1, p. 61.

6. "Russell had a presentiment that he would be killed the next day, and gave some directions as to the disposition of his effects. He could not be shaken in his belief—and the next day fell while fighting manfully."—Connelley's Life of Plumb, p. 118.

During this time General Hindman had learned that a brother of his aide was commanding one of the companies in the Federal army. He also knew of a carking fear in the heart of his aide. And that these brothers might not be aligned against one another, he sent "Doc" Russell far away on detailed duty.

True to his forebodings, Avra Russell received his death wound in the battle at Prairie Grove. He fell at the first fire receiving a charge full in the breast.[7] This was on December 7, and he did not die until the 12th, lingering five days in the field hospital near Prairie Grove. Four hours after Captain Russell's death, "Doc" returned to camp, and from General Hindman learned that his brother had been killed. Under a flag of truce he was taken through the lines and allowed to look upon his dead brother's face for the last time. It was then that he realized to the depths of his broken heart the full tragedy of civil war. There came to him a vision of his frail old mother and father praying for their absent sons, and of the home in New York which could never be the same again.

Captain Russell's body was placed in a metallic casket and sent overland to Leavenworth, escorted by 300 cavalry, and from there shipped home to Marion, N. Y. The flag which had been used as a pall over General Lyon's coffin was wrapped about the casket and presented to the sorrowing parents.

In Lieutenant-colonel Bassett's General Order No. 98, he pays a tribute of respectful admiration and love to Avra P. Russell's memory.[8] This tribute, together with his various commissions and orders, are carefully cherished by members of his family. His commission as major[9] was never used, there being no actual vacancy to justify it.

The girl he was to have married at the close of the war was received by his family as a daughter and sister. She was given his gold watch and other personal adornments, also the land and property he left in Lockport. She never married, and for many years carried on a correspondence with the brother who was with Hindman in the South.

After the death of Mr. and Mrs. Russell, the flag which was used to drape Captain Russell's casket, and his sword, were returned to Kansas at the request of the adjutant-general's department. His sword may now be seen in the museum of the Memorial Building at Topeka. The naming of Russell county for Avra Russell was another honor that Kansas has paid him who died in the service of his country.

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7. "Capt. Avra P. Russell, of company K, was mortally wounded. He was at the head of his command, with it marched into line, dismounted, and fell at the first fire. He was carried to the rear, and everything done that could be to relieve him. He lived to learn that the enemy was vanquished. He was a brave soldier, an accomplished officer, a firm friend, and an implacable enemy. His virtues were cherished by his comrades, and his faults forgotten. He died on the 12th. A general order was published from regimental headquarters, in which his services were extolled, and the several actions in which he had taken part mentioned, and his character eulogized."—Adjutant General's Report, Kansas 1861-'65, (Reprint), part 2, p. 29.

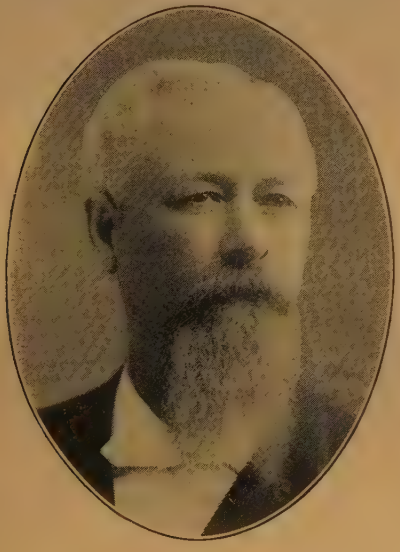
8. General Blunt, in his report on the action at Prairie Grove, says: ". . . displayed great gallantry, as did also the lamented Capt. A. P. Russell, who fell, mortally wounded."—Rebellion Records, series 1, vol. 22, part 1, p. 77.
Colonel Cloud says in his report: "Capt. Russell . . . was a good and brave soldier, and a true and gallant friend. His loss is mourned by the entire command."—Ibid, p. 93.

9. Capt. A. P. Russell received a commission as major, but there being no vacancy, he was not mustered in as such.—Adjutant General's Report, Kansas, 1861-'65 (Reprint), part 2, p. 21.

## OLIVER SMITH HIATT.

Contributed by MRS. EFFIE HIATT VAN TUYL, of Leavenworth.

OLIVER SMITH HIATT was born February 4, 1839, at Richmond, Wayne county, Indiana. He was the son of Elam and Sarah Horn Hiatt, and traced his ancestry to many prominent Quaker families of Pennsylvania, Maryland and North Carolina, and also to the early families of Virginia. Among his Quaker ancestors were Governor William Clayton, who preceded William Penn; Henry Willis, who came from Wiltshire, England; the Biddles, Brintons, Harlans, Beals, of Pennsylvania; the Hiatt and Williams families, from Maryland; the Jessops, of North Carolina; and the Mathews, Parker, Horn and Vick



O. S. HIATT.

MRS. O. S. HIATT.

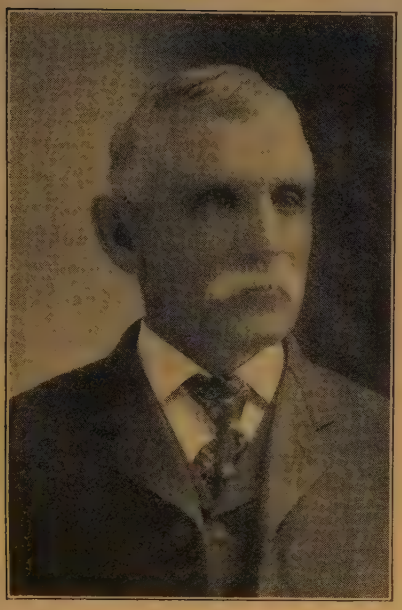
families, of Virginia. Among these ancestors were many who fought in the colonial wars and in the Revolution.

On December 31, 1861, Mr. Hiatt married Mary Eleanor Maris, daughter of Abram Maris and his first wife, Avis Starbuck. Mrs. Hiatt, through her father's line, is descended from George Maris, who came from England to Pennsylvania in 1683, and who for many years was one of the most influential men of the colony in matters of both church and state. In addition to other offices, he was a member of the colonial assembly for nineteen years. It is a curious coincidence that Mr. Hiatt was also descended from this same family, the grandson of the emigrant Henry Willis having married the granddaughter of the emigrant George Maris. Among other Pennsylvania families of Quaker origin from whom

Mrs. Hiatt descended were the Lindleys, Hadleys and Parks. On the maternal side she traces her line to the famous New England families of Starbuck, Coffin, Macy, Gardner, Dagget, Mayhew, Butler, Barnard, Barney, Shattuck, Gayer, North and others numbering among her ancestors several colonial governors, officers in colonial wars, and chief justices. Her maternal great-grandfather, Mathew Starbuck, served with John Paul Jones on the Ranger.

Mr. and Mrs. Hiatt were both educated in Quaker institutions. After leaving Earlham College, Richmond, Ind., Mr. Hiatt completed his education at Haverford College, Philadelphia. In 1866 he removed to Leavenworth county, Kansas. In company with his father-in-law, Abram Maris, Mr. Hiatt had visited the state the year before and had purchased land in the Delaware Indian reserve, ten miles south of the city of Leavenworth. It was there he located and became one of the founders of the village of Fairmount. He at once became interested in the public affairs of the new country, and was appointed justice of the peace in 1867. Early courts were held at his home before the house was completed. He was elected county commissioner in 1869, and held this office until 1873. He was a member of the board that built the first county courthouse of Leavenworth county. In 1879 he was appointed superintendent of Indian schools, at the Osage agency, Pawhuska, I. T., and later held a similar position at the Pawnee agency. He was auditor of Leavenworth county for twelve years, and was a member of the board of directors of the Kansas state penitentiary from 1885 to 1889. He was at all times a prominent figure and nearly always represented his county at state conventions.

Mr. Hiatt was a man of pleasing and dignified appearance, a fine conversationalist, of great executive ability, and a loyal friend. He died at his home at Fairmount, July 15, 1901. He was survived by his widow and two daughters, Effie, wife of Dr. William Russell Van Tuyl, and Mary Eleanor, wife of Dr. Cyrus Decker Lloyd.



JAMES M. YEATES.

SARAH C. M. YEATES.

## JAMES MONROE YEATES.

Contributed by MRS. EFFIE HIATT VAN TUYL, of Leavenworth.

MR. and Mrs. James Monroe Yeates located in Leavenworth county, Kansas, on the Delaware reserve, in 1868. They came from Tuscola, Ill., and Mr. Yeates engaged in agriculture and stock raising. He became one of the prominent stockmen of the West, and was among the first who bought and drove sheep from the Pacific coast to Kansas. He knew every trail across the Rocky Mountains, bringing some years as many as six thousand head of sheep to Kansas City, then shipping them to the Chicago market.

Mr. Yeates was born June 25, 1842, at Bainbridge, Ind. He was the son of William Woodruff Yeates, born 1811, and his wife, Dulcinea Badger Yeates, born 1816. Both were from Kentucky and belonged to old and prominent Kentucky and Virginia families. Mr. Yeates enlisted in Lilly's battery, the Eighteenth Independent battery, July 19, 1862, and was mustered out at Indianapolis, Ind., June 30, 1865. He was one of the fortunate ones, going through the entire Civil War without a wound. He was with his battery when the first shot was fired from Cameron's Point into Chattanooga. He fought at Stone River, Mossy Creek, Hoover's Gap, Dandridge, Chickamauga, Strawberry Plains, Knoxville and Fair Garden. He was at Resaca, Kenesaw, Peach Tree Creek, West Point, Atlanta, Nashville, and was on Wilson's raid in the running fight against Forrest and the remnant of Hood's army. At

one time during the war Lilly's battery formed part of the army corps under General Thomas, and in 1863 it was with Wilder's mounted brigade.

Mr. Yeates had three brothers in the Civil War. William and Thomas J. were in the Fifty-first Indiana infantry, and Henry C. was with the Forty-third.

Upon his return home James M. Yeates was married, February 6, 1866, at Tuscola, Ill., to Sarah Catherine Maris. They had the following children: William, who died in infancy at Tuscola; Wilson Abram, born May 21, 1868; Mary Ada, born September 15, 1870; Caroline Cooper, born August 9, 1876; Dulcenia May, born May 20, 1880; Avis Amanda, born March 8, 1884.

Sarah Catherine Yeates was the daughter of Abram and Avis Starbuck Maris, and a sister of Mrs. Oliver Smith Hiatt. Mrs. Yeates died at Leavenworth in April, 1900. After her death Mr. Yeates moved to Baker, Ore., where he later married Mrs. Ellen V. Riggs. Mr. Yeates has been much interested in the Grand Army of the Republic, and has been commander of the Joe Hooker post No. 20, since 1915. He attended the semicentennial reunion at Chickamauga in 1913, and there met with seven members of Lilly's battery and ninety-one members of Wilder's brigade. Mr. Yeates is a lineal descendant of Jesse Woodruff, who served in the American Revolution in Col. Alexander Spotswood's Second Virginia regiment. He is also a descendant of Joshua Badger, who served in the First New York regiment.

## CAPT. CLAUDIUS KIEFER.

Contributed by MRS. JULIE SPELLMAN, of Oakland, Cal.

CAPT. CLAUDIUS KIEFER was born in Germany in 1832. He came to America in the early 50's, after he had performed his military service in his native country.

He was married in 1852 to Miss Christina Wallich in Cleveland, Ohio, and left that city in 1857 with his family for Wyandotte (now Kansas City), Kan.

Soon after his arrival he was appointed marshal of Wyandotte. Cap-

CAPT. CLAUDIUS KIEFER.

MRS. C. W. KIEFER.

tain Kiefer and Captain Wills conducted a ferry from Wyandotte to Kansas City; that boat was called the *Lizzie*. In 1859 Captain Kiefer moved to Leavenworth, where he followed the carpenter trade until the war broke out. These were trying times. Work and money were scarce and all kinds of produce and wearing apparel were very high. Captain Kiefer enlisted in company B, Eighth Kansas volunteer infantry for three months, and was mustered in September 2, 1861. This regiment was destined to see some of the hardest fighting of the entire war. It was attached to the Third brigade, First division, Twentieth army corps, and later to the First brigade, Third division, Fourth army corps. At the expiration of his term of enlistment Captain Kiefer reënlisted for four years. He was first sergeant of his company until July 21, 1862, when

he was promoted to second lieutenant, and on May 14, 1863, he was made captain.

At Chickamauga, Ga., September 20, 1863, Captain Kiefer was wounded in the knee. On the 3d of August, 1864, in front of Atlanta, Ga., a charge was ordered on the enemy's position, which was only intended to capture the rifle pits. Captain Kiefer, mistaking the order, charged the main position and led his men within eight yards of it, when he was severely wounded, once in the arm and once in the leg, and only retreated when he found he was not supported.

Captain Kiefer was mustered out with his regiment at Fort Leavenworth, January 9, 1866. He then engaged in the grocery and general supply business at the corner of Cheyenne and Seventh streets, Leavenworth city. In 1868 he left Leavenworth with supply wagon trains for Denver, Colo. He died in Elizabethtown, N. M., in December, 1870.

The late Governor Martin, colonel of the eighth Kansas, in speaking of his officers, mentioned Captain Kiefer in the following terms: "He was one of the most gallant and faithful officers of my regiment."

## SOME INGALLS LETTERS.

JOHN JAMES INGALLS was born at Middletown, Mass., December 29, 1833. He was of Puritan stock, and was the firstborn of Elias Theodore Ingalls and his wife, Eliza Chase. He died of bronchitis, at Las Vegas, N. M., August 16, 1900, and is buried at Atchison. By act of the Kansas legislature, his statue was placed in the Hall of Fame at Washington. For eighteen years he represented Kansas in the United States senate—from 1873 to 1891.

Ingalls came to Kansas in his twenty-fifth year. He had graduated from Williams College and had "read" law. He expected to enter on the practice of the law in Kansas. This he actually did in a diffident way. It is the misfortune of man that he must make choice of a calling before he is qualified to best judge of what he is specially fitted for. Ingalls possessed none of the qualities required in the making of a good lawyer. He was an aristocrat by nature, and lacked human sympathy, his disinclination to drudge and dig and toil and his ever-increasing desire to have a part in the broader field of politics dominated his character and wrecked his career as a great advocate.

And while he played a conspicuous part in Kansas politics, his fame must finally rest on his remarkable literary productions—essays and orations.

Sumner, the first home of Ingalls in Kansas, was designed to be a free-state rival to proslavery Atchison, as Quindaro was intended to offset Leavenworth. At least the accomplishment of those ends was made the excuse for the founding of the free-state towns on the Missouri over against the ramparts of border-ruffianism. There were those unkind enough even in those long-gone days to say that the proprietors of those cities in the interest of freedom had no firmer foundation than the interests of speculators and land boomers; and the consequences may be

interpreted as sustaining the malicious mouthings of the faithless ones, for both free-state towns disappeared behind the murky fogs of financial stringency after very brief meteoric careers.

John P. Wheeler was a "red-headed, blue-eyed, consumptive, slim, freckled enthusiast from Massachusetts." He founded Sumner. It might reasonably be supposed that he bestowed its name in honor of the great antislavery leader, Charles Sumner. But not so. George Sumner, the brother of Charles, having some means he hoped to double and multiply, was induced to invest them in this Sumner town project. Perhaps the only return of even the principal which he ever reaped was the bestowal of his name on the fragile and swift-passing monument to New England aspirations and misguided enterprise. It was heralded in Massachusetts as a commercial emporium of no mean proportions. This proclamation was made, it would seem, by means of flaming posters, after that fashion pursued by boomers even of this day. In after years Ingalls felt constrained to write some form of apology for his trailing quest of this intangible mart on the muddy Missouri, in which he characterized it as having been "depicted in a chromatic triumph of lithographed mendacity." And that he realized that he had been "taken in" is evident from the resentment held against "the loquacious embellishments of a lively adventurer who has been laying out town sites and staking off corner lots for some years past in Tophet."

That Ingalls stifled his pride and surmounted his disappointment to that degree which made it possible for him to remain at Sumner was ever a mystery to those who knew him in the days of his power and glory. It can only be explained by recognizing the fact that there were stamina and staying qualities in him that even he knew not of. And most fortunate it was that he had these. For on the classical foundation, carried with him into this then seething wilderness, nature erected a mental equipment the like of which is rarely to be seen in the annals of men. Had he returned to New England—as many another brilliant son of that "stern and rock-bound coast" did—he had returned to obscurity, perhaps oblivion. But he stuck. He stayed. And nature builded his mentality into a shaft which stands alone.

Home ties were ever strong with Ingalls. No sooner had he found a comfortable lodging in the city of his hopes than he began a series of most remarkable letters to his father. Some of them have been preserved. Through the courtesy of his family they were at one time given currency by publication in the Kansas City *Journal*. So vast has become the filings of the modern press that anything embodied in it is buried and forgotten with the quickly passing years. To only the student, the drudge, the digger would these letters ever be accessible in the newspaper files. Their nature requires that they be set more in view and put more in use. To that end they are reproduced here.

SUMNER HOUSE, SUMNER, K. T., Oct. 5, 1858.

DEAR FATHER—My last letter, I think, was dated at St. Louis, just prior to my departure for Jefferson City. I believe I attempted to convey to you some idea of the impression I received from St. Louis, but am quite sure that I failed adequately to do so. The place has such a hasty, unfinished appearance there is such an absence of comfort and propriety, so much filth and poverty; no shade trees in all the dusty streets, and a general look as if the people had no time to be decent and reputable. The streets run from the levee, and are crossed at right angles by others, having deep depressions, for drains, where pigs do mostly congregate, reeking with filth and heavy with malaria. The people themselves say that the place is only fit to make money in. There are no public buildings of note, and no residence worthy of mention save at some miles distant from the city precincts. It was here that I experienced my first feeling of downheartedness and melancholy, and it was with absolute relief that I got in the Pacific railroad train for the West. I forgot to say that all the railroad depots west of Cleveland are meaner than the one in Haverhill, if such a thing were possible.

The route of the railroad lies through a desolate, forlorn, unproductive-looking country, sparsely populated, poorly cultivated, interspersed with unhealthy forests and stagnant expanses of marshy waters.

Boats leave St. Louis every day, and the object of going on the cars is to catch the boat of the preceding day, and thus save thirty-six hours of river navigation.

We had reached Herman, a town on the Missouri about eighty miles from St. Louis, when the conductor told us we had reached our steamer and could get on board at that point instead of Jefferson City if we chose. As this gave us a good opportunity to secure state rooms and get on board besides, in case of detention, many of the passengers availed themselves of the chance with great alacrity. I jumped from the car into a culvert, incumbered with cane, shawl, carpetbag and overcoat, but soon extricated myself by the glare of two iron baskets filled with burning pine knots and rosin, which illuminated the dark forest where we had stopped, and cast a lurid light far over the wide waters of the stream upon whose shore the steamer lay.

The bank was very rocky and precipitous, incumbered with stumps and stones, down which we hastened in most amusing confusion. I reached the bottom in safety, but a gentleman behind me, treading upon a treacherous stone, sat down with some force upon a paper hat box which he carried, flattening box and contents to the thickness of one's hand. His remarks upon this occasion were very terse, but forcible. The night fairly corruscated with profanity. The ladies fared worse than the men, but the procession soon reached the *Duncan S. Carter,* and was followed by the baggage borne on the shoulders of negroes. After a delay of half an hour the train went on and we steamed slowly up the river.

The external appearance of a river steamboat is accurately given in the pictures which have been so familiar to us all in geographies and illustrated periodicals. The draught is very light, and the engines are

visible on an open deck, above which are the saloons and offices. The *Duncan S. Carter* is 230 feet long, and draws, when freighted, three feet of water; has accommodations for 300 passengers and 1,000 tons of freight. The saloons are brilliant with tawdry paint and finery, cheap as shingles and gaudy as a subterranean cook shop.

My stateroom was directly over the engines and close by the escape pipe; the thin partitions were painful with heat and resonant with a thousand discordant sounds. My first night on board (Wednesday) was a novelty, and I sat upon the guards an hour or two, smoking and trying to discern the dusky stream, whose very name is a drama; that stream of which I had so often dreamed, but which I could not see even when I was for the first time upon its mighty waters. I wandered around the boat after bribing some supper of the steward, looking at the roaring fires beneath the engines, the wretched crowds of ragged emigrants on the lower deck, the mothers nursing their offspring with all the placid, serene, unconsciousness of a cow when performing the same function, and the thousand novelties which distinguished the scene from anything I had ever seen before. It was late when I retired, groping my way through the ranks of sleepers on the cabin floor; and the last sounds I heard were the sighs of exiled sleepers, dreaming, perchance, of those delights they could never know again, and the clinking money and curses of the gamblers, who played day and night during an entire passage. The moon had just risen, and as I looked from the window was silvering the broad and turbid wave of the Missouri, as I knew it was the calm, untroubled Merrimac so many hundred miles away.

I am wrong in speaking of the last sounds I heard. They were less poetical. There was a perfect pandemonium of sound. The dull thunder of the paddles, the rattling of the tiller chains, which ran directly over my head; the trembling of the boat, the panting roar of the escaping steam, which was so near I could almost detect the metamorphosis of water into force, and the dull "thud" which brought everything up standing as we occasionally ran aground. I was almost parboiled during the night, and can no longer doubt the great power of the human frame to resist heat.

I was up early in the morning, and found we had made five miles since leaving the cars, the water being very low and the channel shifting so constantly that it has to be picked out a large part of the way by two men with sounding leads, standing on either side of the bows, who report the results of their investigations in a monotonous tone to the man at the wheel. The position of pilot is very lucrative indeed, their wages varying from $150 to $1,000 per month, according to their familiarity with the river.

I was somewhat disappointed in my first impressions of the river by daylight. It does not seem so wide as I had anticipated, and its surface is always broken by snags and dirty bars of gray, unclean-looking sand. The current is strong and the water muddier than I ever saw the Merrimac during the spring freshets, but they call it very pure now, as it is so low. It is used for drinking and cooking purposes, though a tumbler of it left standing overnight will deposit a sediment half an inch thick, and

then even look like a strong lemonade. It is considered very healthy, being charged with clay and silex, and yielding no vegetable matter upon the most rigid analysis.

The agent told me that I would reach my destination in forty-eight hours from St. Louis, and I may as well in this place add my humble tribute to the mass of testimony upon the subject of the lying and thieving propensities of those persons with whom travelers are brought in contact. I have been subjected at almost every mile to some pecuniary exaction, to which resistance was useless, and beside which the profession of a handkerchief thief would be an occupation for a gentleman, and every statement made has been a lie so preposterous that it was its own refutation, till credulity itself is amazed at the mendacity which seems to have no object, and the misrepresentation which defeats itself. Life in a Missouri steamer is excessively tiresome, and I do not wonder at the gambling which has become proverbial.

At 6:30 the first breakfast gong sounds, the beds are taken from the floor and the tables elongated and spread. The frowsy, dirty passengers emerge from their berths and rush to the washroom to perform their ablutions in water dirtier than any I ever saw thrown away before. At seven the gong again sounds, and the hungry wretches devour greasy meats and chicory coffee for about five minutes, and then smoke, gamble and read novels till dinner at one; and then smoke, gamble and read novels till supper at six; and then smoke, gamble and read novels till bedtime, and *de capite.*

We were due at Jefferson City at ten p. m. Wednesday and reached it at eight p. m. Thursday. The capitol is a very imposing building and shows finely till near at hand, when it dwindles into a shabby structure of crumbling brick. Night after night and day after day we struggled up the stream, occasionally stopping at some small wayside town to let off a passenger or a barrel of whisky, though for the most of the way the route lay through an unbroken forest. This was at first inspiring, but at last became unspeakably tedious. Vista after vista opened and receded, and nothing but a wall of cottonwood trees on each side and the muddy, troubled stream before and behind. It gave me a feeling like being in a prison from which there was no means of escape. No distant hills, no clearings, no houses, nothing but cottonwood trees and flats on one side and flats and cottonwood trees on the other. The time grew inexpressibly long, and I could hardy remember that I had ever been anywhere else. The shores of the river are very peculiar, being about twelve or fifteen feet high and nearly as steep as a wharf. In many cases the strata are tinged with a reddish hue, looking like a wall of ruined masonry, with crumbling bastions and falling ramparts, an effect which was heightened by the trailing vines which hang down over them and draggle in the muddy wave. The boats run close to this levee and land their freight and passengers over wooden stages run from the lower deck. Every few miles they are obliged to "wood up" from the long piles of combustible, which are sold at "$2 per cord," as some horrid hieroglyphics painted with the smoke of a pine knot on a piece of bark inform the passers-by. Sometimes we took a flatboat in tow,

and unloaded as we went on. The quantity burned is enormous, amounting to 200 cords in a single trip, as I am informed.

The weather during these long days was truly incomparable. A sweet, Italian Indian summer haze and drowsiness clothed the distance, out of which we sailed and into which we sailed unceasingly. I was never tired of that quiet, dreamy beauty.

Upon reaching the confines of Kansas the scenery became more diversified, the botton lands grew narrower, revealing the bluffs beyond, while in many cases the "bluffs" themselves started immediately from the shore, clad in all the wild garniture of rock and wood. Towns also grew more frequent, and I improved an hour of transfer at Kansas City on Sunday morning by walking about that town, which has quite a New England look of thrift and business.

There is one curious fact about the currency here, and that is that nothing smaller than five-cent piece is in circulation. A cent they call a "Cincinnati doubloon" and a three-cent bit is totally disregarded.

The language is strong and peculiar. A very respectable man in appearance, speaking to another on the boat, expressed his belief that he could thrash him in this way: "I allow that I could clean you out quicker than greased lightning would pass a funeral."

On Sunday night the captain said we would reach Sumner about one o'clock Monday morning, but knowing that everybody this way was a liar, I went to bed in perfect peace and arose to breakfast at the usual hour, still ten miles below Sumner. About 8:30 the walls of that delectable city came in sight, and precisely at 9 a. m. (10:30 by Haverhill time) I landed on the levee at "Sumner."

As the mail is about to close, and as I am somewhat tired of writing, I will reserve an account of my impressions of "Sumner" for a future letter, to be written in a day or two. I am quite well and not at all despondent. With regards to all the family, very truly your son. J. J. I.

Sumner, K. T., 10:34 a. m. Oct. 5, 1858.

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SUMNER HOUSE, SUMNER, K. T., Oct. 5, 1858.

DEAR FATHER—I closed my letter this morning rather abruptly to catch the mail, having just landed myself in the Promised Land, supposed to be flowing with milk and honey. My notions never having been particularly exaggerated, I was not surprised at not finding a Boston or New York. Mr. Wheeler had not arrived, and I proceeded at once to the hotel, from which my letter is dated, a house whose floors are as destitute of carpets as its walls are of paper or its table of decency. It is quite a large building—resembles its representation in the lithographic fiction which was shown me more nearly than any other feature of the "city." The two lower stories only are completed, the upper being merely lathed, and if guests choose to take one of those a reduction of $1 per week is made in his bill, the price then being $4 instead of $5 per week. It is a rude, unfinished structure, with no pretensions to comfort or convenience. It is situated at the summit of the "bluff" on which the "city" is located, and is reached by a rude street of the most preposterous grade imagin-

able. It is immensely steep; more like the roof of a house than anything else I can compare it to, and so gullied with rains, so interspersed with rocks and the stumps of trees, in many cases several feet high, that a New Hampshire teamster of ordinary temerity would shun the task of traversing it. The few carts that go down invariably descend with chained wheels.

This is the only street in the place which has any pretension to a grade, the others being merely footpaths leading up and down the wild ravines to the few log huts and miserable cabins which compose the city. None of the premises are fenced, the whole place being open to the incursions of dogs and pigs, which exist in large numbers, and seem, in fact, to constitute the greater amount of the population.

It was election day yesterday, and of course I had an excellent chance to see the inhabitants and judge of their character and condition. They appeared without any exception to be a shabby, ill-dressed, unthrifty people, most like the inhabitants of the Irish quarter of a large city, wearing upon their countenances a look of ill-concealed discontent akin to despair—as if written over their hearts was the legend fabled by the Italian poet to be inscribed above the gates of hell: "All hope abandon ye who enter here." There are no churches in the place, instead of four, as was represented to me. No respectable residences; no society; no women except a few woebegone, desolate-looking old creatures; no mechanical activity; nothing which would seem to indicate a large and intelligent energy; no schools, no children; nothing but the total reverse of the picture which was presented to me. On the engraved romance a "college" was imagined, of which no person here of whom I have inquired has even so much as heard the idea advanced. There was also a large and elaborate machine shop, whose actual locality is covered by a rickety old blacksmith's shop, carried on by a decrepit nigger.

I did not anticipate the clean and healthy thrift of a New England village, nor the noisy splendor of a metropolis, but I am quite unable to convey to you any definite idea of the disappointment, not unmingled with anger and mortification, with which I contemplate the state of affairs here. I wish I could give you a photograph of the place, but a new western village is truly indescribable in language. It can only be compared to itself. There are perhaps 200 houses here, twenty or thirty of which are visible from any one point, some without windows and doors, some without chimneys, some without shingles or clapboards, nearly all without cellars, and situated on heaps of stones or stumps of old trees, and distributed without any regard to order or regularity. It is so unlike anything I ever saw or dreamed of that I am not yet prepared to say whether I shall like it or not. My ideas must change somewhat first.

There is apparently no trade, no commercial exchange with other states or other parts of the territory, no commission business; no reshipment or forwarding, and the few small grocery shops seem to contain only those articles demanded by a wretched and destitute population.

Half a mile back of the "bluff" the country expands into an undulating prairie, well watered and somewhat heavily timbered. I walked to the breezy summit of one of the highest swells yesterday, and could hardly

think, except with a strong effort of memory, that I was in Kanzas. Before me flowed the muddy Missouri, choked with sand and snags, beyond which spread the heavily wooded "bottom" several miles in width, to the forest-covered bluffs which limited the eastern horizon. On either hand were the hither shores of the river and the cabins of "Sumner," while westward extended the vast grassy spaces, unfenced and unpeopled, scarred with a few gray wagon trails, till the eye could no longer comprehend it in the autumn-tinted distance.

I have made some very pleasant acquaintances since I left home. One gentleman from St. Louis in particular, whom I met upon the boat and was with two days, till he landed for a tour through the wilds of Missouri, from whom I parted with sincere regret. There was also on the boat a young fellow with whom I conversed nearly an entire day, not knowing his name, till he mentioned the place where he resided, when I asked him if he knew one of my old classmates who used to live there. To my surprise it proved to be his brother. He was traveling with his father, a gentleman high in the legal profession in New York, to whom he introduced me, and through him I obtained an introduction to Judge Johnson,[1] of Leavenworth, with whom I had a long conversation on matters in Kanzas.

He told me, as all with whom I have spoken have done, that everything is dead here in the winter; there is no business doing and a great many go East to remain till spring. What is best for me to do under the circumstances I do not know—whether to stay here and get posted in the laws, earning nothing meantime, or return East for a few months. My own choice would be decidedly the former, if I could support myself. I like the climate, and fancy that I feel better than I have before for many months, though that may be attributable to the excitement and change of travel.

There is no money in the territory, though the postponement of the land sales has had the effect of easing the stringency somewhat but the emigration last spring was all of a particularly poor description, owing to the financial troubles of the preceding autumn; they brought no money, and consequently did not improve affairs at all. It is thought that the emigration of the succeeding season will be of a better class, and great hopes are entertained for the ensuing year.

The gold fever sems to be rapidly subsiding. The papers in the territory discountenance it, whether because its continuance tends to depopulate the shore towns or because there is really no gold at Pike's Peak is not fully settled. Parties are leaving some point on the river daily; one left this place a few days ago. The distance is about 700 miles, through a country of polar sterility, infested by tribes of hostile Indians.

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1. Probably David J. Johnson, who had gone to Leavenworth from his native state of Georgia in the fall of 1854. He was a man of brilliant mind and a successful lawyer, and though his sympathies were proslavery, he was tolerant in his attitude toward free-state people.

SUMNER HOUSE, SUMNER, K. T.
WEDNESDAY MORNING, Oct. 6, 1858.

Two weeks ago to-day that I left home. It seems nearer two years. The weather, which since I landed has been dull, gloomy and lowering, like an eastern "sea tum," this morning is clear, cool, bright and invigorating. Even the muddy Missouri appears like a new stream and the forests have a nice eastern look which I have not seen before. Life presents itself in new aspects since I have fairly realized where I am and what I am here for. It seems more difficult and uncertain. I look at the future with apprehension, rather than the exultation with which I imagined I should welcome the struggle. I am quite sure, however, that the discipline is what I need to develop—that part of my character which has not hitherto been called into exercise—and it remains to be proved whether there is any heroic stuff in my mold and whether or not in my hunger after the western horizon I have eaten my own happiness.

In a matured and perfected civilization there is much that is superfluous; how much I was never fully aware before, though I presume there are many experiences in Haverhill which would far excel mine in Kanzas.

There are some good points above this on the river which I contemplate examining before I fully decide upon my location. The Hannibal & St. Joe railroad will be completed in four months at the fartherest, and will effect a great change in the present relative importance of towns. I am only staying here now to see Mr. Wheeler.

I will write again in a few days. With regards to all the family, very truly, your son, J. J. I.

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SUMNER, K. T., Sunday, Oct. 24, 1858.

DEAR FATHER—In a letter which I wrote mother last week I mentioned my books among other things which I would like sent on. I have since thought it to be better to leave them where they are for the present. Freights are so very high and the articles themselves are so bulky and cumbersome that the inconvenience and care they would occasion me would not be overborne by any advantage I should just now derive from them. I don't care to be anchored anywhere, and much baggage does that effectually.

Being once fairly embarked, I am ready for any movement which gives promise of success. Gold digging is all the talk here now. The Pike's Peak fever rages high. I saw a man direct from the diggings shortly since, who reports that from $8 to $30 per day can be made by hand washing, with no machinery. If these rumors are true, and the gold deposits are extensive, which seems probable, next spring will see an emigration which will make Kansas a second California. Calculations are being made for a great rush. I have several chances for business if I see fit to go into trade, and am at present uncertain whether to do so or to adhere to law, or combine the two. Meanwhile the law business opens very well. I argued my first case here yesterday, and, being the only free-state lawyer in the county, can undoubtedly build up quite a practice. The standard of practitioners is extremely

moderate, and whether it was a consciousness of that fact or the removal of the Haverhill incubus, I cannot say, but I felt a freedom and self-command never experienced before. It seemed perfectly easy to badger and wind up a witness, to throw blocks in the path of counsel, and to confuse the court with the most remarkable points of law, and the argument was the easiest of all. The case was one in which a German had been sued by a doctor for a most exorbitant bill, of which I got the greater part disallowed. The Dutchman's gratitude was profuse in words, but he had no dimes, and I am consequently as poor as ever. I am engaged in two or three more, and hope to begin to realize soon.

One remarkable feature in the social condition here is a total disregard of the Sabbath; perhaps because there are no churches. No change of dress or manner indicates the advent of holy time, and the most of the citizens employ the day in hunting prairie chickens or ducks and geese over in the Missouri bottoms. I went up to Atchison, the headquarters of border ruffians, last Sunday, on a boat which was carrying lumber, to improve the time, in hopes of finding an Episcopal church, having understood that one was organized there. I was unsuccessful in my search, and was surprised to find the shops all open, whisky shops full of cursing Democrats, and the click of billiard balls and the dull thunder of tenpin alleys mingling with the nasal notes of a Hardshell Baptist preacher, who was holding forth in a small upper room directly over the same.

The climate here is inexpressibly fine—the days of that happy medium between hot and cold which combines the attractions of both, and the nights as bland and beautiful as June. To-day a furious easterly storm is raging, but instead of that cold, harsh, benumbing wind which drives the blood from the surface, hindering the circulation and making the secretions dull and sluggish at home, it is more like a violent summer shower. The worst feature is the mud. Kansas mud is incomparable; in the mud line it is a perfect triumph—slippery as lard, adhesive as tar, cumulative as a miser's gold, and treacherous as hope, it forms a compound unique and peculiar that defies description. There are three colors—black, red and clay, differing in no respect except chromatically. It sticketh closer than a brother, entering every crevice, and then accumulating in varied laminæ and strata, many shaped and many colored, that can neither be kicked off nor scraped off, nor in any way avoided. It dries as hard as a mortar wall. A brush glides over it as it would a lapstone or the Farnese Hercules, leaving a hammer and an old case-knife the only resource. The usual method of cleaning boots here is to take them by the straps and bang them against a brick wall. It is quite efficacious, the only objection being that the process would soon bury the house as effectually as Vesuvius did the city of Pompeii. I have an idea that they might be put in a large vat and boiled with great success, the notion having been suggested to me by the fact that our drinking water here looks and tastes very much as if the operation had been performed in it. With much regard to all the family, very truly, your son,

J. J. I.

SUMNER, KAS., Friday, Nov. 5, 1858.

DEAR FATHER—The city of St. Joe, instead of being directly opposite this place, as suggested in your letter of the 15th inst., is about eighteen miles north in an air line and thirty-five by the river. The immediate vicinage of a large and long-established place, however, would be detrimental rather than advantageous, I think, as Elwood, in this territory, occupies the same position in regard to St. Joe that you attributed to Sumner, and is one of the slowest places in the West. The opposite shore of the Missouri here, as far as the eye can reach, which is several miles in each direction, is a dense, unbroken growth of forest, with only one house visible in the whole expanse, and that a small cabin immediately upon the bank of the river. My window is just about on the level with the tops of the cottonwood trees which cover the "bottom," and I look over them, as over a table, to the "bluffs" three miles distant, which are clothed with maple, beech, oak, and other varieties of eastern woods. The scene is monotonous but not without its relieving lights and shadows. Nature is fond of compensations.

It gives me pleasure to find that I have no need to import my friends. I have met with nothing but kindness and good will in the whole course of my recent experience. Perhaps it arises from the fact that I am the only free-state lawyer in the county—a county which was, and still is, the focus of border-ruffianism and proslavery propagandism. I am gradually working into business, and seem to see a good prospect ahead. Men of education and ability are scarce and in demand. Offices are filled by dolts, and posts of honor and profit by irresponsible persons, because there are more positions than there are worthy candidates. As the gentleman wrote to his ambitious friend in Illinois, "There is an excellent chance for you, for very mean men get into office out here."

The great difficulty at present is a want of money. There seems to be almost no currency at all, and how people live is a mystery to me. Some building is in progress, but improvements generally are at a standstill, and a great many laborers consequently thrown out of wages. In one instance it was worse than a standstill, a newly erected brick store on the levee having tumbled into a ruin, which needs only the attraction of moonlight and climbing ivy to be quite romantic. Out of one client I get a desk made for my office; out of another, a tailor, I get my old cloak manufactured into an excellent sack coat, which is the most extraordinary of garments for comfort, if nothing more.

Game of all kinds is very abundant. Two wild turkeys were shot from the dining room window a day or two since, and we had them cooked for dinner. Their flesh, though tender and of fine fiber, has not as much richness and delicacy as our domestic fowl. The defect may, perhaps, be in part attributable to the cooking. Wild ducks and geese come stringing across the clouds every hour; prairie chickens walk round the paths in search of food; a deer was killed crossing the river a short time since; and a she grey wolf as large as a mastiff poked its gaunt head into a kitchen door and then escaped before the inmates could send a bullet after her. There is a singular absence of many of those articles here which I supposed would be very plenty, such as milk, butter, cheese and fruit.

They are all scarce and dear. The cows are branded and belled and turned loose upon the unfenced prairie, to be reclaimed only when the owner wants some beef. It seems a little curious that milk should be 12 cents a quart, butter 40 and 50 cents per pound, when hay and pasture can be had for the taking. New England farmers soon lose their characteristics in this paradise of indolence. My latest dates from the East are October 23. With regards to all, very truly, your son, J. J. I.

November 6.

I was chosen president of a political meeting last evening and am to attend the territorial convention at Lawrence next week. J. J. I.

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SUMNER, K. T., Nov. 17, 1858.

DEAR FATHER—I sent you a letter day before yesterday, I think, and one to Moms yesterday. The mails are somewhat tedious, but not absolutely unsafe, so far as I can ascertain. Letters are seldom lost, though frequently delayed to a most unreasonable time. I did not go to Lawrence as I anticipated. The weather was rather bad and I somewhat unwell. It happened quite fortunately that the convention adjourned subject to the action of the executive committee, without transacting any business whatever. The two subjects proposed were to consult whether the Free-state party should go into a distinctive Republican organization at once, and whether immediate steps should be taken to gain admission into the Union as a state. I think the public sentiment is negative on both these points. Some parties are quite anxious for speedy admission from the fact that measures are actually on foot to secure the division of Kansas into two parts—the western, containing Pike's and Spanish Peaks, with their treasures of gold, to be organized into a new territory, in which the old struggle between freedom and slavery may be renewed. That it will ultimately be separated there can be no doubt. It is 700 miles long—an impracticable distance through which to transmit the feeble vitality of a state government.

The reports from Pike's Peak continue favorable. Parties report gold in abundance, plenty of water, large forests of white pine, and a climate temperate and healthy. The prospect of large and wealthy emigration is good. About the last of December and January the eastern papers will begin to be flooded with letters and suggestions from the West as a stimulus to emigration. I see the workings of the machinery well here and am urged to put my shoulder to the wheel.

Colonel Phillips, of Fitchburg, president of some railroad thereabouts, and a man of money, who has been here several days, has just left for Boston via Hannibal & St. Joe railroad. If you have an opportunity I wish you would see him and get his ideas upon the state of things here. He is a sagacious man and thinks exactly as I do about the West. He took rather a liking to me, I think, and communicated with me at considerable length upon confidential matters of business between himself and parties here and elsewhere.

The weather continues clear, dry and cold; the temperature is low, but does not seem nearly as severe as the same degree in New England, the

air is so very bright and dry. Several little flurries of snow have fallen, just enough to mark the winding trails of the wagon paths over the melancholy brown expanse of the prairie. The grass is burning in all directions, and by night has a peculiarly wild and grand appearance from the hills to the westward, illustrating with its somber and lurid light the desolate leagues along the horizon. Last night it was peculiarly fine, the moon frosting the upper clouds with pallid silver, while beneath, their fleecy shapes were drenched and saturated with a bloody glare. With regards to all the family, in haste, but very truly, your son, J. J. I.

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SECRETARY'S OFFICE OF THE SUMNER COMPANY,
SUMNER, KAS., Dec. 12, 1858.
Friday Evening.

DEAR FATHER—Since I last wrote the Sumner Company has had a meeting and effected material changes in the board of control, and developed a new line of policy, which must have important bearings upon the future prosperity of the place.

Mr. Wheeler has been elected president, and Mr. Lewis, a young man of wealth and business capacity, by birth a Pennsylvanian, chosen to fill the vacancy produced by Mr. W.'s elevation. The treasury is in its old hands. Mr. Harsh is a Leavenworth banker, originally from Ohio, of large means and extended experience, and one of the best financiers in the territory.

A large distribution of lots is to be made immediately, the debts of the company discharged, improvements perfected, and the whole project urged forward with all the energy possible. The immediate organization of the place under a city charter, which I am busily engaged in drafting, will lend renewed impetus and give birth to a local pride, which is now wanting in a degree. Better than all this, definite negotiations have been completed with Hockaday, Burr & Co., by which the Salt Lake mails and government trains for Utah are to start from Sumner, subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Interior. The matter is definitely before the department at Washington, and the parties have agreed to meet there about the 1st of January and perfect the arrangements. The importance of this item cannot be overestimated, as it will give rise to an actual disbursement in the place of several hundred thousand dollars, besides creating new branches of business and making this one of the most important points upon the river.

The means by which all these things are engineered are quite entertaining to a novice like myself, having as I do every opportunity to observe the workings of the machinery. As this latter affair is not an entire certainty as yet, it may be well not to mention it as such, though the prospect is a very excellent one.

I have neglected to ask you in my previous letters if you were aware of the process by which these western towns are built and the *modus operandi* therein? It is interesting and a singular commentary on the audacious enterprise of the age. I sometimes wonder if the Plymouth Company and the Massachusetts Bay Company of two or three centuries

ago were organized like these western corporations. We may become historical yet.

The weather is beautiful. The temperature has moderated to an invigorating mildness, the light snow is rapidly disappearing beneath the combined influence of the sun, wind and "jumpers," which last are a rude attempt to realize the idea conveyed to the mind of a civilized being by the term "sleigh." Upon two long poles, which serve for shafts and runners, a rough framework is erected, upon which a crate or dry-goods box is dangerously situated. The horses here being mostly unused to anything but the saddle, plunge and run furiously in harness, whereby a gallop over the prairie in a "jumper" is dangerous enough to be very exciting.

There is a singular peculiarity about the winds here. They blow with a steady, unbroken trade-wind regularity, deprived of the blasts and gusts to which we are accustomed by the seaboard.

Everything in a business way continues dead—very little if any activity in real estate, just trade enough to meet the demands of the stomach. Everybody waiting "till spring opens" and emigration sets in. I have got business enough on hand to yield me $200 or $300 sometime, but it is no use to take any steps at present.

I am recovering from the effects of my exposure the other day, without serious inconvenience.

With regards to all at home,

Very truly your son, JOHN JAMES INGALLS.

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SUMNER, K. T., December 22, 1858.

DEAR FATHER—Your letter of 7th inst., advising me of the forwarding of the books, etc., on the 4th, came duly to hand yesterday. I have written to Fifield, ordering the same sent on at once. They should have been sent to Leavenworth, as the express runs to that place all winter. St. Louis is not very "near by," as you suggest. Letters and packages come from Boston to St. Louis in about four days, and from there here in from eight to ten, so that the distance is only little more than one-third, so far as time is concerned. The real distance is by river about 550 miles; by land something less.

Last evening I had the honor of presenting to the citizens a draft of a charter for the city of Sumner, which is to be engineered through the next legislature. It met with their approbation, as it could not well otherwise do, inasmuch as none of them knew anything about such things, and I read it with such immense rapidity that one section must have been erased from their memory by the incursion of the next. The charter is short, and as simple in its provisions as is consistent with working capacity. No officers salaried at present; nothing for ornament and everything for utility. After examining several charters and consulting various gentlemen in their respective cities, we adopted the last city charter of Lawrence as the basis of our own. It was a laborious, thankless job, and I am glad it is done. I have secured myself from any participation in the trouble of organizing by inserting a provision that no person shall be eligible to election to any office unless he shall have resided in the territory at least six months next preceding the election.

The Pike's Peak fever rages furiously here, and parties are organizing in all parts for emigrating early in the spring. They are getting up a company here, in which they agree to transport and feed persons to the gold-bearing region at the moderate price of $50 per head. The trip will take from twenty to thirty days. One party started in January with provisions and goods to take advantage of the needs of the early emigrants. The papers are filled with letters and reports, many of them bearing evidence of their fabrication in the names which purport to authenticate them. There are some most unscrupulous endeavors being made to influence the travel to the different points. How much is truth and how much is fiction it is impossible now to determine.

The weather continues very pleasant, but extremely muddy. My health is good, the only discomfort to which I am subjected physically being the toothache, which annoys me at the most unseasonable hours. Not having slept much for a night or two, nor eaten much in several days, I trust you will excuse the negligence of this letter, and believe me, with regards to all at home, Very truly, your son, J. J. I.

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LAWRENCE, K. T., January 2, 1859.

DEAR FATHER—I left Sumner for this place on Friday p. m. at three o'clock, via Leavenworth. We did not reach the latter place till nine in the evening, after six hours of the most intolerable locomotion I ever experienced. The coaches are constructed with special reference to safety in passing over corduroy roads, through sloughs and ravines, having no regard whatever to the comfort of the passengers. They are built on the same plan as a carryall, with open sides and no back to the seats. The roads are extremely bad, ice alternating with mud, and the whole spiced with bodily contusions and much bad language on the part of worldly-minded freight.

There is no snow at all on the prairie and but very little in the wooded bottoms.

I endeavored, in one of my letters to Morris, to convey to you some idea of the appearance of the country between Sumner and Leavenworth, so that I need not repeat the description here. We had one rather amusing adventure on the road after dark, which is quite characteristic of the territory. A part of the road runs directly through a man's claim and is fenced on both sides, making what they here call a "lane." Not affording the latitude of travel which the other parts of the prairie allow, they are always badly cut up and very heavy, so that travelers take down the fences and go through the fields when it is possible. Through the fence I speak of there is a gate near each end, and it being after dark, the driver thought he would attempt the passage, though the proprietor had once before told him he would shoot him if he ever went through his lands again. The gate squeaked on its hinges and closed behind us as we dragged slowly through the sodden grass. And after about a half mile's progress upon arriving at the other gate we found it chained and locked! Here was a quandary. To go back was very distasteful; to take down the fence was impossible, and the proprietor's

house was but a few rods distant, and the noise would alarm him. I suggested prying it from its hinges and swinging it 'round upon the chain. With the help of a rail this was done, and we were just through when the owner appeared with a big dog and big oaths, bent on deeds of valor. Some pistols were cocked on both sides, but the matter was arranged, and we got on our way.

Leavenworth is increasing with fabulous rapidity. It has already about 10,000 inhabitants and will undoubtedly be the great point in Kansas.

Descending into the city at night from the north one is conscious of that indefinable sensation which indicates the neighborhood of masses of men. The irregular, serrated outline along the dim horizon, the scattered lights, the stir, the impulse—all are here.

Since Christmas, a week yesterday, there have been five murders in the city limits, all of the worst description, in the worst places. Remaining overnight at the Planters' House, I started at seven yesterday a. m. for Lawrence. From Leavenworth to Lawrence is thirty-five miles, which we accomplished with three relays of horses in ten hours—three and a half miles per hour—the best commentary on the state of the roads which can be given. There are not more than half a dozen houses on the entire route, and not a tree for the central twenty-five miles. I never suffered more from hunger in my life. I had taken a little cracker and cheese, but the oxygen of the prairie wind soon burned it up and created an urgent demand for more. The country is undulating prairie, with occasional roads of inky blackness, winding through the ruddy distance, or lost, absorbed in the deeper blackness of the hills, which had been recently burned by the annual fires. The well-trodden paths, vanishing through the vast unfenced and apparently uninhabited expanse, left a singular impression upon my mind, as if there was something wrong about it. The treacherous tricklings of the "divides" made an inevitable slough every mile or two, swollen by sudden rains, with inundations which interrupt travel for days. The soil is so compact that it sheds nearly all its moisture. Brick is made from the surface dirt everywhere through the country.

Most of the land between the two cities is the property of the Delaware Indians, the remnant of which tribe, now about 950 in number, still dwell here in rude huts and live a life of indolent degradation. Government gives them $100 each per year—enough to keep them drunk nearly all the time. Many of them were just returning from a New Year's spree as we passed along. They dress in many colors and ride small ponies of peculiar breed, which are highly valued for their good disposition and great endurance.

Four miles from Lawrence the road leaves the high prairie and enters the Kaw bottom, a soil of unrivaled fertility, streaked with patches of deformed, haggard-looking trees. The grass is from four to six feet high, and the narrow road runs through it like a path through a field of standing rye.

The "Kaw" or "Kansas" river is about half the width of the Merrimac at Haverhill. It is a somber, dismal-looking stream, swift and treacher-

ous, overhung with savage growths on its precipitous shores. It is crossed by a swing ferry, a queer contrivance, in which the river furnished the motive power.

The town is situated upon the southern bank and presents a mean, slender appearance from the river. The site is as level as a floor, surrounded by an amphitheater of hills at the distance of a half mile from the river on the north, but opening on the south and west to the old prairie level.

This morning I visted "Mt. Oread," on the top of which stands the old free-state fort—a rough, irregular structure of shelvy limestone, four feet high, with embrasures for cannon on three sides The prospect is one of the most enchanting I ever beheld. It has several bold features which landscapes here generally lack—some spurs and sudden elevations which disturb the monotony and relieve the eye. "Blue Mound," in the southwest, visible fifteen miles, rises abruptly like an island from the sea. The horizon in that direction is limited by a line of timber which marks the course of the Wakarusa, a tributary of the Kaw. Lawrence was at first called "Wakarusa," but some one who had a genius for investigation discovered that in the original the apparently romantic name had a significance which I can only properly paraphrase by the term "hip deep," in consequence of which the appellation was abandoned for the present term.

There are some good residences in the town, some fair business blocks, and the best hotel west of the Ohio. It is called the "Eldridge House," after its proprietor, and was opened on Friday evening by a New Year's inauguration ball. It is built of brick, with all the appointments of a first-class house, and cost $75,000. It seems to me that it must prove a ruinous speculation, but everything in Kansas is a run for luck.

I attended church this morning, for the first time since I came into the territory. There was as much style and fashion in the audience as would be seen in an eastern city. B. F. Dalton and wife, of Boston notoriety, were pointed out to me. You are aware, doubtless, that this is one of the most celebrated places in Kansas, historically, and the sufferings and sacrifices of its early settlers are too familiar to need repetition here.

It may interest you to know that I am here as a "lobby" member of the legislature, the session of which commences on Tuesday next. Many of the members are on the ground, rolling logs and pulling wires. They are compelled to meet at Lecompton, twelve miles west, but will immediately adjourn to this place. I am seeing to the "Sumner City charter" and getting up a "Pike's Peak Express Company," which will cost nothing and probably be a very valuable franchise. I am to be one of the corporate members. I can have a clerkship in the house if I choose to remain through the session, but hardly think I shall stay.

I had a long conversation last evening with a miner who left Pike's Peak on the 22d of November. He showed me specimens of gold and described the country as well wooded and watered, free from disease, and temperate in climate. The fever runs high here. There will undoubtedly

be 100,000 people there in eight months from this time. Companies are organizing in all directions. Two large trains of goods start from here in a few days to be ready for the opening trade. I received a letter from Mr. Morris last week, but do not hear from home very regularly. With much regard to all the family, in haste, but very truly, your son, J. J. I.

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SENATE CHAMBER, LAWRENCE, KAS., Feb. 11, 1859.

DEAR FATHER—The legislative farce closes to-day in a most inopportune storm of snow, the only really disagreeable weather we have had since the session commenced. It is peculiarly unfortunate for me also, inasmuch as I sent for a team to come down across the country and take me back to Sumner, and the ride will be intensely uncomfortable over the bleak, snowy prairie fifty miles, with only one small village on the entire route.

The work done by the assembly has been varied and extensive. The bill abolishing slavery was finally passed, but too late to avoid the veto of Governor Medary. He has three days in which to consider a bill, and the one in question was only carried after a spirited and angry debate about midnight on Tuesday. The governor declined to receive it officially when it was handed to him, as the legislature had adjourned, so that the three days would, unfortunately, carry it to Saturday morning at nine o'clock.

I shall receive $5 per day instead of $3, owing to the kindness of the body whom I have the honor to serve so acceptably, which will give me $200 clear for my six weeks' work, my board being paid by a draft on the proprietors of the paper in New York for which I have been corresponding. A bill has been passed funding the debt of the territory. Bonds will be immediately issued, payable in New York in 1865, with interest at the rate of 10 per cent. If I had the money I would buy a few hundred dollars of scrip, as it can be purchased of needy holders who want the money to pay their board, at a handsome discount. In haste, but very truly your son, JOHN JAMES INGALLS.

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SUMNER, K. T., Feb. 16, 1859.

DEAR FATHER—I reached home day before yesterday, after a somewhat adventurous ride of two days from Lawrence, across the country, which I have not time now to detail. The legislature gave me $6 per day instead of $3. I found quite a mass of business accumulated here against my arrival, which will keep me employed for a few days. The books and stationery are here. The letter and the *Gazette* which you criticised has reached me. I notice one or two wretched errors. I am sure I never wrote "peaks of smoke," though what I did say has escaped me. The favorable notice in the *Publisher* appears to have been communicated by some partial friend. Appreciation is pleasant, but I was not aware that such a lively sense of my merits existed in Haverhill.

Improvements are going on in Sumner to a considerable extent. It compares very favorably with any of the towns in the territory which I have visited, and I believe I have seen all except Topeka and Manhattan.

which lie on the Kaw some fifty or sixty miles beyond Lawrence. I should have taken that circuit on my return had not the weather been so unpropitious.

It has since cleared away quite warm again, and the snow has all disappeared.

The Hannibal & St. Joe railroad will be opened for travel throughout its entire length on the 28th inst. There is to be a great celebration on the 22d, at which I hope to be present.

I am in receipt of letters from mother and Moms, which I will answer at my earliest leisure. My health continues excellent. In haste, but very truly, your son. JOHN JAMES INGALLS.

P. S.—The new charter passed and is creating great excitement among the office seekers. It provides for twenty-two offices, including twelve aldermen, and I am offered any position under it if I choose to accept. I have not yet made up my mind what course to adopt. If I go west in the spring it won't be worth while to make any further engagements here. We also got our "Pike's Peak Express Company" chartered, and shall organize as soon as Mr. Wheeler and Mr. Valentine come on. I think I told you I am one of the corporators.

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SUMNER, KAS., March 15, 1859.

DEAR FATHER—I believe I have been somewhat remiss in my correspondence of late, owing to the excitement of electioneering and other incidents attending the organization of the city under the new charter, together with sundry other items of business, including the preparation and delivery of a lecture, and an epidemic among the people which leads them to sue and be sued.

The election was held yesterday and resulted in the choice of a satisfactory board of officers, among which I have the honor to be numbered as "city attorney"—an office of more honor than profit, I presume. The majority by which I was elected was quite complimentary, as indicating the confidence the citizens have in my ability to serve them. I received all but fourteen votes, though it was only after repeated solicitations that I consented to have my name used in connection with the office. The foreign element is quite large, consisting chiefly of Germans and Norwegians, and they do not fraternize very cordially with the Americans.

I have also received from the governor a commission as notary public, the functions of which are similar to those of justices of the peace in Massachusetts. They have power to take acknowledgments, depositions and affidavits, and receive much better fees than are allowed in eastern states. Justices are not appointed by the executive here, but elected by the people, and they act almost exclusively in a judicial capacity.

Speaking of the Governor, you may have noticed in one of the New York *Evening Posts* I sent home a personal description of that dignitary. It was considered quite a hit here and extensively copied into the newspapers of the territory. If he saw it and was aware of its paternity, it is highly probable he would not have favored me with a commission.

The amount and character of the emigration to Pike's Peak is truly

astonishing. Every boat is crowded with passengers bound for the mines, and a great many of them labor under the impression that the favored locality is but a few hours' walk from the shores of the river. On landing at Leavenworth, which is the chief point of departure, they frequently decline stopping at hotels, supposing that they can reach Pike's Peak by an afternoon's walk. As a class the gold hunters are poor, of the carpet-bag description, and the military roads are already thronged with anxious hundreds, on foot, dragging hand carts, on mules, and with ox teams. Fortunately the weather is exceedingly mild, and the grass already getting green under the influence of the genial climate. A few days of freezing weather such as frequently alternates with these days of treacherous mildness would kill them by the score. There must be several thousands already *en route*. I counted over 100 this morning in the course of an hour's ride, among whom was a large party from Michigan. It is reported by some drivers on one of the return government trains from Salt Lake, that several hundred miners who had wintered near Cherry creek were on their way back to civilization again in a state of extreme destitution—no gold, no food, clothes or cattle. Whether this is true or not, the tide is gravitating so strongly westward that no successful attempts can be made to stem it. The excitement does not seem to rage so high in Massachusetts as in other states. I hardly see a reference to it in the Boston papers. The only notice I have seen was so supremely absurd that I supposed it must be a hoax. A company had been organized at Springfield, it seemed, who proposed to build boats at some point on the Missouri and sail up the Kansas river to its junction with the Smoky Hill fork, and thence to Cherry creek. It looks prettily on the map, as you will see by referring to the atlas hanging in the front hall at home, but unfortunately that stream is only navigable by catfish, and by them only at certain seasons of the year. Some town speculators wishing to build a town which should have the prestige of being at the head of navigation on the Kaw purchased a steamboat of about one-mule power and six inches draught and started one summer morning on their perilous journey. Toward night they ran aground on a sand bar, and there the craft remains to this day. The termination of its trip determined the location of the city of Topeka, celebrated for the constitution which was there elaborated. Some parties still more adventurous and ambitious pushed up a few miles beyond in a skiff and founded the city of Manhattan at the mouth of the Big Blue. So say those learned in the lore of the early history of Kansas, with how much of truth I do not know.

Very truly your son, J. J. I.

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SUMNER, KANSAS, March 29, 1859.

DEAR FATHER—Affairs in the territory seem to be brightening a little, but even now the prostration seems almost perfect. Want of money is the great difficulty. There is grain enough and stock enough, but no medium of trade, and consequently we men whose estates lie in our brains are somewhat at a loss to realize. The emigration has made matters a

little easier, but I think there is a strong and increasing conviction that Pike's Peak is a humbug; it is certainly my opinion that it is, and what the result will be I do not care to predict. It looks dark.

A vote was taken on Monday to decide on the question of a convention to frame a constitution under which to ask admission as a state next winter. Returns come in slowly where there are no railroads or telegraphs, but the result will undoubtedly be affirmative. The election for delegates occurs in June; the convention will be holden at Wyandotte in July; the constitution will be submitted to a popular vote in October; and, if accepted, the election of officers will take place in December. The question of admission is another thing. Public sentiment I believe to be quite strong in the idea that the application will be rejected, and the step would not probably have been taken were it not evident that we can hope for no justice, favor or decency from the executive. The resources of the territory are not sufficiently developed to bear easily the increased taxation in support of a state organization. But recent statistics show a present valuation of $25,000,000, and this is only approximate—a very respectable growth for four years. Should the future sustain the prophecy of the past, it will be but a short time before Kansas will stand on a permanent basis of assured prosperity. Very truly, your son, J. J. I.

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SUMNER, KAS., May 13, 1859.

DEAR FATHER—I sent you a copy of the New York *Evening Post* a few days since, containing my last letter from the territory, which will give you a general idea of the state of things among us, financially, politically and Piker Peakially. There was a personal description of Judge Pettit in the letter, which seems to be considered a graphic portrait, as I saw it copied in the Boston *Journal* of the 28th of April, and also in a late St. Louis paper, the *Missouri Democrat*, which I also forward to your address. Our mails continue in a state of the most democratic derangement and disorder, sometimes coming by boat, sometimes on horseback, and sometimes by stage, though generally not at all. The mail steamer on the regular route sank the other day a few miles below this point, having been purposely run against a snag by the pilot, who had been hired to destroy her in some way by the opposition line. No lives were lost, and but little freight. Passing down the river a day or two since, I noticed her smokestack just protruding from the muddy surface of the Missouri. This part of the river is the graveyard of old steamers. The companies refuse to insure them after they have been run four years, and at the expiration of that time they are sent to the "upper Missouri" and beached or snagged by the score.

The first distinctively Republican convention of Kansas is to be holden at Osawatomie on Wednesday next, the 18th inst. I am one of six delegates from this county, and expect to start on horseback on Sunday or Monday previous. It is about an hundred miles to the south and near the scene of the massacre of the "*Marais des Cygnes*" (in our vernacular the "Marsh of Swans" and pronounced Mary du seen). Horace Greeley will be present, and some other celebrities. Should the weather prove favorable it is my present intention to continue my journeyings south-

ward into the Indian territory, perhaps as far as Fort Smith, at the head of navigation on the Arkansas. The country is not much known and is chiefly inhabited by Indians, not yet having been opened by the government for settlement. They are quite savage, especially the Comanches; though the Cherokees have attempted to work out the problem of civilization with considerable success, it is said, having an alphabet and government of their own invention. Personal observation cannot fail to be interesting as well as profitable. The trip will take about three weeks, I presume, providing I should escape scalping, and the other contingencies of Indian intercourse. The Republicans had quite a spirited convention in this county on Saturday last, at which Parrott and others spoke, and a platform was adopted. I was one of the officers, and was elected member of the central executive committee for the year. The Democrats are very strong in the northern counties, and I do not look upon the success of the opposition as certain for some time to come—certain beyond doubt in the territory at large, but extremely doubtful here. Of its ultimate success, of course, there can be no question, in every locality. The land sales occur in July and August next, and many of the settlers who have squatted and made improvements will lose the whole unless they can procure money on land warrants on which to enter their claims. Money is so scarce that it is next to impossible to procure it, and 160-acre land warrants are in great demand.

Your son, J. J. I.

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SUMNER, KAS., Oct. 18, 1859.

DEAR FATHER—Our constitution has been adopted by over 5,000 majority, though the vote was unexpectedly light. Kansas people are nearly sick of elections. I think it will average one a month the year round. A board of officers has been nominated and will be voted for in December. The men are rather inefficient generally and would hardly rank third class in New England, but the poorest state government would be preferable to this condition of none at all.

I have occasionally advised you of my own advancement and progress. I had been promised the position of probate judge in the county, but through some jugglery at the convention, from which I was absent, a change in the program was made and I received the nomination as district attorney, as you will see by the papers which I sent, "by acclamation." The position is worth about half as much as that of judge, and hardly as honorable. I immediately declined the nomination, and shall probably be nominated state senator under the constitution, if there is no other slip between the cup and the lip. It is not an extremely profitable place, but it puts "Hon." before a man's name, and is a long stride toward Congress.

Crops matured finely. Sweet potatoes grow to an immense size and are cheaper than Irish. Beets and the other tubers are gigantic. I saw a pair of beets the other day nearly four feet long and eight inches in major diameter. I could think of nothing but vast bloody stalactites depending from the roof of some interior cavern. With much regard to the family, very truly, your son,

J. J. I.

LAWRENCE, KAS., Jan. 25, 1860.

DEAR FATHER—I am a little mixed up in politics again this winter, and rather more successfully than ever before. I am enjoying a very lucrative appointment for a limited time—as I wrote mother not long since—which is no sinecure. I am likewise appointed chairman of a board of five commissioners to examine into the condition of Kansas' banks this year and report to the legislature at its next session—a position which does not pay much, but is very respectable. I don't know much about banks, but suppose I can tell by looking round in the vaults about how the machine works.

There was the usual contest between the legislature and federal authorities. The governor was anxious that the legislature should stay at Lecompton, and that body were equally desirous of completing the session at Lawrence, which is the most human town in Kansas, and so they passed joint resolutions over the governor's veto, and left the ranch. There was some alleged informality in the proceedings, and the secretary refused to pay the members or furnish any printing or stationery. The knees grew weak, the spine relaxed, and finally the thing collapsed on the 18th and adjourned *sine die*. The governor immediately issued his proclamation for a special session, which met again at Lecompton on the 19th, and again adjourned to Lawrence over the governor's objections—and this time all right. It was legal before, but informal. The governor and secretary are now here. We have had extremely pleasant weather for the past month. To-day is blustery with occasional flurries of snow. The last ten days' sessions have been held with open windows and doors and no fires.

I am somewhat unable to decide what course I shall adopt in the spring—whether to remain on the frontier or get on the foremost wave and rush for Denver City. I halt between two opinions. Faithfully, your son,

J. J. I.

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SUMNER, KAS., April 3, 1860.

DEAR FATHER—Kansas is as quiet and stagnant as ever, since I have been here. My coming was a trifle unfortunate as to time. A year earlier would have been better, though I have no just reason to complain; but the depression in business affairs is only equaled by that of 1857 in the East. The trouble is there is nothing here to attract money. The actual exports of the country—corn, pork and hides—has not yet been enough to pay for the whisky that is drank every month, and men are living on what they had, or the charity of their friends. A good deal of corn is being shipped this spring, and some hides, but prices are so low that it hardly remunerates the grower for his labor. The best qualities of corn are delivered at the levee in sacks for thirty cents per bushel. Hides command four to six cents per pound. I am inclined to think that we cannot compete with Illinois and the lower states in agricultural produce. They have the advantage of a nearer market, and the only way corn growing can be made profitable will be by turning it into pork, which is a staple export that always commands an excellent market. Considerable attention is being paid to the hemp crop. The farmers of Missouri have

grown rich by it. It requires a rich soil and considerable experience, and the prices fluctuate remarkably, but success is the rule. The climate here is well adapted to its culture, and I have no doubt it will eventually form a large share of our exports.

Wheat does well, but the winters are generally so free from snow that it gets badly "winterkilled." The quality is excellent and the produce this year considerable. Peaches, grapes, pears, apples and fruit of all kinds flourished in great variety and excellence. I have never seen finer apples than the farmers across the river bring to market. They are very cheap, not usually more than a dollar and a half per barrel. But little is raised in Kansas yet, though much attention is being given to "orcharding" this spring. Very truly, your son, J. J. I.

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ATCHISON, KAS., Aug. 21, 1860.

DEAR FATHER—If the heats of summer in New England have been as protracted and exhausting as here in Kansas, it is not wonderful that it should have a debilitating effect upon the system. The latter half of June, the whole of July and the first two weeks of August were only fit for a Hottentot, accustomed to the ardors of Sahara, but recently an invigorating coolness has succeeded the tropical fervor, the nights have been refreshing, and the atmosphere as pure and clear as though the first frosts of autumn had distilled their health-giving influences through its noxious exhalations and poisonous miasma.

The memory of the cool, fresh breeze from the waste of waters, the plunge and sway of the restless surges, and the vague, sad suggestions of the mysterious sea, have often recurred to me since I have been restricted to the monotone of the river and the prairie. But these even are not without their charm to the lover of nature, nor destitute of the strongest interest to the student of science. The theory of the formation of continents by slow accretion beneath incumbent oceans, and their subsequent upheaval by some interior force, has here abundant confirmation. The primitive strata in broken and irregular masses protrude through the later limestone, locked in whose stony volume lies the history of innumerable generations of animal and vegetable existence. Fossils of the most delicate and beautiful ferns spread their tracery upon the surface of every fractured rock; shells of every shape and size, from whose lining membrane the pearly luster has not faded, are disposed in layers, as they were left by the receding billows of that unremembered sea, while evidences of the existence of lower but not less perfect and beautiful organisms are revealed by the microscope in every roadside stone.

The climate is certainly very peculiar; subject to the most violent and unaccountable contrasts—very like some impulsive, fickle, superficial persons I have met, in whom a treacherous blandness and serenity of demeanor was liable at any moment to yield to a tornado of angry passion, and that in turn to be repented of and atoned for by an excess of tenderness, itself as delusive and uncertain as that which preceded. The summer is mostly in the early months; the severest winter in November and December. A fall of 50 to 60 degrees is by no means an uncommon occurrence, though far from an agreeable one.

I believe that the want of self-confidence to which you allude is constitutional, for I have experienced it to a degree that I hope never to know again. There is something in the condition of things here that supplies the deficiency; it may be contrast, comparison, or it may be practice—which, I don't know—but there is a sovereign panacea. The attacks of melancholy and despondency to which I was once a prey have also almost entirely disappeared, and are succeeded by a philosophic indifference to sublunary evils and a disposition to take things at their worst and hope for the best. It is a species of ossification or petrification which may not be altogether desirable, but which seems to me to be the better of two extremes.

With much regards to all at home.

Very truly, your son, J. J. I.

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SUMNER, KAS., Oct. 7, 1860.

DEAR FATHER—In a life whose chief incidents do not surpass the daily achievement of wherewithal to supply the waste of tissue in the body, and the social requisitions of raiment and arrayment, there is little to interest an audience of friends, and nothing to attract the attention of the indifferent. But the autobiography of any individual, however humble and obscure, if intelligently and consciously written, would possess a charm, I presume, beyond the fascination of fiction and above the reach of art. And if that person should be a friend or kinsman with whose external history we were familiar, it would possess an additional attraction in so far as it would enable us to see the workings of the springs that regulate the machine and to compare the concrete results of the varying and inevitable circumstances that shape the destiny and build up the edifice of character with what we wish or imagine they might or ought to have been. But in my estimate no man can afford to make an absolutely candid and total revelation of himself and his motives. We are afraid to do it. We are conscious of so many weaknesses and defects that are well enough when concealed, but that would put us so entirely at the mercy of the adversaries if disclosed, that we play the hypocrite continually and assume a virtue though we have it not. It is partially from such considerations, and on the principle of resisting the beginnings, that ever since I have thoroughly understood how rare a gift is the talent of silence in this age of mouthing gabblers and empty loquaciousness, that I have obstinately abstained from saying what I am doing until after it is done.

I can hardly say whether I am really prospering here or not. Everything depends on the future. Our firm does a large amount of business both in the courts and in the way of tax paying and money loaning and land transactions generally, though my connection is confined exclusively to the law department. The other branches I can carry on better alone. I presume our legitimate business will foot up between three and four thousand dollars this year. By trading round and "dickering" generally I manage to get along comfortably enough. Mr. Adams, the senior partner, is a grave, elderly gentleman, of New York birth, quiet deportment,

bald and long-bearded, and was the first judge of Atchison county. He is an old Kansas soldier; a man of great resolution and immovable integrity of character. He was condemned to death by the border ruffians and the pistol was at his head when his wife interposed, and during the interruption he was in some way hustled out of harm's way. He lends an eminent degree of respectability to the concern. Mr. Leland is a Lutheran and a very studious, learned and excellent counsellor. An infirmity of his body, the cause of which I never inquired, renders him helpless without a crutch and indicates the desk as his most available position.[2]

I assume the advocacy of cases after they are digested, and think I have the reputation of not being surpassed at least by any jury advocate in northern Kansas. My success is not so much attributable to superior personal merit as to the want of ability among the practitioners generally. A more ignorant, detestable set of addle-headed numbskulls and blackguards I have seldom met.

I know and am known by every prominent man in Kansas, and believe I have their undivided good will; at least I have assurances of any position I want under the prospective state administration. A central newspaper will be established as the organ of the party if Lincoln is elected, and the post of editor in chief is urged upon my acceptance; but I don't think I shall take it. It is influential, but delicate, difficult and harassing. I do not regard the governorship or a seat in Congress as beyond the range of my legitimate aspirations in the next ten years. I allude to these matters only in compliance with the suggestions of your letter, and that you may not think that my time is wasting or rusting with idle inactivity; not from any disposition to enlarge upon my affairs or indulge in the soothing inflation of vanity.

I do not have much to do in speculation; my means won't allow it, though I occasionally dip into some arrangement that I consider perfectly secure. The drouth here, though it is depopulating some counties and driving an immense amount of stock of all kinds from the country, offers such an opportunity of laying the foundations of a fortune in a few years that I greatly regret my inability to avail myself of the opportunity and by a judicious investment make such provisions as will secure the future against the contingencies of age and disease. A great many of the settlers are disheartened and anxious to close out their entire property at figures that would hardly cover the price of the land warrants with which their claims were secured years ago. Of course we are not going to have a succession of such years, crops will be abundant, the state will be admitted, railroads will be built, and those that are faithful to the end will reap the reward. The last two years, covering the entire term of my residence here, have been almost as dull as it was in New England in the fall of '57, but I believe there is a future for Kansas that will compensate for all these misfortunes and hardships.

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2. The firm name was Adams, Leland & Ingalls. The first member of the firm was Franklin G. Adams. An extended biography of him can be found in Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 6, p. 171. Judge Adams was for many years secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society. The second member of the firm was Charles M. Leland, and very little can be found relating to his residence in Kansas.

My personal arrangements are very comfortable indeed. Sumner and Atchison are but three miles apart, and connected by a very pleasant road running through the bottom land that intervenes between the river and the bluff, in some places a pistol shot in width, in others a narrow neck of land with hardly verge enough for passage, and shaded with a dense forest of cottonwood, oak, sycamore and linn. It is a half hour's ride or a little more, and having an excellent horse, I get just about exercise enough and save all the business hours of the day, besides having the advantage of business connection in two towns. I tried rooming in our office awhile during the summer, but it was too much like the animals, and I resumed my old habits as speedily as possible. I pay three dollars and a half per week for room and board, finding my own lights, fuel and washing; paid five all last year, but had everything found but washing, though the prices of living have rather receded since I first came. Have stable room free for my horse, and buy corn at forty cents per bushel and hay at six dollars per ton, so that item of expense is not much. For the ground rent of the lot on which our office stands in Atchison we pay one hundred dollars per year, having a lease for a term of years. We put up the building ourselves and rent one room for enough to pay the entire expenses and leave us the structure clear at the expiration of the term, if they don't rot down in the meantime, for they are the frailest edifices that I ever saw under roof. The character of all the buildings in these western towns is cheap, shabby and rude in the extreme. The clapboards (weather boards they call them) are nailed directly upon the uprights without any casing or boarding whatever, and as the cottonwood lumber has the faculty of crawling round in the sun, the tenements speedily become "looped and windowed" to a degree not contemplated by the architect. Very truly, your son, J. J. I.

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LAWRENCE, KAS., Jan. 19, 1861.

DEAR FATHER—The extremely cold and stormy weather of the past two weeks has prevented all mail and telegraphic communication with the rest of the world, so that we are almost as secluded and apart as Selkirk on his island in the sea. The eagerness with which the arrival of the stages is waited, and the universal disappointment at learning the failure of the eastern mails and the breakage of the wires, shows the interest of all classes in the great events that are transpiring in the great outside world. The pendency of the Kansas admission bill, of the Pacific railroad bill, in which Kansas is so much interested, and the condition of affairs at the South, make this prevalent failure of intelligence peculiarly unpleasant. The weather would really have been severe in any country.

The legislature is not doing much except discussing Union resolutions, indorsing Major Anderson, and divorcing everybody that applies for rupture of the bonds of matrimony. The number of applicants is immense, and embraces every description of people from all parts of the country. Boston is very well represented, and would appear to be peculiarly unfortunate in the matrimonial line.

I suppose the secession movement makes it bad for business now, but

politically I think there can be no better time to settle the question than now. If the right of peaceable secession exists, our government is the most stupendous practical joke that was ever perpetrated on a nation; if not, this blustering brawl of the southern traitors and paupers may as well be stopped once for all, even if the iron logic of the cannon of the volunteers of the North leads to the legitimate conclusion. The militia of Kansas is being organized and I have been appointed aide-de-camp to the major general, with the rank of colonel. Titles are cheap just now. With regards to all at home, truly your son, J. J. I.

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ATCHISON, KAS., March 21, 1861.

DEAR FATHER—Times are harder than ever, and it is all I can do to keep my personal expenses from stranding me. Everything is merged in the one effort to "get along," which thus far, by a combination of expedients, has been done. Newspaper writing, taxpaying, politics, law—anything that can contribute its mite, however small, is subsidized on the theory that the world owes me a living and a living I will have.

To-morrow I start for Topeka, the capital of our new state, where the first legislature assembles on Tuesday, the 26th inst. The anticipations are that there will be a lively time, electing senators, creating courts, defining the jurisdiction of those that exist, and arranging matters generally. President Lincoln has declared that no Kansas appointments will be made till senators are elected, so that there may be some representation of the wishes of the people at Washington. Consequently the great question now is, not who would we prefer, but who is going to win? There are several candidates in the field, but only four of any prominence—Parrott, Pomeroy, Lane and Stanton; the two first north of the Kansas river and the others south. Mr. Parrott is the late delegate for two terms from the territory, and will probably succeed. With Pomeroy you are familiar through the charnel house dispatches of last winter. If abdomen was a test, he would be sure to triumph; but as brains enter into the contest somewhat, his chances are small. General Lane is another notorious character in early Kansas history and one of the most remarkable men I ever knew; a perfect demagogue, charlatan, knave—everything that is infamous and detestable in private life, and yet possessed of a certain indefatigable energy, magnetism and nerve, which conquers adversity and achieves success. The chances are immensely in his favor. Mr. Stanton is an eminently respectable man of proslavery antecedents, an eleventh-hour Republican, and for ten years a member of Congress from Memphis, Tenn. His chief capital is his deportment. I send you late papers, which show how the political pot is boiling. With regards to all at home, very truly your son, J. J. INGALLS.

TOPEKA, KAS., May 15, 1861.

DEAR FATHER—My time has been so nearly absorbed by the novel and perplexing circumstances that surround us here that I have had but little leisure at my command for correspondence, but I have been careful to send you frequent papers to assure you of my continued existence and inform you of the various excitements that stir our life.

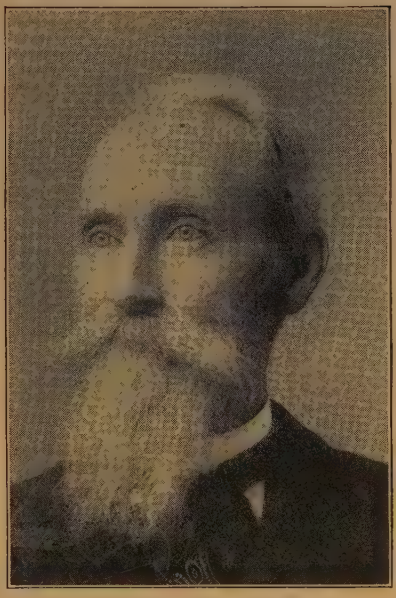
Our condition is probably more precarious than that of any other state. There is every prospect of an abundant crop, but the people, of course, are just as dependent on charity as they were six months ago, and will be until the wheat crop comes in in July. In the meantime Missouri is one the verge of secession, and at the first outbreak will destroy the Hannibal & St. Joe railroad, which is an only means of connection with the bread-giving East. The river is already blockaded, and has been for weeks, so that nothing reaches us without diligent supervision and a strict elimination of all articles contraband of war. The Indians, already aware of the troubles of the government, are growing turbulent and attacking the trains and the remote settlements of the Southwest. The border troubles are actively renewed, and on some early day you will hear of the destruction of St. Joseph, Kansas City, Westport and some other odious points in our neighbor state. Her retribution for the excesses of five years ago is at hand. Not less than 5,000 men are under arms within a short distance of this point and under constant drill. General Lane has been stirring them up with his inflammatory appeals till they are "jist spiling" for a fight.

You probably never imagined a social and pecuniary condition so miserably depressed and wretched as that of Kansas at the present time. Having no banks of her own, the currency has been altogether Illinois, Wisconsin and Missouri, which by the depreciation of the stock upon which they are based has become as worthless almost as the rags of which they are made. A good harvest will help us some, and we hope for better days.

I expected to have been in Atchison before this time, but the legislature dies hard. Our old law firm is dissolved by the appointment of one of my partners as receiver in a land office and the other as district attorney for Nebraska, so that I am afloat once more. Shall make another arrangement soon. With much regard to the family, truly your son,

J. J. I.

DR. ALBERT MORRALL
in 1855.



DR. ALBERT MORRALL,
Wamego, Kan., at 65 years of age.

# DR. ALBERT MORRALL: PROSLAVERY SOLDIER IN KANSAS IN 1856.

## STATEMENT AND AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

ON the 3d of February, 1917, Governor Capper wrote the following letter:

*Hon. W. E. Connelley, Secretary, State Historical Society, Topeka, Kan.:*

DEAR MR. CONNELLEY—Will you please answer this gentleman? I told him his letter would be referred to you. Very respectfully,

ARTHUR CAPPER.

The letter transmitted by Governor Capper was from Dr. A. Morrall, of Wamego, Kan., and is as follows:

WAMEGO, KAN., January 31, 1917.

*Mr. Arthur Capper, Governor of the State of Kansas, Topeka, Kan.:*

MY DEAR MR. CAPPER—In the spring of 1856 a company of young men arrived in Atchison, Kan., from the state of South Carolina, and some time after their arrival were summoned by Sheriff Jones, who was the territorial sheriff at that time, as a posse, to go with him to transact

some official business in Lawrence, Kan. The citizens of Lawrence had refused to allow him to enter the town.

Sheriff Jones started from Atchison with a large posse, of which this company formed a part. He went to Lawrence, transacted his business, and on returning to Atchison he, on the high prairies, disbanded his posse and told them to go back home. A small body of men from South Carolina started with their wagons for home and stopped at night at a farmhouse. Being tired and hungry, all laid down outside of the house, under their wagons, and went to sleep. About twelve o'clock that night, while everything was quiet, they were aroused by the firing of firearms, muskets and pistols, and all of them were captured by a party of men from Lawrence who had gathered and followed this small company. They were surrounded and made prisoners. Their wagons, arms, teams and horses—everything they had were taken away from them.

This company carried a flag which was presented to them by the ladies of Charleston, S. C., before they left home for Kansas, and that flag was taken by the Lawrence men from these prisoners. It is now in the capitol building in Topeka, Kan.

I have often wondered if it would be asking too much of you to allow this flag to be sent back to Charleston, S. C. No doubt some of the ladies who made it are yet living and will remember when it was presented to this company.

I was present at the time the flag was presented and also when it was taken from this company, and can vouch for all I state in this letter, and would like to be the medium through which the flag is returned, if you should see fit to allow it to be sent back.

I beg to remain, Very truly yours, DR. A. MORRALL.

A letter, copy of which is set out below, was sent to Doctor Morrall:

*Dr. A. Morrall, Wamego, Kan.:* FEBRUARY 6, 1917.

DEAR SIR—Your letter of the 31st of January to Governor Capper, concerning the flag carried by the South Carolinians and captured from them in May, 1856, was referred to the State Historical Society for reply. The flag is in the custody of the Historical Society. I very much desire to see you and talk with you about the early events of Kansas. If it is satisfactory to you and agreeable to you and your family, I should like to call on you next Sunday, the 11th, and have an interview with you. Please write me if it is agreeable for you to see me next Sunday.

Sincerely yours, WILLIAM E. CONNELLEY, *Secretary.*

Upon the receipt of the letter from the secretary of the Historical Society, Doctor Morrall wrote:

WAMEGO, KAN., February 7, 1917.

*William E. Connelley, Secretary, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kan.:*

DEAR SIR—Your letter of the 6th inst. came duly to hand this morning, and in reply to it will say that I shall be glad to see you on Sunday, the 11th, and shall be glad to talk over with you the early events of Kansas.

Very truly yours, A. MORRALL.

The secretary with a stenographer, went to Wamego on Sunday, the 11th of February, 1917, to interview Doctor Morrall. He was in his eighty-eighth year, but appeared to be in fair health for a man of that age. His hair was not as gray as that of many men of fifty. He was below the stature of the average man, and was in possession of his mental power. He displayed some uncertainty as to routes and manner of transportation employed in getting to Kansas in 1856. Also there had passed from his memory any recollection of Colonel Buford, of Alabama, and he must

have known Colonel Buford. He could not recall that the flag of the South Carolina company had been placed on the Free-state Hotel, although without doubt it was displayed from one of the chimneys; the authorities established that beyond question. However, Doctor Morrall might have been so occupied with the placing of his cannon that he had no time for the observation of other events, and did not see it. There existed in his mind a curious confusion of time as to the raid on Lawrence and the Slough Creek fight. Through the passage of years he had one immediately follow the other; whereas the sacking of Lawrence occurred May 21, 1856, and the summer intervened before the retributive stroke in the capture of the South Carolina flag at Slough creek, which occurred on September 11. His recollection of details in the three actions, at Lawrence, at Slough Creek and at Hickory Point, was remarkably clear.

Doctor Morrall said that he was in good health, but that he feared he would be obliged to undergo an operation in the near future for a chronic trouble. A short time after this interview he went to Kansas City and entered a hospital, where the operation was performed. For a time he seemed to do well, but after a few days he became suddenly very ill and died. The following notices appeared in the Wamego *Times*, March 16, 1917:

IN APPRECIATION OF DR. ALBERT MORRALL.

On March the fourth, 1917, there passed from our midst to the great beyond one of the very early pioneers in Kansas history. It was his lot to have reached Kansas at that early date when the Indians and buffalo were being driven back to make way for the white man, thus participating in those strenuous times in the history of the state when it tried men's souls.

To know him as I knew him, through many years of business and professional relationship, was to appreciate and esteem his many good and manly qualities, and I can truthfully say but few men ever attain to the degree as he did the faculty of self-control under all circumstances and conditions. He was ever kind and considerate of every one and was continually doing those little things to alleviate the suffering of those about him. Truly one of nature's noblemen. Respectfully, H. W. PARSONS.

CARD OF THANKS.

To the Members of Wamego Chapter, No. 75, A. F. and A. M., also of the Royal Arch Chapter, No. 53, the Members of Wamego Chapter, No. 76, O. E. S., and to the many friends and neighbors who so kindly assisted me in so many ways, and who by their words of comfort helped to sustain me in my recent sorrow, the death of my father, Dr. A. Morrall, I wish, through the columns of this paper, to express my most sincere thanks. MRS. FRED DARLING.

After having talked for some time, at the interview, Doctor Morrall said that he had prepared a statement covering all matters connected with his pioneering days in Kansas. This statement he had his daughter, Mrs. Darling, produce. Asked if a copy of it might be made, he said he had no objections to that. Asked further if the Historical Society might publish his statement, he said that he would willingly consent to its publication. It is given herewith. Some portions of the interview are given. The close agreement between the statement and the interview shows the strength of Doctor Morrall's memory.

STATEMENT.

I am Dr. Albert Morrall. I was born at Grahamville, S. C., November 17, 1829. I am in my eighty-eighth year. I adopted Kansas after the Civil War. My idea of Kansas when I first came out was that I would n't have given ten cents for the whole country. I did not intend to stay, but I am still here.

I was not a member of the company I came to Kansas with, but I acted with it. I knew the company was going to Kansas, and I was ready to go with it. I saw the whole company first on the train at Charleston, S. C. It was a Charleston company. It was a military organization, and its object was to help make Kansas a slave state. It was formed by the politicians in Charleston. It had more than thirty members, I think. They were good men, but were not farmers nor mechanics, but were just men that you would pick here and there from mercantile business—clerks in stores. It was a military company, armed with guns and revolvers. We arrived at Atchison, Kan., April 15, 1856.

We came up the Missouri river by steamboat. We did not live together in a camp after our arrival at Atchison. We scattered around, each one for himself, not living like a military company. Frank Palmer was captain of the company. There was not a great deal of excitement in the South, so far as I could see, about making a slave state, but it was the intention to make it one.

It was not long after our arrival in Kansas until we were summoned to Lawrence. Palmer's entire company went there. Three of the company were sent along with a cannon. I do not remember the date on which we arrived before Lawrence, nor can I tell you where we camped there. I have forgotten the names of the little towns around Lawrence at that time. We were at Lecompton. I do not know where Sheriff Jones got the cannon which we took with us to Lawrence. I do not know how it was that the posse was organized. All I know is that I went with the posse and did what I was ordered to do. I cannot say how many men went down from Atchison in this posse. I should judge not over three hundred.

In regard to that flag. You say it was over the Freestate Hotel. I don't think, although I don't know, but I don't think the flag was present there. I was within fifty yards of the hotel. I was detailed to use the cannon that shot that hotel down, and I saw no flag. I gave notice to the occupants of the hotel to get out in thirty minutes, and that at the end of thirty minutes I would commence firing. I did n't fire more than three or four shots, and if that flag was on that hotel I certainly would have seen it. And as far as I know, there was no sacking of the town. There was no breaking into stores and houses or anything of that kind. It may have been that restaurants or such places as had anything to eat may have been broken into, but further than that I do not know.

The history of the Slough creek affair is that we marched from Lawrence after we were disbanded. After Sheriff Jones had accomplished his purpose he turned back to Kansas City, where he started from, or some other part of the country. I did not know where he was going, but he disbanded us and told us to go home, each company by itself. Our

company numbered then between twenty-five and thirty. We traveled most of the day on which we started back. At night we got to Slough creek. The men were tired, and the first thing they did was to get something to eat. Then they lay down around the wagons—some in the wagons, some under the wagons, and others bundled up against the side of a house—and they went to sleep. I went to Captain Palmer and told him he ought to put out a guard; that I thought it due the men sleeping there that they should be protected during the night; also that those on guard duty should be relieved at stated times. Captain Palmer said that he did n't think it would be necessary; that everything was over with and everything was quiet, and that I might lie down and go to sleep. I then said to Captain Palmer that if that was his opinion, and if he were not going to put out any guards, I would not sleep with the company that night, but would take my blanket and go out on the prairie away from the house and sleep there. I did so. I went up on the edge of the bank of Slough creek and spread my blanket down and went to sleep. I had not been there long before Captain Palmer himself came out with his blanket and lay down there too. Sometime after midnight I heard shooting. There was a perfect blaze. I was near by and could see the flash of the guns and hear the hurrahing and the firing of the muskets and revolvers. The men who were sleeping there on the ground never even got up; just lay right there. I sat up and saw all that was going on. I dared not go where they were, but had to stay away. I heard the hallooing from over there and commands asking for the captain of the company. Of course he could not be found. I heard them give the order to circle out on the prairie—make a wide circle around and see if they could n't herd him up. After they gave that order I thought it was time for me to get a little further off from the firing. I went down the creek a little way, and there was a steep bank. I suppose the bank was nearly as steep as this wall to the ceiling. I caught hold of a bush or tree of some kind that was growing on the edge of the bank, and I just dropped down under the bank and remained there until all this fuss was over with. I just dropped quickly over on the side of the bank of the creek. They were pretty close; I could hear them walking in the leaves over my head. They did not capture Captain Palmer either. Palmer and myself were the only ones that were free.

That was where they captured the flag from our company—where the men were sleeping. The flag was carried off at that time.[1]

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1. "Both parties were now armed, and the county [Jefferson] was visited by Gen. J. H. Lane and his men, and by the border ruffians and Kickapoo rangers. One of the first encouters was on Slough creek, a short distance north of the present town of Oskaloosa, which had been laid off as a town early that year. The border ruffians started out from Lecompton, and Colonel Harvey and Captain Hull were sent out, each in command of a division of men, to intercept them. The two divisions came together near Springdale and camped in a two-story log house. The next day they removed to a point about ten miles east of Oskaloosa, where they camped. In the night Jesse Newell, one of the founders of Oskaloosa, came in with reports of a number of outrages committed by a company of South Carolinians in that vicinity. He had been dragged around by a rope and had been hanged, but was let down before life was extinct. Colonel Harvey and his men at once started and found the South Carolinians camped on the north side of Slough creek. They were surrounded and taken completely by surprise. At three o'clock in the morning of September 11 the attack was made.

"The proslavery men were commanded by Capt. F. G. Palmer, and were *en route* from Lecompton to Atchison. There was but very little firing on either side, the enemy trying all the time to escape. Finding this impossible, they all surrendered except Captain

This flag was captured at Slough creek and not at Hickory Point.

The man in command of the free-state men at that place was named Harvey, I think. After they had taken all they captured from the men —taken all the men's arms, horses, wagons, and everything else, and started for home—Palmer and myself started on foot to Atchison. After traveling about two miles from Slough creek we met a company coming from Atchison—a company, I guess, of about fifty men, commanded by some one who lived there in Atchison. I have been trying ever since to find the name of that man, but I cannot remember his name. I knew some of the party that came from Atchison. I got up behind one of the men, bare-back, and we went on there to what was called at that time Hickory Point.

At Hickory Point Harvey came down on us next day with a cannon. I do not remember how many men he had, but it looked like he had three or four hundred. They scattered all round the town—that is, the blacksmith shop and the hotel, the only buildings there. When we saw them coming over the prairie dragging this cannon we divided into two parties. Twelve of us took possession of the blacksmith shop and the remainder went to the hotel. Before we were ready for action one of the young men with us, Vanderhorst, of South Carolina, suggested that we put up a black flag. We had nothing which would answer for such a flag except a shawl which Vanderhorst's mother had given him. It was about three feet square, I think. We nailed that to a flagpole and nailed the pole to the blacksmith shop. Then we went inside the shop. Before we had accomplished all this they fired the first shot from that cannon. It came through the shop and struck the butt of a gun. The gun was wrenched violently around, the barrel striking and breaking the leg of one of the men. He was carried to the hotel, where he could be better cared for. We then posted two men, one at each of the two corners of the shop toward the enemy, to watch that cannon. When they started to touch the match to the cannon they would notify us. Then we would all lie down flat on the ground and the shot would go through the shop over

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Palmer and Lieut. A. G. Morrall, who succeeded in getting away. There were no serious casualties. Colonel Harvey was slightly wounded in the finger, and one of the South Carolinians was shot in the neck. Sixty stand of arms, two wagons, some provisions and a number of fine horses were captured. A flag was also captured which is now in the possession of the State Historical Society. On promising to leave the territory the prisoners were released. This was on the morning of September 11.

"This flag is a crimson banner of cotton cloth, in size four by six feet, having in the center, and shown on both sides, a single large white star; on one side the inscription 'South Carolina' and on the other the words 'Southern Rights.' The flag was originally brought to Kansas by a company of South Carolinians who located in Atchison, and in the spring of 1856 organized themselves into a military company known as the Palmetto Guards, of which F. G. Palmer, one of their number and a graduate of the South Carolina Military Academy, was captain. The company was conspicuous among the invaders of Lawrence, May, 1856, their red flag being hoisted on the *Herald of Freedom* office and on the Free-state Hotel. It next made a public appearance at a banquet in Atchison, where the most ultra proslavery toasts were given, and the subjugation of Kansas by the victors of Lawrence was spoken of by the jubilant Southerners as a thing achieved. Then came Slough creek, which left the young Carolinians minus the inspiring flag, somewhat thoughtful and subdued, and as the *Squatter Sovereign* dolefully remarked, 'unable to take the field for lack of equipments.' Among the free-state men were: Judge John W. Day, F. G. Adams, secretary of State Historical Society; Henry Reisner, John Armstrong and Capt. H. L. Dunlap. Soon after the capture of the flag it was given by Captain Harvey to Col. E. B. Whitman, of Lawrence; was afterward in the custody of Rev. Edward E. Hale, of Boston. In 1878 it again passed into the possession of Colonel Whitman, who forwarded it to Secretary Adams for deposit among the relics of the days of 1856."—Andreas' "History of Kansas," 1883, p. 501.

our bodies. As soon as that passed over we would all jump up with our rifles, knock the chinking from between the logs of the walls and shoot through the cracks. I don't know whether any one was killed or not. About three o'clock—between three and four o'clock in the afternoon—after I don't know how many shots were fired, but perhaps a dozen, from the cannon, we saw a white flag. We then came to an understanding with them. The arrangement was that we should travel home to Atchison and they should travel off to Topeka. There was no victory for either side.

The company of free-state men had tried to burn us out with a load of hay. We saw up on the hill a wagon loaded with hay coming down toward us. It was backing down. We had some of the best rifle shots in the shop watch the wagon. They could see the legs of the men below the load of hay under and beyond the wagon, and they fired in an attempt to break the legs of these men. We stopped them before the hay got to the shop, but we set the hay on fire about one hundred yards from the shop.

After this I did little in a military way. I went to Marysville, where I lived until 1860. I secured the land for the town and laid it out. I named it Palmetto. It adjoined Marysville. The whole South Carolina company went with me from Atchison to Marysville to make this settlement and establish this town of Palmetto.[2] I owned the whole town. In 1860 I went back to South Carolina, served in the Confederate army, and returned to Kansas in 1865; came to Marysville. I finished my medical education and graduated in Chicago in 1866. Then I returned to Kansas and settled in Wamego. I have lived here ever since.

David H. Wagner and Sarah Ann Wagner, his wife, came to Wamego from Dowagiac, Mich., in 1867. I married their daughter in 1871. My wife is dead. My daughter, Mrs. Mary Darling, is my only child. She married Fred E. Darling here in Wamego, and he lived only a short time. I am a member of the Baptist Church.

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THE PALMETTO COLONY.—In the spring of 1856 the Palmetto Town Company was organized in Atchison with eighty-four members, composed of southern men with southern propensities. They were mostly young men who had come into the territory chiefly for political reasons and in the interests of the proslavery party. On account of various reasons, only about thirty-five members of the colony left Atchison, and arrived at Palmetto July 8, 1856, among whom may be mentioned J. S. Magill, J. P. Miller, O. D. Prentis, Albert Morrall, W. B. Jenkins, J. R. Allston, John Vanderhorst, A. S. Vaught, Robert Y. Shibley. Of the whole number of men composing the colony, only three or four remain in the state and only two in the county—J. S. Magill and Robert Shibley, who still reside in Marysville.

The colony filed upon and laid out a town site of 320 acres, adjacent to a town site previously laid off and entered as a preëmption claim by Marshall or his agent. The colony named the town in honor of the "Palmetto" state, and entered it as such at the land office September 25, 1858.

The progress of Palmetto was slow, none of the members seeming to care whether a town was made or not. One instance may be mentioned, of the erection of a log cabin during the summer of 1856, by Dr. J. P. Miller, this being about the only town improvement made by the colony. Some of the members, more progressive than the rest, made improvements on their preëmption claims, but most of the time was spent "otherwise."

For some time the town name of "Palmetto" was used by some of the early county officials when dating their official proceedings. In the early maps of Kansas the name Palmetto appeared, but Marysville was left out, although Marysville was the name of the post office and the established seat of justice for Marshall county.—Andreas' "History of Kansas," 1883, p. 917.

## BRIEF AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF DR. A MORRALL.

Written December 2, 1909, at Wamego, Kan.

I was born in Grahamville, S. C., November 17 1829, and came to Kansas, in company with thirty other young men from the South, in the spring of 1856. My object in coming to this state, or territory at that time, was to hunt buffaloes, but I was disappointed in not finding any very near to our camp at Atchison, where we first landed. We had to go out into the country at least two hundred miles at that season of the year.

Frank Palmer was one of the men with whom I came to Kansas, and he was in charge of a company from Charleston. The object of this company in coming to Kansas was to make her a slave state. I was not a member of this company, but was free to do as I pleased, although I always worked with them. The free-state men were located at Lawrence and around in the country; we were at Atchison and Leavenworth. Each party annoyed the other by raiding the camps and taking each other's horses. We would get their horses one night, and they would get them back some time within a few day; then they would take our horses or something of ours, and we would risk the recapture at some convenient night. We took each other prisoner, if we were caught in their limits or they in our limits. We could go just so far, and if we crossed the line and were alone we were captured; the same with them. On one occasion we captured a man who proved to be a preacher. Pardee Butler was his name, and he was a very rabid free-state man. Some of our boys wanted to hang him and one of them drew his dirk and was about to slash him, when I caught his hand and stopped him. In the preceding summer Mr. Butler had been somewhat too free spoken, and had then been seized, subjected to some indignities and sent down the Missouri river on a raft made of cottonwood sawlogs. At that time he was told not to visit Atchison again under pain of death. Notwithstanding that experience, he came back to Atchison on April 30, 1856. He was set upon by Robert S. Kelley and others, dragged into a grocery store, stripped to the waist, tarred and given a coat of cotton wool as a substitute for feathers. A committee was then appointed, whose duty it should be to hang him the next time he came to Atchison. After this his clothes were tossed into his buggy, then they put him in and conducted him to the city limits and sent him adrift upon the prairie.

Under the territorial laws the acting sheriff was ordered to arrest some of the free-state men at Lawrence but they resisted and drove him off. He then summoned us, as a posse, to assist him in making the arrest.[3] In the meantime the free-state men, knowing what the sheriff was about to do, armed themselves and defied him; so we were marched in military style to Lawrence to help in making the arrest, or to destroy the town. We started from Atchison with wagons of provisions, and

3. Indictments for treason had been found against Reeder, Robinson, Lane, G. W. Brown, Smith, Wood and Gaius Jenkins. At the same time the *Herald of Freedom*, the *Kansas Free State* and the Free-state Hotel were indicted as nuisances and their removal recommended. It was to remove these "nuisances" that Sheriff Jones called upon the South Carolina men. The "treason prisoners" had been arrested under instructions from U. S. Marshal I. B. Donalson.

were armed to the teeth, with one piece of artillery, of which I had charge. My orders were to batter down the stone hotel, built by the Emigrant Aid Company and leased by Colonel Eldridge. The impression was that the hotel was so arranged that it could be made into a fort; it had breastworks on top and portholes on the sides to enable small cannon to protect the town, and also for the use of small arms behind the walls on top of the roof. But we came upon them before they had completed the works. I placed the cannon and sent word to them to vacate the building, giving them thirty minutes to do so. After that time I said I would fire, and at the end of the time I did fire, and knocked the walls down. We did not disturb any one in town, but the printing press was destroyed and the type thrown into the river. The house was not burned nor was any one killed; neither was the town "sacked," although such eatables as were found, cooked meat and bread, were taken, after which we marched back towards home—Atchison—stopping at Lecompton, the capital at that time.[4]

The next day Jim Lane gathered a large force of men, with some artillery, and followed us to Lecompton. We heard of his advance, and, forming a line, marched out to meet him just on the edge of the town. Before the order to commence firing was given, Uncle Sam's troops of cavalry rode between the lines of battle and ordered both parties to return home.[5] I think it was a good thing for us, for we were not prop-

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4. The following gives in brief an account of the sack of Lawrence:

"On Wednesday, May 21, all was ready for the grand consummation to which all previous work had tended, and for which the administration, the United States senate, the court, the territorial governor, the Southern states, and the Law and Order party of western Missouri and eastern Kansas had wrought unitedly, to wit, the silencing of the free-state press, the destruction of the free-state organization, and the vindictive chastening of Lawrence, as the citidel of insubordination against the laws they sought to force upon an unwilling people.

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"The motley force then formed in line and marched, under the lead of Jones, into the city and commenced abating the nuisances, by virtue of and in obedience to an order of the United States court issued by Chief Justice Samuel D. Lecompte. The two printing offices were first gutted, the presses destroyed and the types thrown into the river. The semi-legal work was finished by destroying the Free-State Hotel. The first shot fired at it from a cannon planted on the opposite side of Massachusetts street was aimed by the tipsy Atchison, but failed to hit the building. About fifty shots were afterwards fired, with but little effect, upon the solid walls. Next it was attempted to blow it up. Several kegs of gunpowder were exploded within, with no appreciable damage to the walls. Its destruction was finally effected by the torch of the incendiary, and in the early evening it stood a roofless and smoldering ruin. The legal work was done. It was followed by petty robberies all through the defenseless and half-deserted town. Late in the evening the curtain fell, the last act being the burning of Governor Robinson's private dwelling on Mount Oread, by the now irresponsible and lawless marauders, who had been released from all restraint when dismissed by the sheriff.

"Jones' revenge was complete. As the work of destruction went on he was in ecstacy. 'This,' said he, 'is the happiest moment of my life. I determined to make the fanatics bow before me in the dust and kiss the territorial laws.' As the walls of the burning hotel fell, he ejaculated, 'I have done it, by ——, I have done it.' Turning to the soldiers, he said, 'You are dismissed; the writs have been executed.'

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"On the following day the main body of troops began to disperse. Some companies marched to Leavenworth and Atchison; a part of the force returned to Westport and the Missouri towns from whence it had come.—Andreas' "History of Kansas," 1883, p. 130.

5. Doctor Morrall has confused the time of this occurrence, and is not quite accurate in his description of it. It was on September 5 when Lane and his command, having failed to connect with Harvey on the night of the 4th, appeared on the hill overlooking Lecompton. The town was thrown into consternation, and Governor Woodson sent messengers in hot haste to the camp of Col. Philip St. George Cooke, calling on him to protect the town from an enemy "one thousand strong." Colonel Cooke responded by going to Lane's camp and telling him that the territorial militia had been dismissed. Certain civil prisoners held at Lecompton came out to the free-state camp and returned to Lawrence with Lane and his command, who made no further demonstration before Lecompton.

erly armed for a fight. Nearly all of the men were inexperienced, but we had some good men, who would have stood lots of lead before giving up. I think both parties were satisfied, although some of our young bloods were anxious for a fracas, and I was one.

However, we immediately made arrangements to leave for home. Each company marched by itself, and some of the Lane men followed our company. When we camped at night, on Slough creek, Captain Palmer, who was in charge of the company, thought it was of no use to put out a picket; so all lay down to sleep. After supper I begged Palmer to put out guards, but he thought it was not best; so I told him that I would not sleep with the men in camp, but would go out into the timber some hundred yards from the wagons where the men were to sleep. He concluded then that he would go with me, and we lay down and soon went to sleep. About two o'clock in the morning we were aroused by the firing of small arms, volley after volley. A night attack was made on our command, and, hearing the firing, we knew it was of no use for us to try to do anything at that time. Not expecting any trouble, no one had arms ready, and all were perfectly dumfounded. It was all over in a few moments. No one was killed, but all were badly frightened. Palmer and I were close enough to hear all that was going on, and heard some one ask for the captain. He could not be found, so an order was given to scatter and surround the small grove of timber and capture him. We soon left for parts unknown. We fell back to a small creek just beyond the camp, where the bank was steep, and catching hold of a green bush near the edge of the bank, bent it down and got into the water below, keeping, however, close to the bank. We heard the men above us walking in the leaves, and waited until they passed us; then we crossed the creek and made off on the prairie. All of the horses and wagons and all of the provisions we had were taken, and the men were told to go home on foot. My horse and saddle were carried off, so I had to foot it back to Atchison.[6] We never went back to that place, but made our way in an opposite direction, on foot.

After going about five miles Palmer and I discovered a lot of men on horseback in front of us, and we halted. When they saw us they sent a squad of men forward to ascertain who we were. We knew them, and our tale was soon told. They were from Atchison, and had been sent, in a company, to join the posse; but it was disbanded, and all were going home. I got on behind one of the men on horseback, and went along with them to Hickory Point, and there we camped for the night.

The next day we retaliated on our foes, and made a raid on a small town about six miles from Hickory Point, named Grasshopper Falls. Here I secured a good saddle horse. We charged into the town, and unfortunately one of our men struck a torch to one of the stores, which was ablaze in a minute.[7] It was not our intention to destroy anything, but

6. See account of Slough creek fight in preceding "Statement" by Doctor Morrall.

7. Here again Doctor Morrall is confused as to the time of certain happenings. The burning of Grasshopper Falls preceded the Slough fight by three days, occurring on September 8, 1856.

"The town was sacked and Crosby's store burned. Dr. Lorenzo Northrup had a small stock of drugs and his library and surgical instruments in one portion of the Crosby building, and these too were burned. The doctor had about $500 in gold at the store

this was done. I went into the burning building, a drug store owned by Doctor Northrup, and saw what I thought at that time was a tomahawk. After I had studied medicine, in later years, I found that this instrument was a Hays saw, a surgical instrument used for cutting the scalp. It was a very large and strong instrument compared with what is used at the present time. It did not take us long to get back to our camp, and the next day about two o'clock in the afternoon we saw a band of free-state men coming across the prairie—about one hundred men, or perhaps more. We knew what to expect from them after what we did the day before, and we made quick preparation for them.

At Hickory Point there were but two houses; one was a double hotel and the other a blacksmith shop. We had about fifty men in all, and twelve of us got into the blacksmith shop; the rest into the hotel. Harvey came up quickly and stopped about three hundred yards from us, in full view, and saw us making preparations to receive him. At this time we saw a man on horseback coming to our camp at full speed, under whip and spur, and almost every man in Harvey's command was firing at him. It was Alex Courtney, who had gone from camp that morning and was captured by Harvey. He told us what the free-state men intended to do, and we determined to nail a black flag on the shop. We got Vanderhorst's old black shawl, a thin one, which his mother gave him, and nailed it to a long pole, and then spiked the pole to the top of the blacksmith shop. In a very short time and before we were ready, the free-state men let fly a six-pound cannon ball at us, and it passed through the shop, striking the but of a rifle, which bounded back and broke the leg of one of our men. We had to take him out of the shop to the hotel, where there was more room to care for him. We then settled ourselves down to business, placing one man at each corner of the shop, whose duty it was to watch the cannon and tell the rest when the free-state men were going to shoot, at which time all inside lay flat on the ground and the balls passed through the shop about six inches above us. The shots could not go any lower on account of the lay of the ground. Ten shots were fired, and all of them passed through the shop. I remember I was flat on my back, right beside the work bench, the iron vise above me, just about the middle of my body. One of the cannon balls struck the legs of the bench, and the whole bench and all of the old iron, nuts and bolts, nails and chains covered me all over, as it fell, with dirt and dust. For a while the shop was foggy, but it soon cleared away. After the cannon was fired we would all jump up and poke our rifles through the chinks in the logs and keep up a continuous fire until warned by the watch at each corner to look out for the cannon, when we would drop

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that he was anxious to save, and mounting his fleet horse started on a run for the timber along the river. At first he kept out of the way of his pursuers, but on arriving at a thicket of hazel brush the horse stopped, and the doctor jumped off and took to the brush. His pursuers stopping to secure the horse, he made his way in safety to the river and hid his bag of gold under a fallen tree. He had just secured a place of safety in a tangled thicket when the ruffians came in on all sides, but he eluded them."—Andreas' "History of Kansas," 1883, p. 501.

The Grasshopper Falls raid was said to have grown out of a disturbance between free-state men, under the leadership of a man named Clark, and a proslavery man by the name of Jackson. Jackson had been insulting to some of the women in the neighborhood and Clark's men had raided his house and shot him. It was in retaliation for this that Crosby's store was burned.

flat on the ground again, then get up and fire as fast as we could load. I saw one man riding my horse—a large gray, and a fine saddle horse—and every time he came in sight I gave him a shot or two, but did not succeed in hitting him. Hours passed, and we kept on firing. About three o'clock we noticed a wagon loaded with hay coming towards the shop, and no horses were attached. We at once concluded that they intended to burn us out, and we arranged, by placing two of our best marksmen at each corner of the shop, to watch for the legs of the men rolling the wagon, and we kept up a constant fire. The wagon came up about seventy-five yards, when all at once it stopped, and we saw smoke going up. We knew then that it was all right for us—for they got sick of it, and some of the men who were pushing the wagon had their legs broken. The wagon was set on fire and abandoned. In the shop we gave three cheers and kept up the firing. Late in the evening we saw a man coming towards us with a white flag. We ceased firing and sent a man out to meet him. We were glad to give up the fight, for they outnumbered us two or three to one.[8] After a truce was made I went out to their

8. After the burning of Grasshopper Falls it was rumored that the proslavery men intended to burn Pleasant Hill and other free-state towns and drive the citizens from the country. A messenger was sent to Topeka, to Lane, asking his help. With a party of men he immediately marched on Osawkie, a proslavery town; this he raided. Having for the moment subdued the proslavery element in that vicinity, and hearing that a large party of them, heavily armed, were collecting at Hickory Point, he rapidly made his way in that direction. Upon his arrival at the litttle settlement, which consisted of a store, a hotel and a blacksmith shop, he found about one hundred proslavery men armed and waiting for a fight. They were under the command of Capt. H. A. Lowe, and consisted of settlers from that neighborhood and "about forty of the South Carolinians who had been committing outrages throughout the country." Lane made an attack, but soon found that his force was insufficient. He thereupon sent a messenger to Lawrence, asking for reinforcements, and especially to have sent to his aid Capt. J. C. Bickerton and the cannon "Sacramento." Geary, on his arrival in the territory, had issued a proclamation ordering all armed bands to disperse. Lane had not heard this order until after he reached Hickory Point and had sent for reinforcements. As soon as he heard it he retired from his position near the settlement and started back to Topeka with his troops, expecting to meet Bickerton coming to his aid.

In the meantime his messenger had reached Lawrence and a company of recruits, the "Lawrence Stubbs," under Col. J. A. Harvey, proceeded at once to Lane's assistance. This company took the direct route, starting in the evening and marching all night. They made camp, at what is now Oskaloosa, long enough to cook breakfast, and then resumed their march, arriving at Hickory Point about 10:30 Sunday morning, September 14. Here they found the proslavery men and drove them back into the log buildings. They had at first tried to break away. Harvey ordered his wagons up to within some 300 yards of the buildings, and there they halted.

"Over the cabins occupied by the enemy three flags were floating, that over the blacksmith shop being a black one. No message was sent on either side, but the cannon was placed in position about two hundred yards south of the blacksmith shop and firing began at once. The cannon were supported by about twenty men armed with United States muskets. The 'Stubbs' company was stationed about two hundred yards to the southeast, in a timbered ravine. The first cannon shot passed through the blacksmith shop, struck and killed Charles G. Newhall. About twenty more shots were fired, but without effect, as the occupants of the shop kept close watch, and when the gun was about to be fired threw themselves on the ground, allowing the balls to pass over their heads. A constant firing was kept up on both sides with rifles, but at so long range that but little harm was done. The store and hotel were close together, and having plenty of whisky, the occupants became reckless, and frequently passed from one to the other. One of these, who was wounded in the thigh by a rifle ball, was Evans, the blacksmith, and brother of the first free-state treasurer of the county. Finding it impossible to dislodge Captain Lowe and his men, Harvey ordered a wagon to be loaded with hay and backed up to the blacksmith shop, then to be set on fire, and for the men to retreat under cover of the smoke. This plan worked nicely until the wagon was within a short distance of the building, when its occupants began shooting under the wagon, hitting the men in the legs until they were glad to jump up on the tongue for safety. After remaining there some time they set fire to the hay and got away under cover of the smoke. Soon after a white flag was sent out from the shop. This was for the purpose of arranging for several noncombatants to leave the buildings. Harvey sent a message back by the carrier. Firing now ceased altogether, and messages passed back and forth. A compromise was soon arranged, by which each party was to retire peaceably and to give up all plunder, and all nonresidents in each party were to leave the county. The compromise

command to try to get my horse back, and after much talking succeeded in making the trade. I mounted old John and started for the camp, and the next morning saddled up and started back to Atchison, rather glad to get rid of Lane and his men for the time being. When our company arrived at Atchison there was nothing for us to do except to ride over the country, hunt, fish, play cards, shoot at marks, etc.

The people of Missouri, through the influence of General Atchison, furnished our small band of men with oxen, mules, wagons, plows and all kinds of provisions, such as flour, meal and bacon, and we sent a couple of men out into the territory to locate a site for use. Upon returning they reported Marysville as being a good location. Most of the party hitched up and left Atchison for Marysville.[9]

In November, Vanderhorst, Stringfellow, of Virginia, William Grearson, of Charleston, S. C., and I started from Marysville, fixing up one of the wagons, for a hunt. We provided ourselves with buffalo robes and blankets and everything that was required for a hunting party—plenty of ammunition, cooking utensils and provisions of all kinds. We first camped on the Vermillion, where we stayed two or three days, finding small game—quails, chickens and turkeys. In the bed of the creek we found deer tracks, but we could not start up a deer; so I concluded that I would follow the track of one of them, and went out on the high prairie. I followed for about a mile out, and finally, before I knew a deer was anywhere near me, out jumped one, and away he went, my shot not taking effect. After staying at this camp several days we hitched up and came back on the Big Blue, pitched our tents and commenced hunting in new quarters. Plenty of turkeys were found, but we wanted big game—deer, elk, antelope or buffaloes. While riding over the prairie one day, up jumped a large buck, and as quick as a flash I gave him the contents of my rifle. He stopped in the tall grass. I knew he was not dead, so pulled my revolver, firing twice, but missed him. I rammed another ball down my rifle and fired again, and he fell over. As I moved forward to cut his throat, up jumped two more just in front of me, and I gave them the other four shots from my revolver, but did not hit them. The other men were on the other side of the river, and, hearing the shots, concluded I had been caught by the Indians, and came rushing up to find me cutting the throat of the old buck.

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was effected about five o'clock, after which both parties came together, and the proslavery men having a large quantity of whisky, all had a jolly time, and soon all animosity was forgotten in the passing pleasures of the hour. The casualties were as follows: One proslavery man was killed and four wounded; of the free-state men, three were shot in the legs, one got a badly bruised head, and a boy fifteen years old was shot through the lungs."—Andreas' "History of Kansas," 1883, p. 502.

9. (*Supra*, Note 2.) The South Carolina company, of which Doctor Morrall was a member, had become a part of the proslavery militia in Kansas territory, and was called into service at intervals during the summer of 1856. Its headquarters were at Atchison, but as has been seen, many of its men had gone into Marshall county to make a settlement at Palmetto; therefore in responding to military calls they were obliged to make frequent trips from Marysville to Atchison, or to Lecompton, the seat of government of the proslavery party. As a matter of fact, the entire summer of 1856 was spent by them under arms, and it was not until the following year that those remaining in Kansas undertook to make of Palmetto anything but a camping place. They had probably chosen it for a location because Marysville was a "Missouri town," and F. J. Marshall, who had come into that country in 1849 from Weston, Mo., was a strong proslavery sympathizer. Also that part of the territory was practically outside of civilization, and embarrassing questions were not likely to be called up. The rule of the revolver was supreme and no one disputed it.

We had lots of fresh meat of all kinds, but could find no buffaloes; so we concluded to go across the country to the Little Blue to see if the game was more plentiful over there. On the first day of December, Vanderhorst, Stringfellow and I started. It was a warm day, and I pulled off my coat and went in my shirt sleeves—did not even have on a vest. We left William Grearson and a negro boy, who did our cooking, at the tent. We arrived at the Little Blue about night, and built up a good fire. After eating a lunch and smoking, we went to sleep. About daylight it commenced to snow. At first it came down slowly, in large flakes, and melted as fast as it came down, but soon the day grew colder and the snow covered the ground so completely that it was with difficulty we found the crossing of the river; for we were on the farther side, having crossed the night before. We succeeded in getting across after awhile, and traveled briskly all day for our camp, but at night we found ourselves back on the same river and about two hundred yards from where we started, but on the east side of the river. It was cold and we had nothing to eat.

Just at dusk we got down, and I struck out to find some wood to make a fire. As it had snowed all day and the ground was covered about six or ten inches deep with the snow, it was impossible to see any wood, but I dragged my foot along in the snow and struck against something hard, and, reaching down, found a piece of wood as large as my leg and about twelve feet long. I started out again in the same way, and after going over about two acres of ground found another stick about the same length, and with these started a fire and kept it all night by pushing the two ends together as they burned out. The other men did nothing to help. It was all the better for me, for the exercise kept me warm. It was really an Indian fire, for the Indians always say: "White man make big fire and stand off; Indian make little fire and sit over." We did not sleep any, for we were just able to keep from freezing. My gloves got wet in getting the wood, and I held them to the fire to dry them, but they curled up so that I had to throw them away and do without gloves after that. In the morning we started again, and it was still snowing hard. In whatever direction we turned it seemed that the snow came into our faces. It was hard to handle my horse, with the bridle wet and frozen, but it had to be done, and was done. We traveled lively all day and at night we found the same result—no camp. We then knew we were lost, and had to battle the best we could to keep warm. On the fourth night we came across an old tree that had been struck by lightning and the branches lay thick on the ground, sticking out of the snow. We thought we would camp there and get a good thawing out and dry our clothes before night. We got our horse blankets off the horses and placed them on the limbs of the old oak to dry and also to keep the wind and snow from us, for it was drifting badly and the snow fell in large flakes—almost like a hard rainstorm, but not so thick. We managed to sleep some, and when morning came found that large holes had been burned in all of the blankets. Vanderhorst's blanket was almost destroyed, but having a coat, he did not miss the blanket so much We then saddled up and started again, trying as best we could to find our

way, but at night we found the same result—no camp. We spent another night, and in the morning started again with hope still that we would find the camp by that night; but alas, the same fate caught us at dark. The next morning we started again, and about ten o'clock came across a plain road leading east and west; we knew it was the road that passed through Marysville, the place from which we had first started. It was the regular government road, leading to Fort Laramie. We held a consultation as to which direction to take, for we were all puzzled. Vanderhorst and Stringfellow said we ought to take to the left; I contended for the right. However, not wishing to leave the party and go by myself, I went with them to the left, following the road with high hope of being in Marysville by night. Stringfellow's mule gave out and would not go any further. We told him to walk and we would go on and send back for him, but for him to follow our tracks. We went on as fast as our horses could travel in the snow, and when night came we were at the head of the Little Blue, going directly away from home. I saw some trees near the road, and thought best to camp there for the night. I dismounted and gathered some wood; Vanderhorst got down and lay down on the snow behind a big tree to keep the wind away from him. When I was ready to light the fire I found that Stringfellow had all of the matches—we had none! Then I took Vanderhorst's coat, ripped all of the wadding from the lining and shot powder into it, but after using half of a flask of powder and failing to get a fire, I was at the end of my wits. I walked around and found a place where I could dig a hole in the snow deep enough to cover us up, and, with my naked hands and my feet, made a hole about three feet deep. Unsaddling my horse, I took the blanket, spread it on the bottom, and made Vanderhorst get down into the hole; then I covered him up with the other blanket. I then commenced to pile in onto him the soft snow and told him to keep the hole large enough for me to get in beside him, which I did, and found that in a short time I was comfortable. Exhausted, we were soon sleeping.

About one o'clock I heard a whoop, and Stringfellow came up. I answered him, making room for him in the hole, and in a short time all was still. It was a bright moonlight night, and we slept soundly. In the morning, instead of retracing our steps, all insisted that we were right and should keep on the same road and in the same direction. I gave Stringfellow my horse to ride, and I followed on foot for about six or eight miles, when Vanderhorst stopped and fell from his horse, saying he could go no further. By strong persuasion we got him started again to a small bunch of timber on the left of the road, about a mile off. We struck an old Indian camp that had been deserted, and found some wigwam poles and some dry wood. We soon had a good fire, and Vanderhorst lay on his horse blanket. It was at this time that I first realized the dreadful situation in which we were, and just made up my mind that Vanderhorst could n't go any further; that we could not leave him, and that if we waited longer we would be in the same condition. We had a brindle dog that followed us from camp, and I decided to kill him and have a good fry or roast, and stay there until Vanderhorst got stronger. I pulled out my revolver, letting a shot fly at his head. I was so sure of

killing him at the first shot that I did not think of tying him. When I fired the blood "flew," and the dog also. I mounted my horse and gave the dog a chase and the other five shots from my revolver; but he got away, and that night went home by himself. If I had only followed him I would have been home with him. I came back and tied my horse to a tree and got out my knife to cut his throat; for we had had no food all this time.

Vanderhorst and Stringfellow called me to the fire, and we talked the matter over. They asked me if I would be willing to take the best animal we had and take the same road in the hope of finding Patterson's ranch or Marysville. I was willing to do anything that promised hope of finding assistance. Before we left Marysville we had met Patterson, who told us that his ranch was on that road. But we did not know if we had discovered the road beyond his house, or whether we were between his ranch on the left and Marysville on the right. If we were between the two places I would certainly find one of them; in any event, it was the last chance for these men. If I did not find any place that night, I thought I would cut the mule's throat and camp there until the snow was all gone. After going about six miles I came to the Big Sandy creek. I kept to the main road and the old crossing. The mail man who carried the overland mail, in coming in with his coach, had been caught in this same snowstorm. He left his coach at Patterson's ranch and took one of the mules, together with the mail, and continued his journey to St. Joseph, Mo. He had left the main road and headed the Big Sandy, and was coming back, on my rear, to the road, when he saw me ahead of him, and whooped. This was music to my ears. Looking back, I saw approaching a man on muleback. I turned and met him. I told him of our misfortune and where I was trying to go. He told me his adventure, and that he had just left Patterson's ranch, which was about five miles further west. He gave me a handful of oyster crackers, which I enjoyed eating, but I did not like to take my hands from under my arms to get the crackers to my mouth, as this was the only way I had of keeping my hands warm, now that I had no gloves. I started west for Patterson's ranch and the mail man went east for Marysville. The mule kept the road all right, and I made good time to the Little Sandy, where I expected to find the ranch—a small log cabin with sod on top for shingles.

I got to the creek, or river, and found the crossing with some difficulty, but finally crossed over, went up the bank on the other side, and was about to pass the cabin—for I could not see any house on account of the snow, which was deep enough to cover up everything—when one of the men opened the door. The light within flashed into my face. I reined up, rode to the house, dismounted, and told the inmates of my situation, how I had left the boys behind, and persuaded them to go to their rescue. They gave me a cup of coffee, biscuits and some fat bacon, after which I felt better. After I got warmed up the three men hitched up and we started back for the boys. We followed my mule's tracks, and found the boys just where I had left them. We had to tie Vanderhorst on to the horse, and I got up behind him; he laid his head on my shoulder, and I had to keep my arms around him to prevent his falling from the

saddle. When he reached the ranch he could not retain any food, he was so far gone, and it was twenty-four hours before he could eat anything. In the morning I found that my feet were very much swollen and very painful. I did not know what to do for them; and if I had known, there was nothing to do with—no way to get anything—and the pain had to be borne the best way possible. We had to sleep on buffalo hides and pelts of all descriptions and sizes, and fight "graybacks" all night. This, of course, was much preferable to being out in the storm; and besides, we had some little prospect of getting back home to camp. We sat by the stove during the day, and at night, too, if we could not sleep. Our eating consisted of bacon, biscuits and coffee. For six days we stayed there in that condition. Patterson and his men bantered us for a game of poker. Stringfellow and I sat down with them and played for four days, at the end of which time the mail man came back for his coach and took us to Marysville with him, about sixty miles.

After arriving at Marysville we had to stay until we could hire a team to take us to Atchison, at which place we expected to secure surgical attention. At last we got an old Frenchman to undertake to carry us there, and we started. Although the snow was about eight inches deep, he landed us in Atchison in three days. We then sent over the river into Missouri for a doctor. When he came and dressed our wounds he said he would have to take Vanderhorst back with him to a place where he could take better care of him. He told me what to do with my foot. When demarcation set in, I got a sharp rifle-bullet mold, and, with a file, sharpened it, and cut my toes off myself by squeezing the molds down and pulling the bones out like a tooth, one by one. I had to go on crutches all that winter.

The following clipping, taken from the St. Louis *Republican*, will perhaps add to what I have written:

"Terrible Suffering on the Plains.—We have information of the return of a hunting party, from the Little Blue, in a most deplorable condition. They were Mr. James Stringfellow, Mr. Van Dorser and Mr. Morrell—the first from Atchison, K. T., and the two latter from South Carolina. Geo. Matthews saw them after their hairbreadth 'scapes, and gives me the following thrilling narrative:

"When they reached the Big Blue they fixed their encampment, but finding only a few buffalo, they left their camp in charge of a negro man belonging to Mr. Van Dorser, and proceeded over to the Little Blue. On the first evening out they were overtaken by a storm of wind and snow, and lost their way. They wandered for eight days without fire or food. They blew the tubes out of their guns, in their efforts to kindle a fire, and then threw their guns away. The feet of Van Dorser and Morrell became so frosted and they were so exhausted from fatigue and starvation that Mr. Stringfellow, who had had some mountain experience, was scarcely able to get them to move along. He encouraged them by every means, until they finally reached a habitation, and were saved. Mr. Morrell and Mr. Van Dorser, however, will lose their feet and Mr. Stringfellow some of his toes. Their sufferings were beyond description, and they will be ill for some weeks to come. The negro who remained in the camp is uninjured, although he suffered a good deal from the severity of the cold and anxiety for his master and friends. They are all now safely lodged in Atchison."

In the spring of 1857 I went out to Mormon Grove, staked out a claim of 160 acres, and built a small house about eight feet square. I moved out there, "baching it" for two months, more or less. I had two young men stay with me until some time in the summer. Not until summer did I throw away my crutches, and then I went back to Marysville, or Palmetto, as it was called, arriving there after two days' of hard riding. The young men from Atchison who had moved out there had taken with them their oxen, mules, wagons, and lots of flour and bacon that old Dave Atchison furnished—enough to last them, if taken care of, for two years, perhaps more. There was nothing to do except loaf all day and play cards all night; and the living was terribly rough. I went to stay with an old Frenchman named McCloskey, who had an Indian wife from the Sioux tribe,[10] and from them I learned many signs and words of the Indian language.

I often met Indians, and have hunted all day with them. Once I was going from Palmetto to Fort Kearny, about one hundred and fifty miles, and the first day out I saw ahead of me in the road something that looked, at that distance, like buffaloes. A nearer approach proved it to be Indians. They left the road and went down in a small ravine, where they waited until I got opposite to them, and then came full tilt right for me. I thought my time had come, sure enough. I got my rifle and pistol where I could use them quickly, but when the Indians came up to me they halted, saluting me, "How how." I was soon satisfied that they wanted to know if I had seen any Indians on the road over which I had come. I told them that I had, pointing out the direction opposite to that in which I was going, and they were off like a flash. Some of the Pawnee Indians had stampeded their ponies and had stolen half of them, and were then being hunted down.

Having a little money in the fall, I built a small house, secured a partner, and started a trading post. A man named Ballard took charge of the store, but failed in the business, and all of the money I put into the venture was gone. I was so tired of doing nothing that at this time I decided to study medicine, found a medical book, and commenced to read. When the time came for me to go to school I started for Ann Arbor, Mich. Charles Demming gave me a letter of introduction to Dr. James Adams Allen, of Chicago, and I stopped over there to see him. He persuaded me to study in Chicago instead of at Ann Arbor, so I went to Rush Medical College that winter. After the lectures were over I came back to Kansas, stopping at Indianola, a small town near Topeka, during the summer.

The war between the North and the South breaking out at this time, I felt obliged to either leave the state or fight with the northern army. I chose the former, and went back to Palmetto (Marysville) to settle up my business affairs, and shortly after left Kansas for Missouri. I had to go to Atchison to cross the river. Arriving there, I found the ferry guarded, and orders had been given that any one leaving for Mis-

10. James McCloskey was an Indian trader who had settled near Marysville in November, 1855. His marriage to his Indian wife, Monlewaka, a Sioux, was the first ceremony taking place on the town site. It was solemnized by Justice of the Peace James S. Magill, October 28, 1857. McCloskey had brought his bride down from the mountains on one of his trading trips.

souri would be arrested. Being acquainted with one of the men in the company, I waited until it was his time to be on guard, and he allowed me to cross in the evening. I went towards St. Joseph, stopping for the night at Rushville, a small village of about a dozen houses. I was very tired walking and soon went to bed. About two o'clock in the morning I heard all of the bells ringing, and great confusion around the tavern. I got up and went downstairs, and found out that the Federals were marching from St. Joseph to assist or relieve Colonel Mulligan, at Lexington, Mo., and would pass through Rushville. I at once started on foot to the south, leaving my baggage and all of the clothing and papers I had, for I could not carry them. After going a short distance I inquired where I could find some one who had more horses than he needed, and was told to go to a certain farm on the road, where lived a man who raised horses and who had a number on hand at that time. I went up to this farm and met the owner coming out through the gate. I explained to him what I wanted, and he, much to my surprise, dismounted and handed me his bridle. I thanked him for the horse, mounted him, and off I went for fear he would change his mind. I proceeded south as rapidly as I could go, and found that the whole country was up in arms, but no organizations were yet formed. Now and then I came across a man who had about twenty men banded together as a company, and I traveled with them—first with one and then another, to find out which I would like.

At Bean Lake, Mo., the company I was then with stopped near the river bank to get some blankets and something to eat. While we were busy getting these things from a store a steamer came around the bend of the river, and in passing gave us a volley from small arms, which scattered us in a hurry in every direction. We had no arms with which to return the compliment, and had to let the boat pass down the river unmolested. We were not sure where they were going, but supposed they were Yankees on their way to aid Col. James A. Mulligan at Lexington, the place I was trying to reach in order to join General Price, who was marching on the town, hoping to capture it and Mulligan's command of four thousand men. Colonel Mulligan was strongly entrenched with a wall eight feet wide around his camp, which was in the south part of town. The Masonic College, a large building, was their headquarters. We were making for Liberty landing, just opposite Lexington. A part of our men crossed over the river, but before the rest could cross the detachment from St. Joseph came down on us and we had to turn and give them battle. We ran them back for some miles, and then the rest of our men crossed over at their leisure, joining General Price's command. We laid siege to the town, or the ground that the Federals held, and eventually closed in on them by pushing hemp bales forward, protecting ourselves behind the bales. First we cut them off from water, then starved them out. Mulligan surrendered and we took possession of everything.[11] Our forces were ordered to mount the wall, and we marched around the fortification with the band playing "Dixie." This was the first time I ever heard that tune, and it sounded grand. We procured three thousand stands of arms, together with cannon, mules, wagons, and ammu-

11. This action before Lexington began September 13, 1861, and was closed by Mulligan's surrender on the 20th.

nition of all kinds. I threw away my old flintlock musket and seized a good carbine and a good revolver.

When Price began to fall back from Lexington I left and started for South Carolina with a man named Westbrook. He was going to Tennessee. When we crossed the Black river in a ferry flat a very amusing thing happened. Westbrook was a man who weighed at least 250 pounds, and in the middle of the river he leaned against the railing of the flatboat so heavily that it gave way, letting him fall into the water. It was a very cold and frosty morning. I laughed at him so much that he grew angry. We turned in on the bank of the river, and I gathered a lot of wood and made up a good fire to dry his clothing. We then proceeded on our journey, going through a part of Arkansas—the river bottom. I never saw such large trees. I could see great, long logs of wood that had lodged in the branches of the trees at least twenty feet from the ground, showing how high the river had been in that swamp. Now and then we would come across a high elevation and a good farmhouse, with cotton growing and lots of livestock. At one such place the owner told us that when the river was up high all kinds of animals came on to the hills to get out of the water. I do not remember how long we were on the road; but at last we came to a ferry opposite Memphis, and, crossing over to the city, I went to a livery stable to sell my horse, saddle and everything I had, after which I bought a ticket for Charleston, S. C. Arriving there in due time, I went immediately to the home of Schutz Gadsden, my brother-in-law, and on the next day took the train for Grahamville. Two days before that the gunboats had knocked the batteries at that place all to pieces, and I never saw such a scared set of men as I saw then; just say "shell" and every man was ready to run.

I shall not say anything about what happened in South Carolina, for you all know that. I joined the southern army, and was stationed in and around Grahamville until the end of the war. After the war was over I was penniless, as were hundreds of others; so I made many things for sale, carried them to Augusta, Ga., and sold then—fans made out of chicken feathers, etc. With the money thus obtained I bought tobacco. I returned to Charleston, where I secured employment, and later bought quite a stock of wheelwright goods and opened a shop at Monck's Corner, with a man named Bonnett for my partner. Here I made enough money to bring me back to Kansas in 1866.

On returning to Kansas I found that all of the real estate I had left around Palmetto, or Marysville, was owned by some one else, and I never succeeded in getting it back. I listed it in the courts several times, but was beaten in the suits. I then settled myself down to the study of medicine, going to Chicago again to attend Rush Medical College, from which institution I graduated in 1867. I came to Wamego, Kan., at that time. Since then, until within a few years, I have been actively engaged in the practice of medicine.

I was made a Mason in 1862, at Grahamville, S. C. After coming back to Kansas I was one of the charter members of Wamego Lodge, No. 75, A. F. & A. M., and in after years served as master of the same. Sometime later I became a Royal Arch Mason, and served as high priest of chapter No. 53.

# THE LYON CREEK SETTLEMENT.

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society, by MRS. CLARA M. FENGEL SHIELDS, of Lost Springs.

THIS PAPER does not pretend to be a complete account of the settlement along Lyon creek through the counties of Marion, Dickinson and Geary. It takes up, rather, the settlement of a colony of Germans along the creek. No attempt has been made to present a sketch of every settler, nor has it been possible to record the name of every one. But some mention will be found of most of those who stayed long enough to make a home, or who have descendants still living in the Lyon creek settlement.

This colony was for the most part made up of Germans who had settled in and around Watertown, Wis. The long, hard winters and the excessive snowfall had led them to think of homes in a milder climate. Through reports from more adventurous friends, they came to look with favor upon Kansas, and thither the first party came in 1857. Thus the Lyon creek community took form, and for over fifteen years thereafter small companies came into the neighborhood from Wisconsin, or in some instances directly from Germany. From this beginning a thrifty settlement has been built up through industry and frugality. Where yesterday log and sod houses marked a pioneer settlement, to-day stand fine, modern country homes, with water and electric-light systems, commodious barns and granaries, and "cattle on a hundred hills." And where once there reigned the Sabbath stillness of the prairies, to-day may be heard the peal of bells from the white church spires, calling the little community to worship.

A paper such as this is of increasing historical and genealogical value. The personal records of a community come to have more than local value as years go by. And the writer of this article is to be commended for her painstaking efforts in striving to make some permanent record of the first settlers in the neighborhood about which she knew the most—her home. C. F.

THE Lost Springs station, on the Santa Fe trail, was first operated by George Smith in 1859. The station house was situated on the south side of the trail, and south and east of the famous spring. It was a three-room structure, between thirty and forty feet in length, with an "L" extension on the south side containing the dining room and kitchen. The building was of siding with the joints "stripped," and the roof was covered with sod and dirt, thus making a very comfortable dwelling. There were four outside doors, and the five windows each carried twelve "lights"—an unusual thing in such houses. The rooms were papered with newspapers, and bricks for the chimneys being unobtainable, the stovepipes, called "prairie chimneys," ran up through the roof.

Southwest of the ranch house was a stockade inclosing about an acre of ground, a great hollow square surrounded by eight-foot posts, with loopholes at regular intervals. These posts were hauled by Fletcher Cress from what is now the Biehler farm, on Lyon creek, and about five miles from the station. There were no trees in the vicinity of the station house, which was set on a well-chosen site high above the surrounding country. The nearest timber was on the headwaters of Lyon creek, some miles to the north. The station was not entirely dependent on the Lost Springs for its water, there being a well about a rod south of the house. This well was dug by Alexis D. Blanchett sometime during 1860.

Five graves to the northeast of the site of the old station house and nine graves on the west bear silent witness to the hurried passing of life on the frontier. Nine of the graves are said to contain the remains of

cowboys who perished, with a thousand cattle, where they had taken shelter behind the bluff during the blizzard. The other five graves hold all that was mortal of "bullwhackers" who died with their boots on, victims of men noted as being "quick on the trigger."

Lost Springs,[1] located on what is now section 21, township 17, range

MRS. CLARA M. SHIELDS.

4, Clear Creek township, Marion county, was a famous camping place on the Santa Fe trail. The pleasant valley, covered with a luxuriant growth of grass, and the clear, abundant water invited the weary caravans to rest. The spring still runs as clear and abundant as it did all those years

1. The name by which the Kansas Indians knew Lost Springs was *Nee-nee-oke-pi-yah*, meaning lost water, and the Spaniards referred to it as *Agua Perdula*—lost water.

LOST SPRING.

ago, but the camping place is now a picnic ground, and tables and benches are set where wagons once were parked in fear of Indian attacks. The frontier has passed away and Lost Springs and Lyon creek are no longer outposts.

The Lost Springs ranch is now owned by J. B. Shields, and includes the springs as well as the land to the south where the station house and stockade were situated. A monument marking the Santa Fe trail stands near the site of the old station house.

The Lyon creek settlement begins in what is now Lyon township, Geary county, and extends up the creek to its headwaters in Marion county, thus including a portion of Dickinson county.

Lyon creek is forty-two miles long, and rising in the Lost Springs, it flows in a northeasterly direction to join the Smoky Hill river near Junction City. It is fringed with timber, clumps of ash, sycamore, elm, hackberry, walnut, cottonwood and willow. The hills are high near its mouth, forming bluffs on either side, but as one ascends the stream the land be-

comes only rolling, and at Lost Springs one finds a prairie ravine with sloping banks. The creek is said to have been named for General Nathaniel Lyon, but the Indians called it *Wa-tun-ga,* meaning clear water.

The account of the settlers undertaken in this article is from material collected from the pioneers or their descendants, and has been done with the hope that some one will find a little of worth and interest in the story of this German settlement, so humble in its beginnings.

One of the very early settlers on Lyon creek was Herman Oesterreich. He was born in Greifenberg, Uckermark, Prussia, March 21, 1834, and with his father's family came to the United States in 1847, settling in Watertown, Wis. Of his settlement in Kansas Mr. Oesterreich writes:

"The first time I came to Kansas was in 1856. I came by railroad to Jefferson City, Mo., then by steamboat up the river to Fort Leavenworth. From Fort Leavenworth I walked alone to Fort Riley. Coming through the Pottawatomie reservation I saw many Indians, but they did not seek to trouble me. Arriving at Fort Riley, I asked the way to Lyon creek, but the soldiers could not tell me where it was. The government had a ferry on the river there to carry the hay across, and so I crossed over. On the south side of the river I met a man by the name of N. S. Gilbert, and he directed me to Lyon creek.

"I wanted to pick out a claim on the creek, so after locating it I struck out over the bluff. I could not get through along the creek on account of the grass, as high as my head, and the tangle of grape and hop vines. I picked out a good claim, and in the spring of 1859 I returned to Watertown, Wis., to be married.

"When I first came on the creek I found James R. McClure on a claim at the mouth of the stream. He worked in the land office at Ogden. He had settled there in 1854, and was the first settler. There were also three other settlers, living in a cabin. They had come in 1855 and had each taken a claim, though they all lived together. They were Bean, Cobb and McElroy. Bean's land was at the first crossing of Lyon creek; he sold out to James Morris. A man named Richard Chivers had preëmpted some land in this vicinity, but he sold it to Robert Henderson. Mike Wandler and his brother settled at the second crossing of Lyon creek. Captain George Ware lived just above Mike Wandler, but on the west side of the creek. At the third crossing Alex and John Smith took up land. They came up the creek in the spring of 1857. When I first saw them they were running the ferry at the fort, and as I came down to take the ferry they were mowing grass with scythes. The third crossing on Lyon creek came to be called Alex Smith's crossing. His land was on the west side, and he and his brother lived in a log cabin there. John's land was on the east side of the creek. Alex Smith married Deborah McJirr, October 28, 1865. She was born in Stark county, Ohio, December 27, 1836. Alex died January 18, 1902. When they were married he built a new log cabin to take his bride to.

"Our family and the Latzke family crossed the ocean together to this country. We were on the sea a long time and encountered a heavy storm, which delayed us considerably.

"After working my claim I went back to Watertown, Wis., in the spring of 1859, and on May 15 I was married to Albertina Timm. She was born near Treptow, Pommern, Germany, April 19, 1841. When she was twelve years old her father, Peter Timm, with his family, emigrated to this country.

"In July, 1859, my wife and I started back to my claim on Lyon creek. With us came Peter Timm, his wife and seven children; Charles F. Brehmer and wife; Ed Bruntrock and a Mr. Mermann, bachelors. This made a company of four wagons drawn by ox teams. We brought with us ten head of cattle and some sheep; we also brought chickens. It took

us six weeks to make the trip. Mermann was the only one of our party who did not stay in Kansas. He took a claim over on Cary creek that had no timber on it, and, becoming homesick, returned to Wisconsin. Fred Fiedler afterwards took the Mermann claim. Peter Timm took a claim between the farms of Charlie and Fred Staatz, five miles north of the present town of Woodbine. His children were Caroline, now Mrs. August Volkman; Herman, who in the spring of 1870 married Wilhelmina Janecke (Herman died in 1915 at Woodbine, where he and his wife had moved from their farm); William Timm, who maried Mrs. Augusta Engel-Schultz; Ferdinand, who married Rose Fiedler; Bertha, now Mrs. Ernest Asling; August, married to Bertha Staatz; Amelia, married to a Mr. Schmidt; and Albertina, my wife. Two children were born to Mr. and Mrs. Timm after they settled on Lyon creek—Frank, who married Louise Gatch, and Alvina, who married Julius Selen.

"The first house we had was a log house built in 1859, and we lived in it until 1867, when we built our stone house. This house was used as a refuge during the Indian raids.

"We have had nine children—Frank, Albert, Edward, Henry, Louise, Lydia, Fred, William and Minnie."

DWELLING OF HERMAN OESTERREICH,
Used as a fort during Indian raids.

In 1856 John G. Rekken, with another man, both from Watertown, Wis., came to Kansas to look for a place where land was cheap and range was free. It was their intention to establish a colony if things went well and land prices were satisfactory. They came to Fort Riley and were directed to the Lyon creek valley, being told that the land was extremely productive. From the fort they traveled southwest, crossing the river on a ferry and going up the Smoky to the mouth of Lyon creek. The creek was clear and far more inviting looking than the muddy Smoky. They took their way up the creek, looking for a suitable place to establish homes. After they had traveled about ten miles they came

upon a clear rivulet rushing madly to join the creek, at something like a quarter of a mile away. Following this a short distance to its source, they found a beautiful spring flowing out of the hillside high above the surrounding valley.

Mr. Rekken was elated over his discovery, and returned immediately to Watertown, where he set about forming a party to come to Kansas. They left Wisconsin in the fall and expected to come directly to Lyon creek, but upon arriving in the southern part of Nebraska they heard much of the free-state troubles and the guerrilla outrages, and decided to stop for the winter in Nebraska. The party built log huts along the banks of a stream in the southern part of Nebraska and settled down to spend the winter there. By spring affairs had quieted down in Kansas, and so on March 1 the little party started south again, and reaching the Kansas river went up that stream to Fort Riley. Here the men left their families and prospected about for land, but soon returned and started up Lyon creek.

Mr. Rekken, with his family, which consisted of his wife and one daughter, Mary, settled on what is now known as the Delker place, in Lyon township, Geary county. Later he bought from the government the land he had seen on his first visit to Kansas, and thus the wonderful spring came to be known as the Rekken spring, though now the farm is called the Spring Ranch. The spring is on section 5, township 14, range 5, Liberty township, Dickinson county, on the east side of the creek and a little less than two miles from where now stands Lyona church. The spring runs 650 gallons a minute and has sufficient force to run a fifteen-horsepower engine. Rekken put an overshot wheel six feet ten inches in diameter below the spring and threw the water into a trough. The present ranch house pipes its water supply from the spring, and the overflow from the power house and spring runs into Lyon creek a little distance west.

Mr. Rekken left the Lyon creek community and moved to Junction City, where he died. He was a man of a good deal of ability and was useful to the settlers in many ways; not only did he serve them as doctor, but as lawyer as well. Mrs. Rekken also died in Junction City. Their daughter Mary married William Staatz and died before the Civil War.

Charles W. Staatz was one of the pioneers on Lyon creek, in what is now Liberty township, Dickinson county. He came in May, 1857. His wife is still alive, and gave the information for the following:

"My name is Friederika Oesterreich Staatz. I was born in Prussia, September 30, 1838, at Greifenberg. When I was eight years old my father decided to emigrate to the United States. We were on the ocean six weeks and three days. Our family and the Latzke family came to the United States on the same ship. We came in the year 1847. We went to Watertown, Wis., to live, and there I married Charlie Staatz, September 12, 1856. Mr. Staatz was born June 11, 1833, and died of typhoid fever, August 7, 1887. There was a plague of fever that year and hardly a home escaped its ravages. In Lyona cemetery alone, twenty-two persons were laid to rest who fell victims of the scourge. The disease was not confined to Lyon creek, but many families living along Cary creek were afflicted.

"As soon as Charlie and I were married we began to make arrangements to move to Kansas, and started very shortly afterward; it was

our wedding trip. On account of the troubles in Kansas we stopped in Nebraska, where we put up a cabin and waited through the winter until things were more settled in the territory. We left Nebraska on March 1, 1857. We brought one cow with us all the way from Wisconsin. We came by way of Manhattan, Ogden and Fort Riley. At the fort, Alex and John Smith ferried us over the river on a flatboat. There was quite a party of us: William Staatz, Charlie's brother; Anton Friedrich, wife and two children, and Mrs. Friedrich's parents; John Rekken, wife and daughter Mary; and a Mr. Hooker. When we came there were no houses on Lyon creek except a log cabin close to where the creek empties into Smoky Hill river. Farther up the creek we found one family in a wagon —the George Ware's. Mr. Ware died September 15, 1870, aged forty years; his wife, Frances Ware, died November 12, 1865, and was thirty years old at the time of her death. She and her husband are buried in Lyona cemetery. The members of our party came up the creek and selected their claims as they came along. We settled near where Cary creek flows into Lyon creek. We reached the place in May, and were obliged to live in our wagon until October, and it was while we were living in the wagon that our first baby was born, June 24, a little girl. She died

THE HOME OF F. H. STAATZ.

in October, and was the first person buried in the Lyon creek graveyard. Fred, our first boy, was born in October, 1858, and still lives on the old place. Because of his sister's early death, Fred has always been considered the first white child born in Dickinson county, and on that account he was given a silver loving cup by the Old Settlers' Association. Our two boys are William, who is a minister, and George, who lives just below the fourth crossing of the creek. It was at that crossing that Rev. Simon Potthast was drowned on June 13, 1866. He was only thirty years old. Besides our three boys, we raised two girls. In the fall after Fred was born Rev. Charles Stueckmann, a Methodist minister, came into our neighborhood and baptized Fred. We had taken our first baby, little Julia, to the fort, and the army preacher baptized her. We were Lutherans.

"Our house was a log house daubed with mud; the roof was of small logs, and it was covered with mud too. The floor was made like the roof, and we had a cellar underneath. We got everything settled before the winter came, moving into our house in October. Our furniture was very

plain and poor. Our chairs were stools made from logs sawed into blocks. We had no clock nor any looking-glass. When I wanted to see if my hair was parted straight I ran to a pail of water and looked in. We all had to do that. Our stone house was built about 1867.

"We never took our land, section 1, town 14, range 4, Liberty township, Dickinson county, as a homestead. We paid for it by making shingles and hauling them to Fort Riley; they used them on the barns there. The first wheat that we raised we took to Emporia to mill, ninety miles, with ox teams. You would think it a long way now. Before that, what flour we had had came from Leavenworth. The first corn that we had for sale we disposed of at Fort Riley. In 1860 nothing was raised in our settlement, and all the men went out to get work. They hauled corn from Fort Riley to Fort Larned for the government; it took seven weeks to make the trip with oxen. The first coal I saw was brought in a wagon from Fort Scott in 1859.

"The church and graveyard were on our land. The first church was built of logs and stood just across the road from where the stone church now stands. Our first regular preacher was a Mr. Dewein; then we had Mr. May. The third, I think, was Mr. Potthast,[2] who was drowned in Lyon creek, his wife standing on the bank helpless to aid him. Our stone church was built and dedicated in 1871.

"The first wedding we had in our settlement was that of William Staatz and Mary Rekken, in July, 1857. The bride wore a silk dress that she had brought with her from Wisconsin. To get a preacher they had to drive to the fort; so they took two yoke of oxen and drove all night and were married by the fort preacher. They got home the next day, and the Rekkens had a great dinner of roasted calf and rice, and we forgot we were in the wilderness. We left our home on Saturday to attend the wedding feast on Sunday. We took with us our Wisconsin cow and our chickens in a coop, our stove, and, in fact, everything we had, for fear the Indians would take them while we were gone. The Indians never had stolen anything from us, but they were always begging, and we did not want to leave all our goods where they might easily get them. We had sideboards on our wagon, and when we arrived at the Rekkens' we took them off and used them in making a table. We got back home on Monday. The wedding party was held in the grove, on what is now known as the old Delker farm, in Lyon township, Geary county. This was the Rekkens' first home."

Anton Friedrich and his family were members of the first party of settlers who located on Lyon creek, coming in May, 1857. With them came Mrs. Friedrich's parents and John Shoesnow. Friedrich settled on the creek just above the land William Staatz took, at what is now Lyondale, Geary county. William Staatz's first wife, Mary Rekken, died early, and for his second wife he married Minnie Henning; to them two children were born, Lena and Amelia. Lena became the wife of Frank Ginter. William Staatz was killed in the Civil War. He enlisted September 2, 1862, in the Second Kansas, and was assigned to company C. He was promoted to corporal, and was killed in action at Backbone Mountain, Arkansas, on September 1, 1863. His widow married August Rubin, who lived over in the Turkey creek settlement, but who had worked for the settlers on Lyon creek. They make their home on Mrs. Staatz-Rubin's farm.

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2. The early ministers of Lyona church were Charles Heidel, who organized the church; Charles Stueckemann, F. May, H. Brinkmeyer, S. Potthast, H. Mueklenbrock. These ministers served from the organization of the church until 1868.

Another settler on Lyon creek in 1857 was J. F. Staatz, an uncle of Charlie Staatz. He left the settlement in 1874, moving to Enterprise. His first wife was Katherina Biegert, whom he married April 8, 1861. She died March 28, 1871, and was buried from the old log church, the first church in the settlement. The stone church was in process of construction at the time, but was unfinished. The gathering of people at the funeral of Mrs. Staatz was too large to be accommodated in the church; therefore the services were held in the yard surrounding the building. She left, besides her husband, four children—Sophie, William, Llewellyn and Edward. Mr. Staatz married for his second wife Mary Gantenbein, who was born in Switzerland, March 1, 1847.

William Brussow was a member of the first Kansas party organized at Watertown, Wis. He was born in Germany in 1838, and when a small boy came with his family to America, going west as far as Wisconsin. In 1857, when John Rekken formed his company for Lyon creek, Brussow joined it. Arriving in Kansas, he took a claim on the creek in what is now Dickinson county, and about three miles above where the Lyona church was afterward built. He improved his land and lived on it until his death, January 13, 1892. He married Mina Ollhoff on February 27, 1865, the ceremony being performed by Rev. Mr. Scott, a Methodist minister. The Brussows had several children; a son, William, jr., is now living at Woodbine. Mrs. Brussow was the daughter of Peter Ollhoff, and was born in Germany, January 10, 1840. Her parents came to the United States when she was about seventeen years of age, and settled in Watertown, Wis.

Henry Kinderdick was one of the early settlers in the Lyon creek community. He was born in Moers, Rhine province, Germany, on January 3, 1838, and came from Germany to the United States in 1854. He went to Wisconsin, settling some eight or nine miles from Watertown, and about 1857 came to Kansas, where he took land in Dickinson county on Lyon creek, one mile south of where it is joined by West branch.

In 1864 he married Friederika Rubin, the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Martin Rubin. She was born in Brandenburg, Germany, February 7, 1843, and came to America with her parents in 1855. Like many of their neighbors in the old country, they went west to Wisconsin and settled near Watertown. They did not stay here long, however, for Martin Rubin was impressed with the glowing accounts he heard of Kansas, and being anxious to secure a home in a mild climate, he made up his mind to make the change. Therefore, in 1859, with his wife and family of seven children, he set out for Kansas. Journeying with them came the Nortorf family, who went first to Bourbon county, and in 1860 came to Dickinson county, settling near the Rubins, who had taken land on Turkey creek.

Mr. and Mrs. Kinderdick remained on their farm on Lyon creek until 1900, when they moved to town. They now live in Woodbine, where they expect to pass their declining years among their old friends. They are the parents of seven children: Henry, Amelia, Frank, Lydia, Clara, Emma and Martin.

During the Cheyenne raid in 1868, the Kinderdicks, among other of the settlers, fled down the creek to Herman Oesterreich's house. This house, being built of stone, was considered very safe by the settlers, quite as safe as the fort, which was some twenty miles to the northeast. The settlers took with them all their belongings, even driving their cattle along, so that nothing might fall a prey to the Indians.

Two other early settlers on Lyon creek were John Adam Biegert and his brother David. With their mother, Mrs. Katherina Biegert, and their sister, Katherina, they had come from Germany to the United States in 1852, landing at New York in November. Their father, John Adam Biegert, had died in 1843. The Biegert family stopped in the town of Manchester, N. Y., until March, 1853, when they moved to Ohio. In 1855 Mrs. Biegert married Jacob Hosch.

Adam Biegert, as he was generally called, stayed in Ohio until 1857, when he came to Kansas and took up a homestead in what is now Lyon township, Geary county, on section 30, town 13, range 5. He was born March 17, 1835, in Eichenhain, Austria, and died at his home in Geary county, May 9, 1912. He is buried in the Lyona cemetery. Mr. Biegert served in the Civil War, enlisting October 14, 1861, in company F, Sixth Kansas cavalry. He was mustered out November 19, 1864. On March 8, 1865, he was married to Ernestine Gabriel, at Eudora, Kan. Nine children were born to them, four of whom are dead. Of those living, Louisa married William Gunter, and lives on a farm near Woodbine; Gustav married Laura Asling, and lives on part of the home place; Lydia married William Albers, and lives in Dickinson county, near Chapman; Carry lives with her mother on the homestead.

David Biegert, two years younger than his brother, Adam, was born August 24, 1837, in Eichenhain. After his mother's second marriage he remained with her in Ohio until 1858, when he decided to join his brother Adam in Kansas. He came by railroad to Jefferson City, Mo., and thence to Leavenworth by boat. From there he walked to Fort Riley. At Fort Riley he procured work, doing whatever he could get. Part of his labor was cutting grass for hay along the Republican river, a great deal of hay being required at the fort for the horses. In the fall of the year he returned to Leavenworth to meet his mother and stepfather, who had concluded to join him in a home on Lyon creek. At Leavenworth he bought a team of oxen, and they drove them to Lyon creek, where David took a homestead in Lyon township, Geary county, section 20, town 13, range 5. By this time there had already settled along the creek quite a little colony.

In the spring of 1859, his first year on his land, David Biegert put in spring wheat. He had procured the seed over on Mill creek. The crops were all good that year, and his barley and wheat were thrashed by oxen trampling the grain, and cleaned of chaff by the wind. It was not until 1861 that a thrashing machine came into the Lyon creek settlement to do the thrashing for the neighborhood. The grain was harvested by cradling, and three acres a day was called a good day's work.

In April, 1861, David Biegert was married to Augusta Wilhelmina Staatz. September 2, 1862, he enlisted in company C, Second Kansas regiment, serving until the close of the war. He took part in a good

many battles and skirmishes without a scratch, but while on hay detail between Fort Scott and Fort Gibson he was captured. He and his companions fought hard, and once broke through the Confederate line, but they could not get away. They were taken to Tyler, Tex., and held prisoners for eight months, and finally exchanged at Red River Landing, May 27, 1865, when they were sent north and mustered out of service August 11. After the war David returned to his home and again went to farming. Seven children were born to Mr. and Mrs. Biegert: John, March 15, 1862; he married Barbara Schultz on September 7, 1886, and they live on a farm in Geary county. William A., born January 2, 1870; married January 11, 1893, to Bertha Barton, of Dickinson county, and now living on the Biegert homestead, known as Hillside Farm. George Henry, born February 16, 1872; married Anna Kuhlenkamp in November 1895; they live in Junction City. Anna Augusta, born June 25, 1875; married William Barton, of Dickinson county, February 14, 1894; live on a farm in Geary county. Minnie Katherina, born June 5, 1887; married Oscar Gugler, August 1, 1906, and live in Dickinson county on a farm. Two children, Henry and Amelia Louise, are dead. They are both buried in Lyona cemetery, where also rests Mrs. Biegert, who died September 27, 1894, and David Biegert, who died April 26, 1906.

One of the pioneers of 1858 was Ferdinand Latzke, who was born in Germany in 1836 and came with his father's family to the United States in 1847. His father settled in Wisconsin, where Ferdinand remained until 1858, when he came to Kansas, taking a claim on Lyon creek in Geary county. In 1860 he married Wilhelmine Staatz. When the Second Kansas was organized Latzke enlisted, and was assigned to company C. He was mustered out June 22, 1865. He died in 1902 and is buried in Lyona cemetery.

Gotlop Pagenkopf and his wife, and a friend of theirs' named Bonien, came to the Lyon creek community direct from Germany. Bonien settled at the Salina crossing, and the Pagenkopfs went over to Cary creek, but they soon moved on to West branch, about four miles above its mouth. They reared a large family. The Pagenkopfs were German Lutherans. Some years ago they left the Lyon creek settlement, moving into western Kansas.

The year 1859 saw many changes in the Lyon creek community. Many families were added to the scattered settlement, bringing neighbors closer together. Among the families who came that year were the Kandts.

John F. Kandt was born in Germany, August 14, 1814, and when very young, about the year 1831, he was married to Marie Bredow. In 1855, with their three children, they emigrated to America, going directly to Watertown, Wis. There John Kandt followed his trade of wagon making until 1859, when a colony of Germans was formed to come to Kansas and join the new Lyon creek settlement. The long winters and the heavy snows of Wisconsin made them desire a milder climate.

The party consisted of John Poereich and wife (Mr. Poereich had been instrumental in forming the company); John F. Kandt, wife and three children; the Ziebell brothers, William and Charles; Fred and Henry Krause; Peter Ollhoff, wife, three daughters and one son, John;

and Henry Gatch and wife. They all set out together in May, coming overland and using oxen. The domestic arrangements of this party for their long journey from Wisconsin to Kansas by way of St. Louis can be told best by a member of the company:

"We made great preparations for this long journey. It was no small work to decide upon what was most necessary to take, and what we could possibly do without. We expected to take all our housekeeping things with us, for we were to keep house along the road, so to speak. The preparation of our wagons, with their white covers, came first, and then the packing of provision—not for a meal or two, but for several weeks, and perhaps months. When we were preparing and packing our provisions Mrs. Poereich suggested that we bake a large quantity of bread and dry it out, so that it would not mold; it would be lighter, and in case of a shortage would come in handy. And so we did as she suggested, and we were often glad, too; for we brought our cows along with us, and when we stopped in the evenings and did our milking we would hang our kettles over the camp fires and heat the milk and put our dried-out bread into it. This frequently made our evening meal; we ate it and thought it good. We not only brought our kettles along, but we brought our cook stoves, our churns and things so we could do our washing whenever necessary. We baked our bread, we churned our butter, and it was as if we were keeping house. And should we ever get to a place we could call home we would be all ready for our housekeeping there!

"On the long journey the cows and oxen became very footsore, and it was necessary to take them to a blacksmith and have them shod. The oxen had brass knobs on their horns, which was supposed to add to their appearance."

The party arrived at Lyon creek in August at the house of William Staatz, and here all the women folk stayed until the men could find a location. Henry Gatch and Peter Ollhoff decided to preëmpt land on Cary creek, and the others took their land along Lyon creek.

John Kandt took his claim thirty miles from the mouth of the creek, in Dickinson county. Here he laid the foundation for his house, four trees laid in a square, with his name and the date written on one of them. Then he went to Junction City and filed on the land. Mrs. Kandt and the children, two of them boys, Henry W. and August, lived in the Fred Krause house until their own home could be made ready for them. At that time the nearest trading point was Junction City, and there the Kandt's traded with P. Z. Taylor. In the fall and winter of 1859 John Kandt hauled goods for Mr. Taylor from Kansas City to Junction. The wagon which Kandt brought into the country from Wisconsin he sold to William Staatz, and later made himself a German wagon, with solid wooden wheels and having no tires. This wagon he used a long time.

Besides the frequent Indian scares and the prairie fires there were many trials for these early settlers to undergo. In 1860 came the drouth, when nothing grew, and all the wheat and corn to be had in the settlement was that which was hauled from the relief headquarters at Atchison. In 1874 and again in 1876 grasshoppers were a plague and destroyed the growing crops; and all the time was the fever. But many outlived all this, and in the evening of their days enjoyed the fruits of their labor, surrounded by their children's children. Mrs. Kandt was one of these favored ones, living to the good old age of ninety-one.

Henry W. Kandt married Wilhelmina Brehmer, a daughter of Charles

F. Brehmer, who was also an 1859 settler. They have reared five children: Martha, now Mrs. Otto Keuther; Emma, Henry, Charles and Anna. Mr. Kandt has served as township clerk, justice of the peace and township trustee, and in 1884 was elected county commissioner, serving for six years.

August Kandt was born February 28, 1846. In 1870 he married Minnie Behmer, likewise German born. They were married by Rev. C. H. Leuker, the Lutheran preacher.

The Ziebell brothers, early settlers in the Lyon creek community, were both born in Germany, William on September 9, 1834, and Charles F. on February 15, 1842. They emigrated to the United States in 1857, settling in Wisconsin, near Watertown. They were not satisfied with climate and their situation, and so determined to make a home for their mother and younger brothers and sisters elsewhere. In 1859, with the Carl Krause family, they were starting for Minnesota, when they fell in with a party coming to Kansas. The accounts given them of this new country with its free land and mild climate caused them to change their destination and join the Kansas party. So they headed southwest and traveled to Dickinson county, where some of their Watertown neighbors had preceded them.

MRS. JOHN KANDT.

Charles F. Ziebell took land three and a half miles south of the present town of Woodbine, and here he resided until his death, December 22, 1913. In 1864 he was married to Eliza Elms, and to them were born seven children. Henry, the oldest, lives on the Henry Krause place. For his second wife Mr. Ziebell married Ellen L. Lowe, and they had one child, Clarence, who now lives on the Ziebell homestead.

William Ziebell took land not far from his brother, and in 1863 was married to Johanna Krause; Wingen Lange, the first regular preacher on upper Lyon creek, performing the ceremony. Johanna Krause was born in Germany, May 5, 1841, and with her parents came to America in 1857, settling in Wisconsin. Her family came with the Ziebells to Lyon creek in 1859.

Mrs. Ziebell, the mother of Charles and William, died in 1864. Carl Krause, father of Johanna, died the year he came to Dickinson county, 1859.

In company with his four brothers, Henry Asling came to Kansas in 1859 from Batesville, Ind. Their father had preceded them some two months, and met them at Kansas City with an ox team. They came directly to the Lyon creek settlement, traveling over the Santa Fe trail to Council Grove, thence up to Lyon creek. The weather was very warm and they traveled slowly, consuming ten days in the journey. William and Henry Asling and the Mollhaens were among the few Baptists living on Lyon creek. They had no regular minister, so the Rev. H. H. Nortorf, the Baptist preacher in the Turkey creek settlement, used to come over to Lyon creek and hold services sometimes.

Henry Asling, in 1867, married Caroline Warnike, and they settled on a farm on Cary creek. They raised a family of seven children, and now live in Abilene.

The following account of her early life in Kansas was written by Mrs. Caroline Warnike Asling, and it tells something of what it meant to "pioneer" in a new country.

"In the spring of 1857 my father, John Warnike, with his family, moved from Iowa to Kansas, coming in the usual way of those days, by ox team. Besides father and mother, there were five of us children—myself (Caroline, the oldest), three sisters and one brother. Father settled on a 160-acre claim in the western part of Morris county, on Clark's creek.

"Father broke about ten acres of prairie and planted it in corn and watermelons, and then built us a log cabin, having it finished by fall, and we were settled in our Kansas home.

"Our nearest neighbors the first year were two bachelors who lived five miles away. We had, especially the first year, many dangerous experiences with the Indians. They were great beggars, always wanting something to eat. Food with us was very scarce, many days our only supply being home-made hominy, and we had nothing to spare. Well I recollect our first exciting experience with the redskins. Two Pawnee Indians came along. They begged for melons and roasting ears. They couldn't, or wouldn't, be made to understand that the melons and corn were not fit for use yet. They went to the melons and began cutting them off with their hunting knives, and pulling off the ears of corn. They motioned father to come down. He went to the house and came out with his rifle. When they saw him coming they started on a run and with a yell went over the creek bank, and that was the last we saw of them. Father was so frightened over the Indian's visit that he was anxious for us to get away at once, as the Indians might return in large numbers and kill us all. We were unable to get away, and it was just as well, for the Indians did not return. My parents were always kind to the Indians, and probably that was one of the reasons they did not come back as we expected. One day when father was down the creek splitting clapboards for our cabin roof, a large number of them came to the house. They filled the yard all about us and jabbered away in their own language, pointing to us children, calling us papooses, and it sounded to mother like they said "kill papoose." Father had told mother if the Indians came and she thought there was danger, to take the big cow bell and run to the top of a certain hill and ring it as hard as she could. She did this, and he soon came. The Indians immediately left, and we were saved—but such a scare as we had! Another time a lot of them were in the yard, and two of them wanted father to turn the grindstone so they could sharpen their knives. He thought he would humor them, and did so until mother called out, "Pap, don't you see what danger you are in between those two big Indians with their knives?" He went into the house and made them

understand they could turn the grindstone themselves. They insisted that he should come and turn but he refused, feeling safer in the cabin. On another occasion the yard was full of them, and one big fellow grabbed father by his beard and held him until father shook his fist in his face. Many times the timber along the creek was full of Indian camps, and when it was cold the campers would come and want to sleep in our cabin. My parents thought the Indians were human beings as well as ourselves, and would often consent, so on occasions the floor would be a "mat of redskins." We all felt that it was better to deal kindly with our dusky neighbors. At one time when there was an Indian camp in the timber near us, one of the Indians died. Such a noise they made, crying and yelling, mourning in their peculiar way. Father and I went to see him buried. They made a large hole, put him in it, then killed his pony and put it in the grave with him; afterwards they added his tomahawk, knife and other belongings.

"In the hunting season, when the braves went buffalo hunting, they would go by in long processions. When they were returning they wanted to swap buffalo for "hoggie" meat, as they called it, or for corn meal. We had neither of them to trade, but traded something else for some of the buffalo meat, and you may be sure it tasted mighty good to us, even if it was not very clean. Sometimes father went on a hunt himself and for awhile we had plenty of meat. When our first sod corn was raised father went eighty miles to mill in an ox wagon, and for two years we had this to do. Afterwards a mill was built within twenty-five miles of us. Mother was always afraid when father had to go on those long trips—it was so lonesome; and we were always pleased to see movers pass and to have them camp near by. A year after we settled on our claim a road was started from Topeka to Salina. This was called the Salina road. The year 1860 was a dreadful one for the early settlers. We scarcely raised a thing, and it was hard to get enough to eat. But we managed to live through it, and the following year it was better.

"One of the greatest drawbacks to the early settlers was the lack of schools. The older children of Kansas pioneers got little or no education, and many of us now, in our declining years, feel the loss of it. As I was the oldest child in our family, I had to do all kinds of hard work. Many days have I plowed, and we did not have riding plows of any kind in that time. As soon as I was large enough I bound wheat as my father would cut it with a cradle, and I could bind just as fast as any man. In the winter, and all my other spare time, I would sew. Everything was made by hand; sewing machines were very uncommon in those days.

"Father and mother have gone to their reward. Father died in 1893 and mother in 1910. They raised a family of nine children, and all have remained citizens of Kansas, living in Dickinson and Morris counties. In the year 1867 I was married to Henry Asling. The Lord has prospered us, for which I am thankful. Kansas, with her bountiful crops, has dealt us our full share, and as I see our state as she is to-day, and remember what she was, I am glad to have been one of her pioneers."

Alexis D. Blanchett was another settler on the creek in 1859, filing on his land on December 15. Mr. Blanchett was born in St. Luce, Aroostook county, Maine, August 3, 1834, and was among the few native born Americans in the settlement. In the spring of 1859 he and his brother, Andrew J. Blanchett, started for the gold diggings. When they reached St. Louis they found more men returning from the far West than were going out, so they decided to come on to Kansas. Andrew came to the Lyon creek settlement, but Alexis went to Atchison and made a freighting trip to Denver. It took him eighty days to make this trip, driving six yoke of oxen. After this experience he came back to find his brother and to take a homestead himself. Not knowing his brother's

exact location, he made inquiry of John Rekken, who directed him to the claim, twelve miles up the creek, where Andrew had settled.

In 1862 Alexis built the house he now lives in, completing it in 1864. He was married to Nancy Deal on February 15, 1862; she was about twenty years of age. The Deals lived over on Clear creek, in Marion county, so since no marriage license was necessary at that time, Blanchett took Samuel Ruthrup, a justice of the peace of Dickinson county (afterward the first county superintendent), and crossed the prairie with his

THE HOME OF A. D. BLANCHETT.

ox team to get his bride. After they had arrived, and all preparations for the marriage were made, one of the wedding guests looked out of the window and saw a bunch of deer feeding along the hillside. Great excitement immediately arose among the masculine members of the party, who wished to postpone the wedding until they could shoot the deer. To this the officiating gentleman, Mr. Ruthrup, objected, saying he did not approve putting off a wedding day for any purpose. His wishes prevailed, and the marriage was duly celebrated, and after a good dinner the bride and groom, accompanied by the squire, set out for Lyon creek. Mrs. Blanchett died September 26, 1911. She was the mother of six children five daughters and one son who died when he was seventeen. Mr. Blanchett's daughter Annie, Mrs. Alma Smith, lives on the old homestead and cares for her father.

Andrew Blanchett was killed by Indians not far from Fort Larned. He was freighting and had four wagons in his outfit, each wagon drawn by six oxen. With him were other freighters, for they usually moved in parties on account of Indians. As they were camping the Indians ran in and endeavored to drive off some of the cattle. Blanchett fired on them, killing four, but one of the Indians attacked Blanchett with a spear, such as they use for killing buffalo, and killed him. The Indians

THE BLANCHETT HOMESTEAD.

succeeded in getting away with some of the cattle, and the freighters, after burying Blanchett, made the best of their losses and moved on over the Santa Fe trail. Afterward Alexis Blanchett tried to find the grave of his brother, but was unable to locate it.

The Gugler brothers, Gotlieb, Jacob and Chris, came from Indiana in 1859; the fourth brother, William, came later. They were all born in Germany, and came to America from Wurttemberg.

Gotlieb Gugler was the first probate judge of Dickinson county, elected in 1860. In 1862, September 2, he enlisted in the Second Kansas regiment and was assigned to company C, of which he later became sergeant. He was captured at Fort Gibson, September 16, 1864, and held for some time as a prisoner of war. He was mustered out August 11, 1865.

Jacob Gugler was born June 24, 1831; his wife, Elizabeth Weber, was born November 19, 1836, in Bolivia, Ohio. After their marriage they took a claim one mile above the mouth of Cary creek. They bought a log house for $20 and moved it on to their land, living in it for five years, when they built a stone house, and some thirty years later they built the house now on their farm. Jacob Gugler died August 26, 1898, and in 1904 his widow moved to Woodbine, where she still resides. They were the parents of seven children—Samuel, David, John, Edward, Harry, Jane and Clara.

Another 1859 settler was Conrad Kohler. He was born in 1835, in Wurttemberg, Germany, and in 1847 came to America. When he came to Kansas he took a claim on Lyon creek, in Dickinson county, at the Salina crossing, and was the blacksmith for the settlement. That same year he married Margaret Emery, who was born in Ohio in 1839. Her brother, Daniel Emery, was the first school-teacher in the settlement.

Mrs. Daniel Emery taught the first school at Lyona, in the old log church. It is now district No. 1, Dickinson county.

The log house in which the Kohlers lived was on the west side of Lyon creek, not far from the grave of young Bonien. This young man died in 1859 and was buried on the creek. His grave is surrounded by an iron fence. His claim was just above Oesterreich's, and later the Rev. Charles Heidel settled on it. Jacob Kohler, Conrad's brother, lived just below the Oesterreich claim, on the west side of the creek.

Rev. Charles Heidel took the first claim on Lyon creek south of the Salina crossing. He filed on the land in April, 1859, when he came to organize what is now known as the Lyona Church, on April 10. At that time he was stationed at Leavenworth, where he was in the service of the German Methodist Episcopal Church. Later he became presiding elder of the Fort Riley mission field. In July he came with his wife, Mary, and settled on their claim. Annie Heidel, their daughter, became the wife of the Rev. Charles Stueckemann, jr.

In August, 1859, Henry Fengel came from Iowa, looking for a home. He located on land south of the Salina crossing, adjoining the Heidel farm on the west. He was a brother of Mrs. Charles Heidel. He did not stay long, but returned to Iowa. After the Civil War he came back to the Lyon creek settlement and bought the Heidel farm, building a house on the west side of the creek.

Henry Fengel was born in Germany, at Dudenhofan, near Frankfort-on-the-Main, July 25, 1832, and came to America in 1843, settling near Burlington, Iowa. On March 6, 1862, he married Mary Ann Lee, who was born near Augusta, Iowa, May 1, 1836. In 1866, with his wife and three children, George, Annie and Charles, he came to Lyon creek. They traveled from Augusta, Iowa, in a wagon drawn by two white horses, coming by way of the Bonaparte Mission to Weston, where they crossed the Missouri river on a ferry, then on through Topeka, Manhattan, Ogden, Fort Riley and Junction City, to Lyon creek, arriving some time in October. They stopped at Ferdinand Latzke's six or seven weeks, and then went up the creek to the Fred Staatz place, where they remained until April 3, 1867. Their house being then completed, they moved to their own farm, near what is now Woodbine. The horses which the Fengel family drove to Kansas lived to a ripe old age. Mr. Fengel kept them until the spring of 1869, when they were fifteen years old. He then sold them to Capt. J. K. Wright, of Junction City, for a bus team, and they worked on the bus line for twelve years.

In 1907 Mr. and Mrs. Fengel moved from their farm to Woodbine to spend their declining years, and there, on June 28, 1915, Mr. Fengel died. He is buried in Woodbine cemetery beside his two children, George and Annie. Three children were born to them in Kansas—Julius, Jessie and Emma. The Fengels, like others of the settlement, underwent all the hardships which fall to the lot of the pioneer. During the Cheyenne raid, although many of the settlers went down to the fort, the Fengels decided to stay and take their chances; and happily for them, the Indians crossed the creek some five miles above their place and went on to Council Grove.

Henry Fengel was a frontiersman, and had made the trip across the plains to California in 1850. He was with a party of four, which consisted of himself, his uncle Henry Fengel, Fred Torley and Fred Jurz. They started from Burlington, Iowa, with five yoke of oxen, driving to St. Joseph, Mo., where they awaited their goods, which came by boat. On May 1 they loaded their wagons, crossed the Missouri river, and were on their way. Traveling up the South Platte, they crossed over and made for a ferry on the North Platte. At the ferry they found such a crowd that they were obliged to wait a day and a half for their turn to cross. The ferry charge was $10 for each wagon, and the stock had to swim. They arrived at Hangtown, Cal., on August 10, having made the journey in a little over three months. Hangtown is now known by the more euphonious name of Placerville. Young Fengel did not stay in California long. In the fall he left his uncle in San Francisco and came

HENRY FENGEL'S CORN CRIB.

home by the isthmus. He first took ship to Acapulco, Mexico; then traveled on the mail boat to Panama. Most of the passengers walked across the isthmus; a few rode on donkeys. It was a twelve-hour trip, leaving in the evening and arriving in the morning. At the Chagres river all embarked in small boats, going down the river to the large boat waiting in deep water. There they took a steamer bound for New Orleans by way of Havana, where some of the passengers left the boat to go on up the coast to New York. Henry Fengel stayed on board ship and went to New Orleans. From there he went to Galveston, where he spent the winter. Early in the spring he returned to New Orleans, and, taking a boat up the Mississippi, landed at Burlington, Iowa, the first Monday in April, 1851.

In 1860 Nimrod Ridley came into the Lyon creek settlement, taking land where the little town of Woodbine now stands. Mr. Ridley was

born in New Orleans in 1839. His mother was Mary Flier, and she was born in 1800, as was her husband, Joseph Ridley. After young Ridley had been six months in the settlement he returned to New Orleans for his parents, whom he brought back with him to Lyon creek. In 1862 he married Lucinda Falls, who was born in Superior county, Michigan, in February, 1844. Miner Calkins, the justice of the peace, performed the ceremony.

Carl Koepka was another settler on Lyon creek in 1860. He was born in 1815, near Petersdorf, Prussia. His wife was Martha Hempel. They were the parents of four children—Charles H., Annie, Augusta and Henry. This family came directly from their home, some forty-five miles from Berlin, to the Lyon creek settlement. They landed at Baltimore. From there they came by railroad to St. Louis, thence by river to Westport Landing. At that time the river was very low, it being the summer of the great drouth, and much difficulty was experienced on the trip. At Westport they bought cattle and wagons and outfitted for their trip westward. They were joined by several other German families who were on their way to Wabaunsee county, Kansas. Members of the party were Rudolf Arndt and family, August Wolgast and family, Carl Falk and family, and Fred Heideman and family. At the new town of Wabaunsee the Koepka family left the party and journeyed on to Dickinson county and Lyon creek, where they bought the Henry Westrup farm.

The Koepka children have married and settled in or near the Lyon creek community. Charles married Minnie Kandt, December 20, 1877. She is the daughter of John and Marie Bredow Kandt, and was born in Dickinson county, January 20, 1860. Their children are Henry, Charles J., Rudolph H., Lena A., George, Verner, and Walter, now deceased. Augusta Koepka married first Adam Brueggen, and in 1870 she married D. G. Smith, a druggist of Abilene. Annie married John Kunuth, in 1870.

During the Indian scare of 1868 neighbors of the Koepkas took refuge at the Fred Staatz house. Mrs. Koepka, however, refused to leave, saying that she had not walked all the way from Westport to be chased out of her home by Indians. So with her daughter Annie she remained at home, sleeping in the cornfield at night. Some twenty Indians entered her house and took flour and matches, but they did no damage to anything. In coming from Westport to Lyon creek the Koepka wagons were so crowded that in order to make room for chickens and some housekeeping things Mrs. Koepka walked all the way.

John Feil came from Mecklenburg, Germany, in the spring of 1866. He landed at Leavenworth, and settled first on Mill creek, in Wabaunsee county. From there he moved to Clark's creek, Geary county, where he still lives. In 1867 he married Sophie Kasten. The Feil family, while not strictly a part of the Lyon creek settlement, have held their membership in the Lyona Church, and so they receive a brief mention here.

Settlers in September, 1868, were Charles Kunuth and his wife, Minnie Gentz-Kunuth, and their family, who came to Lyon creek direct from Germany. Their family consisted of three children. In the sum-

mer of 1871 Mr. Kunuth was drowned in Lyon creek. Emma married Charles Albrecht, and lives on the old Rhoda farm on West Branch, section 4, township 15, range 4.

In the fall of 1868 Mr. and Mrs. Biehler came to Dickinson county, settling on the headwaters of Lyon creek, some five miles from the Lost Springs. Theobold Biehler was born June 4, 1833, in Wittenberg, Germany. His wife, Elizabeth Beckbird, was also of German birth, having been born in that country September 12, 1838. With her family she came to America when she was thirteen years of age, and settled in Monroe county, Ohio, and there she married Mr. Biehler in 1857. They were the parents of six children, five sons and one daughter. Mr. Biehler died September 17, 1870. In 1873 Mrs. Biehler married Rhinehart Myer; they continued on the farm until 1908, when they moved to Herington. Mrs. Biehler-Myer was a woman of unusual strength. She quarried all the stone for the first house that was built on the Biehler farm, and helped lay up the walls.

The youngest son, John L. Biehler, who lives on the home place, was born March 16, 1870. He married Freda Mattas. She was born in Schmeiheim, Germany, December 25, 1872. They have two children—a son and a daughter.

In 1869 Henry Ruckert came to the Lyon creek settlement, locating above the Timm farm. Here he and his wife lived and raised their family. Later on they moved to Herington, where they now reside.

A few settlers came into the community in 1870, among them John Miller. He was born in Elmira, Ohio, October 7, 1843. When he first came to Kansas he lived for one year on Cary creek. In 1872 he married Mina Block, who was born in Germany in 1857. They settled first one mile south of the Rekken spring, living there some five years, when they moved to Cary creek, a little west and north of Woodbine. After living there five years they returned to the Lyon creek settlement, buying the Charles Smith place, where they have since lived. Mrs. Miller died October 8, 1892; she was the mother of seven children. For his second wife Mr. Miller married Maggie Seiler; to them two children were born. In 1897 Mr. Miller built his present home.

Another settler in 1870 was David Ballentyne. He was born in the parish of Carnwath, Lanarkshire, Scotland, June 3, 1846, and was the son of David Ballentyne and his wife, Nicholas Johnson-Ballentyne. In 1870, in company with William Bothnick, he came to America. Together they came to Dickinson county, Kansas, where they rented a farm belonging to George Henderson, situated two miles east of Chapman. Renting proved a losing proposition, and Bothnick returned to Scotland disgusted. But Ballentyne was hardier, and determined to win back what he had lost. He entered the employ of Elliott & Brown, who then owned a ranch where Herington now stands. For something over two years he remained in their employ, herding cattle most of the time. Then, in 1872, he preëmpted land near Ramona. In 1874 Ballentyne and Brown formed a partnership, buying a half section of land southeast of Herington, and here Mr. Ballentyne has since resided.

On February 29, 1876, in Linlithgowshire, Scotland, David Ballen-

tyne married Agnes Jack, a daughter of William and Janet (Love) Jack. Mr. and Mrs. Ballentyne have five children—David, Janet, William, Agnes and Elizabeth.

Daniel Weaver was a settler on Lyon creek in 1870. He was born in Washington county, Pennsylvania, in 1833. When nine years of age he moved with his family to Hanover Landing, Ind., where he lived some years. He later spent four years in the Chippewa pineries in Wisconsin, and from there came to Kansas. In Wisconsin he married Sarah Benson. When he came to Dickinson county he settled on land four miles southwest of Herington, on a branch of Lyon creek. The Red Wood post office was in his house, and he was postmaster there for some time. Mrs. Weaver was postmistress during the star mail route days. The route ran from Junction City to Lost Springs, and thence to Marion Center.

The Weaver farm was known as Evergreen farm, and Mr. Weaver transplanted trees from his yard to the courthouse lawn at Abilene. He purchased his farm from the Agricultural College in 1870, but did not settle on it until June 11, 1874. He was the first settler on his branch of Lyon creek.

In the fall of 1871 James Cull and his family came from Wisconsin. They settled on the fork of Lyon creek and West Branch. They did not stay long, but after a few years sold out and moved away.

George Rudd, another member of the Lyon creek settlement, came in March, 1872, from Orion, Mich., and with him came his sister Lucy. They first lived on the John Rekken or Spring farm, but later in the year moved to the Peter Timm place. February 16, 1874, George Rudd married Ella Draper. They continued their home on the Peter Timm farm until 1907, when they moved to Woodbine. Three children were born to them—May, Minnie and Cloyd. Mr. Rudd was born September 22, 1848, and his wife was born in North Java, N. Y., May 24, 1854.

John Peter Fengel and his wife, Anna Margaret, were borne near Dudenhofan, Germany, and lived there until their emigration to the United States in 1843. Their reason for leaving Germany was to insure the exemption from military service of their sons, so abhorrent to them was the idea of war. So in the spring of 1843, with their four children —Henry, Mary, John Peter and Christina—and a brother of Mr. Fengel, Henry Fengel, they set forth from Darmstadt to Gernsheim in a wagon. From Gernsheim they traveled by boat, going down the Rhine. Upon landing in New York they went directly to Pittsburg, Pa., to visit relatives, and after the visit continued their journey westward as far as Burlington, Iowa. They remained here a short time and then moved into the country, some ten miles west of Burlington and near the little town of Danville, where they purchased land and established their home.

As has been noted, their oldest son, Henry, came to Kansas with his family in 1866, locating on Lyon creek. Their second son, and third child, John Peter Fengel, came to Kansas in 1873, bringing with him his wife and three children—Clara M., John Peter and Dora Belle. With them came Joab Wilkins, a relative of Mrs. Fengel. They settled in Union township, Dickinson county, on section 5, on the north bank of West Branch, Mr. Fengel purchasing his land of the Kansas State Agri-

cultural College for $7 an acre. The house which Mr. Fengel built was known as a "concreted house," made by pouring small stones mixed with mortar between the weatherboarding and the studding. This was done to keep the house from blowing away, so high was the wind as it swept unhindered across the prairie land of the state. A fourth child, Fannie F., was born to the Fengels after they settled on West Branch.

Before coming to Kansas Mrs. Fengel had been almost a complete invalid, and it was feared she would not survive the journey west. Not only did she do that, but she lived to a good old age, passing away at her home in Herington April 16, 1917. She was born near Miami City, Ohio, January 4, 1845, the daughter of William Henry Harrison Wilkins and his wife, Matilda Scoggins, and was given the name of Frildo. She married John Peter Fengel, January 22, 1866. Her mother was the daughter of William Scoggins and Hattie Wakefield. Mr. and Mrs. Fengel continued their home on the land on which they settled when they first came to the state, until all their children were married, then they sold the farm and moved to Herington.

Dr. J. W. Money came to Dickinson county in 1874 and made his home with James Williams. In 1883 he bought a farm north of the A. D. Blanchett place and lived there until Herington was started, when he moved to that town and there resided until his death, October 14, 1914. In 1883 he married Miss Ella Mitchell, daughter of Rev. Mitchell. Doctor Money was the first physician on Lyon creek.

A. Terry, now living in Lost Springs, Marion county, was one of the first settlers in Clear creek township. He was born in Ohio, October 13, 1844. In 1851 his family moved to Illinois, and in that state he grew up. When the Civil War broke out he enlisted in company F, 103d Illinois infantry. After the war he married Nancy A. Coleman, March 15, 1866, and the next year moved to Iowa. He came to Kansas November 4, 1876, and settled on Lyon creek four miles above Woodbine. For the first year he farmed the land of A. Lamb, and then he took land for himself, locating near the old Lost Springs, on the southeast quarter of section 16, township 17, range 4. At that time there was but one other family living in the township, W. J. Weaver, who later sold out to Moses Shupe. Mr. Terry's first neighbors in Kansas, when he lived in Dickinson county, were the Koepkas, George Gabelman, Samuel Lowe, M. C. Williams, James Williams, A. D. Blanchett, Charles Ziebell, Chris Weber and Mr. Liedman. In Marion county among the early settlers near him were Walter Lewis, W. J. Weaver, R. C. Slagg and F. K. Jacobs. About 1879, A. Peck, T. C. Summers, M. F., I. F. and B. F. Shupe, George Chapman, John Burkholder and Thomas France settled in the neighborhood. France built the stone house on the land that afterwards belonged to Johnston Hair. Below them on the creek were W. E. Bowen and A. A. Coleman. George Hair owned a tract of land at the head of a tributary of Lyon creek.

The first sermon preached in the township was at Mr. Terry's house. The Rev. A. J. Rumsey, of White City, a United Brethren, was the preacher.

Mr. Terry's children are Amanda Ellen, who married Robert Hegle;

Florence C., who married Arthur Christner; Alice I., wife of J. H. Nansen; Minnie, who married S. W. T. Bair; and John W. They all live near Lost Springs, except Mrs. Bair, who lives near Towner, Colo.

By the year 1877 public land along Lyon creek and its tributaries was becoming scarce. The settlement had nearly reached its limits, except the changes which might come through the cutting up of the larger farms. But in that year another family was added to the community, Mr. and Mrs. James Cornwell, coming from Indiana in October. Mr. Cornwell was born December 29, 1846, at Paoli, Ind.; his wife, Sarah Vancleave, was born September 16, 1851, in Indiana. They settled on Cary creek, where they made their home until the death of Mr. Cornwell, May 8, 1905. In 1907 Mrs. Cornwell moved to Woodbine, where she still lives. They were the parents of five children—three daughters and two sons.

William Hyslop came to Kansas with his parents in 1877. His parents were from Scotland, his mother coming to America in 1837 and his father in 1848. They both settled in Steubenville, Ohio, and were married there. Their first home in Kansas was south of Enterprise, but in the spring of 1886 they moved up to the headwaters of Lyon creek, where they preëmpted land.

There have been many settlers in the Lyon creek community about whom little or nothing could be learned. Some have passed away, leaving behind them no one to tell the story. Of a few of these there can be made the following brief mention:

John Rhoda came to Kansas from Missouri and settled on West Branch, on the south side of the creek, and about three miles from where it flows into Lyon creek. He built a log house, but worked for Henry Kandt, so was only at home nights. He sold his farm of 160 acres to Charles Albrecht, who married Emma Kunuth, the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Kunuth. It was in Mr. Rhoda's house that the first school on West Branch was held. It was taught by Miss Lizzie McNamee, who came from near Junction City. In the morning Mr. Rhoda would clean up his house by sweeping the floor with an old wheat sack; then he would go to his day's work, being gone all day long. The teacher used his table for a desk, and each pupil brought his own chair to sit on. This was in the winter of 1875, and was a three months' school. In the summer of 1876 a schoolhouse was built on the southeast corner of section 5, Union township, and named Grand View. The building was a 12-by-14 structure and had one window on each of the three sides, with the door in the fourth side, facing south. The furniture consisted of two long benches, the teacher's desk, with a bell and a blackboard, and a recitation desk. The stove stood in the middle of the room. The house was not plastered, but was lined with six-inch flooring.

Wingen Lange, the first regular Lutheran preacher on upper Lyon creek, came to his charge from Mill creek. Mr. Fritze had been among the German Lutherans and had preached to them at intervals, but when Mr. Lange came a log church was built. It was a two-room house; one room was used for the church and school and the other for the parsonage. The present parsonage stands northwest of where the old log church stood. The church was built on land belonging to John Poereich, section

16, Lyon township. There is a substantial church building there now, and there are three other churches and congregations, branches of this first one, scattered through the community above the junction of West Branch and Lyon creek. The Lutheran cemetery was laid out on the Brehmer land, section 4, Lyon township. Mrs. Hansen was the first grown person buried there.

Henry Abeldt settled on the north side of Lyon creek at its Junction with West Branch. His homestead is now owned by William Johnson.

Another West Branch pioneer was Henry Westrup, who preëmpted land about three miles above the junction of West Branch and Lyon creek. He later moved to Cary creek.

The Weber brothers—William, Charles and Chris—were settlers on Lyon creek. William and Chris Weber were teamsters in the employ of the government, hauling supplies from Leavenworth or Kansas City over the Santa Fe trail to Santa Fe, N. M.

Two settlers in the Lyon creek community were Joseph McClellan and James Allen Gillett, who were brothers-in-law. McClellan settled on the first farm on the north side of West Branch, and Gillett bought the Nimrod Ridley farm. When the post office was established, in 1872, Mr. Gillett named it Woodbine, after his Illinois home. The post office was on the star mail route from Junction City to Marion Center. The first mail carrier was James Morris. He and his parents lived at the first crossing on Lyon creek.

The Woodbine of 1872 was a very different village from what it is now. Then it consisted of Heller's shoe shop, which was in his dwelling house; Fecht's blacksmith and cabinet shop, where a breaking plow could be repaired or a casket for the dead be purchased; and the postoffice was in the one general store. Besides these buildings, there were possibly four dwelling houses and a frame schoolhouse. Mrs. Syrena Duff was the first school-teacher. To-day Woodbine is a pleasant village of perhaps 400 people. It has three churches, a fine brick schoolhouse, substantial store buildings, a bank, a hotel, a garage, and an ice plant. It has also a weekly newspaper and a telephone exchange, and the Rock Island railway connects it with larger communities.

Herington, eight miles south of Woodbine, was established in 1884. The land where the town now stands was first preëmpted by A. W. Catlin. He sold it to Elliott & Brown, who used it as part of a large cattle ranch. In 1881 Monroe D. Herington purchased the Elliott-Brown ranch, consisting of some 2,000 acres of land, paying from $1.75 to $4 per acre for it. He set aside forty acres of the land for a town site, had it platted, and to encourage settlement gave a lot to any one who would locate there. Mr. Herington was born in Lawrence county, Michigan, April 23, 1844, and lives in the town he platted and named. Herington now has a population of over 3,000 people, and has two railroads, the Missouri Pacific and the Rock Island. It has seven churches and a fine school building, a public library, a Masonic temple, and the city owns its light and water plant and its telephone exchange. The site of Herington was a well-known camping ground of the Indians before the advent of civilization. The springs there made it a rendezvous. The

city has preserved these springs and made a park about them, and in the park stands a monument commemorating the explorer Coronado and his priest, Juan De Padilla. This monument was erected in 1904 through the generosity of Robert Henderson, C. R. Schilling and Rev. J. F. Leary.

A necessary food supply has always given pioneers more or less anxiety, and the Lyon creek community was no exception. In the early days meat was very scarce and the settlers had to depend largely on game. Deer and antelope were in abundance, as were also wild turkeys and prairie chickens. Buffalo too were plentiful, and ranged a little west of the settlement. But the pioneers were busy founding homes, and it took time to hunt. In 1857 Henry Kenderdick shot a buffalo on what is now the William Ziebell farm. Herman Timm often told of seeing a large drove of them cross the trail at the great bend of the Arkansas river. Timm, with others, was freighting between Fort Riley and Fort Larned, and had reached the hills looking down into the valley of the river when he first noticed a great moving mass. At first he could not distinguish what it was, but gradually as it came into closer view he saw that it was made up of hundreds of buffalo traveling close together. Timm and his companions waited until the animals had crossed the Santa Fe trail before they took up their journey toward Fort Larned.

The grist mills were widely scattered, and going to mill, with the long waiting for "turn," made it a real journey. There were elements of danger, too, in the trip, for there was always the possibility of meeting a band of marauding Indians. This danger confronted those left at home as well, and often added to it was the discomfort of short rations, for the flour and meal supply would sometimes run so low before the return of the wagons that the housewives had to resort to grinding wheat and corn in their coffee mills.

Many are the stories told by the old settlers of their adventures in going to mill. Mr. and Mrs. Nimrod Ridley set out for the Emporia mill, eighty miles away, with their grist, in the winter of 1862. They had counted on its taking them two days to go and two days to return, and the weather being good, they felt reasonably safe. An ox team and wagon was the fashionable conveyance then, and in one the Ridleys set out. After they were well on their way the weather changed and a heavy snowstorm set in. By the time they had their grist ground, the flour loaded, and were ready to start on their homeward way, drifts had piled high, especially in the low places, making their journey a very hard one, since they had to camp on the way and do their cooking. For a long time the Council Grove mill was the nearest one to the settlement. But in 1859 the C. B. Hoffman mill was started at Enterprise; this was but twenty-four miles from Lyon creek. Later a mill was built on Lyon creek, on land belonging to James Allen Gillett. This was about 1876, and it did a good business until 1892, when it burned.

Prairie fire was perhaps the greatest fear of the pioneer settlement. To the southwest of the Lyon creek community was a sweep of prairie, with no large streams and no settlements of any size. A light low down on the horizon in that direction might mean danger, and always brought anxiety. Naturally it was in the evening that it would be noticed first,

and the light would seem but a few rods long. By the second evening the reflection had mounted higher in the sky and the light was brighter and longer; and as night closed in, what appeared to be a string of gold beads would lie flashing on the rim of the horizon. It was watched apprehensively, and no one slept soundly, for if the wind shifted to the direction of the light it meant a swift drawing in of the string of beads until they became shooting tongues of flame.

The whole community turned out to fight the prairie fires. They drove in wagons, taking with them barrels of water, buckets and sacks. A back fire was started usually, and the work of beating out the flames began—a long and wearisome business; many a man has dropped exhausted from it. A fire pushed forward by a favorable wind advanced as rapidly as a horse could gallop, the flames leaping high in the air; so men, women and children worked with tremendous energy, driven by fear. They were fighting to save their homes, and sometimes even life itself, for more than one person lost his life in these demoniacal fires.

The Indians were troublesome in the early days. There was much thieving done by them. In 1868, when the Cheyennes and the Kaws were on the warpath, a body of Cheyennes numbering about 350 stopped at the Ridley homestead and ransacked the house, looking for ammunition and guns. They came upon a cavalry saber belonging to Mr. Ridley, and carried it off. Mr. Ridley had been a member of the militia, having enlisted at Council Grove for the Price invasion, and his cavalry saber had been part of his arms.

Mr. Alexis D. Blanchett has given the following statement relating to the Indians in the early days of the settlement:

"The Kaw Indians had a trail from Council Grove to Salina, and had a camping ground at the springs where Herington now stands, and also one at my place. In the fall of 1862 quite a number of them camped along the creek on my farm and commenced ransacking and pilfering my house. My brother, Andrew J., and I ordered them off the place. They did not want to go; so I pulled down one of their tents or teepees. That raised a rumpus, and several strung bows and took arrows in their hands, and it looked as though there was going to be a muss; but just then a brave came up and quieted them. He wanted to know what the trouble was. I told him the Indians were thieves; that they had stolen corn, knives and plates out of the house. I further told him that if they did not get away I would send for the soldiers and they would soon drive them off. After some talk they agreed to go away in the morning, and also promised not to come back again. They kept their word, for they never did come back.

"In the fall of 1867 and the early spring of 1868 the Kaws got into trouble with the Cheyennes, and the Cheyennes made a raid upon the Kaw agency at Council Grove in June, 1868, and had a fight with them. Several of the Kaws had been in the army during the war and had kept their army muskets, so had the advantage of their enemies because of these long-range guns. The Cheyennes used bows and arrows. They burned a few houses for the Kaws, but none of the Kaws were hurt. The report was that a number of Cheyennes were killed and several mortally wounded. Those who saw the fight said that the Kaws formed a line of battle and marched right out into the open field, and when the Cheyennes would make a dash on them they would fire a volley which would drive

the Cheyennes back.* There were several horses lost in the fight. The Indians at this time did not seem to want to hurt the whites, but they pilfered from some of the farm houses, especially from those of the settlers who had left their homes and gone to the stone houses or to the Fort. The Indians as they were returning to their camps killed a few cattle for food. But it was not safe for a white person to be out alone and unarmed, as small bands of Indians would capture a man when they found him alone."

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## ADDRESS.

By Hon. Fred Dumont Smith,[1] before the fortieth annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society, October 19, 1915.

*Ladies and Gentlemen—*

WHEN your secretary, Mr. Connelley, drafted me, the other day, as a substitute[2] for Henry Allen—believe me, not an easy task—I asked him what I was expected to talk about. He suggested Kansas, but I said to him that I had been talking about Kansas for about thirty years and had said everything about her, good or bad, that I could think of. I have banned her and blessed her, praised her and cursed her, and everything I have said about her was true, for such is our beloved state that the wildest eulogy or the bitterest abuse of this year may become the commonplaces of next year's statistics. He told me that politics is barred, for which I am thankful. If there is one subject on which I am profoundly indifferent it is politics. I do not care whether the tariff on beans is two cents *ad valorem* or five cents a pound. I do not even care whether the next Republican candidate for President is Weeks, of Massachusetts, or W. R. Stubbs, of Lawrence—and I submit to you that human indifference could go no farther than that. So the subject was left to my choice.

A few years ago I retired from the world—not exactly to a cell, but to a law office—and for four years I have never raised my voice in public

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* The Andreas "History of Kansas," 1883, p. 800, says of this Indian fight: "The Cheyennes were extremely wary about attacking, and the Kaws being dismounted and greatly inferior in numbers, were just as determined not to be drawn from their advantageous position. The Cheyennes would form in line out in the open ground, and then, facing to the right, would make a charge in Indian file, and when the head of the line would come within shooting distance of the Kaws (they were mostly all armed with revolvers), the first man would fire and wheel to the left, and so on throughout the line, each warrior following his leader until they had formed quite an extended circle, and in this fashion they would ride and fire; always sure, as they approached the Kaws, to throw themselves well over on the opposite side of their ponies.

"This kind of running fight kept up for several hours, when the Cheyennes, fearing to attack the Kaws in their position, and being unable to draw them out into the open ground, retired from the field. The casualties were three wounded, one of whom died the following day. There is good reason to believe that the Cheyennes had designs of perpetrating outrages upon the whites, because, instead of returning to camp, they moved up to the Solomon valley, where they killed quite a number of settlers and committed other depredations."

1. Mr. Smith is one of the well-known descriptive writers of Kansas. In 1905 he made a tour of Europe, later writing his travels up in the form of magazine articles. In 1907 he traveled in the Orient, and describes his journey most delightfully in "Blue Waters and Green." His second volume, "The Book of a Hundred Bears," was published in 1908, and tells of a trip through the Yellowstone.

For a biographical sketch of Mr. Smith see Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 7, p. 292.

2. Hon. Henry J. Allen was to deliver the annual address, but was called to New York to take part in the campaign for woman suffrage in that state. The secretary then drafted Mr. Smith.

except to a jury or to a judge, and if I shall fail to collect and present in a logical way the facts I desire to to-night I may perhaps be excused.

In my retirement a friend occasionally sends me a book. My friends are not like the chorus girl who wanted to give the leading lady a present and was in doubt. She asked another girl, who said: "Well, give her a book." "My Lord!" said the first girl, "she's got a book now."

So the other day a friend of mine sent me "Germany and England," being a series of lectures delivered by Professor Cramb,[3] of Queen's College, London, in February, 1913. The author did not live even to revise his work, and the lectures come to us as they were delivered, without notes. The book is remarkable for the exaltation of its style, but still more remarkable as a prophecy. At a time when the Balkan war had been settled and the peace of Europe seemed assured for a generation, when no Englishman in public life believed that there would ever be a war with Germany, at least for years, Professor Cramb predicted the war; that it would be the greatest war the world had ever seen, and that in its last analysis it would be a war not between Germany and France, and Germany and Russia, so much as a war between Germany and England, and he tells why in the most luminous way.

England has grasped all of the habitable portions of the globe that could be secured for colonies. Her great possessions encircle the earth, so that to-day her English-speaking colonies almost equal the mother country in population, and she governs two-fifths of the earth's surface and one-fourth of its population. Germany, seeking an outlet for the overflow of her population, seeking the mastery of the seas, is confronted and thwarted everywhere by England. Hence the professor concluded that war between these two great powers for the ultimate headship of the civilized world was inevitable. Final mastery by either one may or may not come, but in its last analysis this conflict means something more than the acquisition of territory. It is the final test of two great systems of government and society—the collective and the individualist.

It is not only curious that this great world war should be waged by the two main branches of the Teutonic race, but it is still more curious that these two families of the same blood and of close kinship should have so developed, in their fifteen hundred years of separation, two systems so opposed, so antagonistic that they constitute the poles of human government.

Before tracing the reasons for this divergence of ideals it may be well to define what we mean when we speak of individualism and collectivism. You hear a great deal now of the German word *Kulter*, which means something quite different from the English word culture. The German word represents their ideal of collectivism. It means the whole German plan of society, the foundation, the corner stone and superstructure of the German state. With them the individual is nothing; the state is everything. An individual is a mere cog in the great machinery of the state. All individual initiative, all personal liberty, all personal choice

3. J. A. Cramb, professor of modern history in Queen's College, London, from 1893 until his death.

or desire is subordinated to the collective spirit, to the despotic control of the state. While with the English, as with us, the state is merely a collection of individuals, and, as I shall endeavor to show you later, nowhere in the world has there been as lofty an ideal of individual freedom of government by law, of justice, as the English-speaking race has developed.

It may be worth while, then, inasmuch as to-day we confront in this country a contest between these two ideals, to trace the growth of these two systems; especially so when there seems such confusion of ideas regarding the subject among men highly placed. Professor Munsterberg, of Harvard, lately announced that the German immigrants came to this country to impose upon this country the German ideals and the German *Kulter*. Mr. Barnes, of New York, one of those progressives who views with alarm any legislative innovation later than the Mosaic code, responded to this with the charge that German collectivism would bring this country to anarchy. Inasmuch as anarchy is no government, and collectivism is all government, one may see how confusedly Mr. Barnes discusses this great question. The other day Senator Beveridge made the astounding discovery that the end of this war would see a great development of collectivism in Europe along democratic lines. Inasmuch as collectivism presupposes an autocratic government, we see that Mr. Beveridge is as far at sea as Mr. Barnes. So it may be worth while to go back and trace the growth of these two great branches of the Teutonic family and ascertain, if we can, why the one developed on the one path and the other followed another totally different.

As you are all aware, Europe was settled by three successive waves of immigration. The first wave was the Celts; the second, the Teutonic; the third, the Slav. We do not know this from recorded history. We learn it from that imperishable thing, the language of these three stocks. We not only learn the identity of the different branches of these families, but we may trace their place of common origin somewhere on the slopes of the Caucasus and the central tablelands of Asia. We may trace there the habits, the occupations, and even the sociology, of the Aryan race before it separated into these three great families. The Celts were pushed by the successive waves of immigration into Brittany and the British Isles. The German wave fairly spent itself on the left bank of the Rhine. The first glimpse we find of the Germans is when the Romans came in contact with them. We say in contact, for Rome never conquered the Germans. Cæsar built a bridge across the Rhine, but never occupied the country. Varrus lost his legions there, and although Rome spread her arms and civilization over everything west of the Rhine and over nearly all of Britain, the Germans remained unconquered and untouched by her influence. These Germans, as we see them in the pages of the Roman historians, were the boldest, freest, most individual race that the world has ever known. The headship of the tribe or clan, whether chief or king, was an office, not a property. Power was not hereditary, but elective. Every free man and every free woman participated in the affairs of the government, helped make and wage war, and helped frame the peace that followed. Another curious thing: Nowhere else until that age, nor

indeed for two thousand years afterwards, was woman's place as lofty as among the Germans. She stood shoulder to shoulder with her husband, his copartner in all the things of life. And when we, the other day, conferred suffrage upon woman, we but restored her to that position which she held in the Cimbric forests two thousand years ago.

Certain families of this great Teutonic race, in 446, crossed the narrow seas and conquered Britain, after Rome, menaced at home, was compelled to withdraw her legions. This conflict differed from every one made by the Germanic tribes, the Goths, the Vandals, the Visigoths and others. These last, while they conquered France, Spain, Italy and North Africa, were themselves conquered by those whom they subdued. They adopted the arts and customs and eventually the effeminacy of their subjects, and gradually melted into the nationalities that they had overcome. Not so with the conquest of the Britains. There the Celtic inhabitants were either exterminated or driven into the mountain fastnesses of Wales and Scotland. This Germanic blood refused to mingle with any other, but flowed on undiluted, so pure that, in effect, the German to-day on the Rhine is not more German in blood than the Englishman of London. Nor would they adopt any of the institutions of the conquered, but brought with them their form of government, their religion and tribal customs.

Under the pressure of war the kingship gradually became more or less hereditary, but it was a loose heredity, frequently set aside by the people. The Folkmote gradually ceased to pass laws, but its approval of the edicts of the king was frequently sought. The Witenagemot, or council of the elders, continued to surround the king with their advice and counsel, but above all the Anglo-Saxons continued to be free men, and their government was a government of law and not of arbitrary power. The jury system gradually developed into something like its present form, and no man could be condemned except by the judgment of his fellows.

When the Normans conquered England a despotism was imposed upon the conquered country for a time; but the Normans, themselves of German blood, speedily melted into the mass of English people, and within two centuries the last sign of division between Norman and Saxon had disappeared. The national power that conquered King John and extorted the Great Charter was led by Walter Fitz-Hugh, a Norman, the Archbishop of York, and a Saxon. It is of profound interest that the demand for the Great Charter of the English liberties was not a demand for something new and unknown. The demand was for "the laws of Edward the Confessor." It was a return to the Anglo-Saxon government of law and individual liberty, and when King John solemnly promised that he would not "send upon, disseize or banish any man without the judgment of his peers" he simply formulated in writing Anglo-Saxon law and custom that had existed for more than a thousand years. From that time, protected by its island isolation, the English continued to develop a government of individualism and the protection of the liberty of the citizen.

Edmund Burke, in one of his sublime speeches, declared that the whole state and power of England, its king, lords and commons, its army and

navy, were established and maintained for the sole purpose of getting twelve honest men into the jury box. In other words this great structure of government was simply for the purpose of giving the English people a government of law. Again, Burke, in describing the ideal of English justice, declared that it was such that it shall protect the liberty and life of the humblest Hindu on the banks of the Ganges as completely as the wealthiest nobleman of England in his palace on the Thames.

It was this individualism, this free, robust independence of thought and speech, together with its capacity for self-government developed and trained by the English constitution, that made the Anglo-Saxon the greatest colonizer that the world has ever seen. In a foreign land they developed their governing institutions on the same model as the mother country. Whether on the James, the Plymouth Rock, in the wilds of Canada or of Australia, the free-born Englishman was his own master and governed himself. Those who formed our constitution were Englishmen, and Englishmen of a generation who were the greatest politicians that we have ever known. I do not speak of politics here in the sense of electing a county commissioner and the alloting of the county printing, but in the broader sense of state building and government. And the eighteenth century produced the greatest masters of the science of government that either England or America has ever seen. These Englishmen who framed the American constitution perceived with astounding clearness of vision that the two great forces of the universe must be balanced and controlled in any successful government. In the cosmos the centripetal force which holds the planetary system together is exactly balanced by the centrifugal force which keeps the planets from plunging into the sun, and the balance of these two forces preserves the harmonious movement of the system. So in human society, the centripetal force which tends towards despotism must be balanced by the centrifugal force which runs towards anarchy and destruction. One or the other of these forces had theretofore destroyed every republic that the world had known. Our forefathers devised the federal plan—a true planetary system—the centripetal force of the federal government balanced by the centrifugal force of the separate states, the states receiving from the central sun, the national government, their due proportion of power, their strength for protection, a common bond uniting all of them, but preserving their individual freedom, their individual existence, strong enough to prevent the central government from ever becoming a despotism. This balance, this check and countercheck, have worked so wonderfully for 125 years, have so built up this country in power and glory while still preserving its freedom, have so fostered the spirit of individual liberty in America while maintaining a government of law and order, that he who would disturb this perfect balance—he who would either increase or diminish the centripetal power of the federal government or the centripetal power of the state government; he who would change the representative principle, by which alone this balance can be maintained, into a pure democracy which would speedily destroy it—should stop and consider the laws of the universe and the history of the world.

Fifteen hundred years have elapsed since the Teutonic race separated into its two principal families. Those who remained behind suffered a

far different fate from those who occupied the island fastness of Great Britain. Penned in between the Rhine, the Vistula and the Baltic, with scarcely an outlet to the open sea, surrounded by Frank, Hun, Slav and Swede, Germany has been the battle ground of Europe. At times, under the Hohenstaufen and the Ottonides, there was a semblance of German unity. Austria seized for a time the hegemony of the German race and established a mockery of the power of the Cæsars—"The Holy Roman Empire," which, as Voltaire says, was neither holy, Roman nor an empire. In truth it was a collection of fragments loosely held together by common interest, which Metternich well described when he said that Germany was merely "a geographical expression." Civil wars, mostly religious, desolated its fields and destroyed its cities. It was the plaything of European politics. States were established and destroyed, confederacies formed and dissolved, not by the will of the German people, but by foreign rulers. Out of the ruck of petty German states Prussia finally emerged, and the Great Elector made himself the King of Prussia. The wars of Frederick the Great established the position of the Hohenzollerns, who have been, taken for all and all, the greatest succession of monarchs that Europe has ever seen. When Napoleon broke the power of Prussia, Germany was again plunged into anarchy; but out of the uprising against Napoleon grew the future greatness of Prussia, the Prussian army system, and, in effect, that wonderful machinery that we know to-day as the German government. So pressed upon on every side, trampled by the feet of warring nations, conquered by Hun and Slav and Swede and Frank, the Germanic people were inevitably compelled to submit to a despotic form of government. They realized that the collective spirit could alone save Germany alive. They had at their doors an object lesson of individualism carried too far. Poland, once the greatest monarchy in Europe, perished, and its people were enslaved because of the lack of the collective spirit. The great Germans of the nineteenth century determined that Germany, in order to be free, must be strong and great. And the German people, with the memory of their terrible past before them, willingly consented to give up their individualism and to bend every energy to the molding of a state powerful enough to protect its borders and its own civilization. It is well-nigh impossible for any of us to understand with what bitterness the Germans look back on their past, when the Hungarian army under Tilly sacked their cities, when the Swedish armies under Gustavus dictated their policies, when as feeble a monarch as Louis the Fifteenth of France desolated the Palatinate, when their sons perished upon the Steppes of Russia, dragged at the chariot wheels of Napoleon, mere pawns in the game of conquest that he was playing. Small wonder that they have sworn that, no matter what the sacrifice, never again shall German soil be desecrated by a foreign enemy if the German people, by whatever sacrifice, may prevent it. It is this outside pressure that has cemented the German character into that solid and enduring fabric of government that is to-day holding its own against all Europe.

It is this outside pressure and past humiliations that are the reasons for German collectivism, just as the freedom from outside influences and

from foreign invasion has permitted the Anglo-Saxon individualism to reach its zenith. It can not be doubted that individualism is the natural, the wholesome and the best development of human nature. German collectivism is artificial, unnatural, and it is submitted to by the German people by force of necessity. That its leading writers set it forth as an ideal is not strange. The whole power of the monarchy, its government and its army is devoted to this ideal, and its publicists must preach and enforce this ideal or be silent.

As a test of the two systems it is well to remark that the collective system in Germany has produced no men of the first rank in art or literature. Goethe, Kant and Schiller have had no successors. Wagner was a product of the earlier individualism. Again, because of this collectivism, Germany has made a failure of every one of her colonizing experiments, while England has spread her colonies over all the habitable world, so that Webster described her as "that great power whose military posts encircle the globe, morning drumbeats, following the sun and keeping company with the hours, girdle the earth with one continuous and unbroken strain of England's military airs." Germany had at the outbreak of the war a few handmade, home-protected colonies, each a complete failure. Separated from the home government, from the daily and hourly control and direction of an invisible central power, Germany's colonies have always failed. Hand in hand with the growth of German military power, under the collective system, has grown her material prosperity. While she has constructed the first army of the world and a navy second only to England, she is almost abreast with England in manufactures and in the race for the world's markets. Nor has there ever been anywhere on earth as many well-fed and well-clothed people under one flag, with as small a percentage of poverty, illiteracy or crime. It is a necessity of the collective system, where each is but a cog in the great machine, that each cog must be sedulously guarded and cared for, and this Germany has done with all of her people. On the other hand, England has discovered that too rank a growth of individualism becomes a crime. She has discovered, as we have discovered in this country, that to leave each individual entirely free is to permit the strong to prey upon the weak; to permit the man of first-rate capacity to exploit those of lower intelligence, and a form of collectivism, such as labor unions, coupled with child-labor laws and the like, has grown and is growing with accelerated speed every year. That is the conflict between collectivism and individualism that is going on in this country to-day and which Mr. Barnes says cannot continue without endangering the existence of our government. A growing public conscience in this country has demanded better protection for the poor, the unfortunate and unfit. This is a moral, a social collectivism and has only a faint resemblance to the German *Kulter*. This collectivism might proceed, and will doubtless proceed, much farther than it has without in any wise impairing the form of government handed down to us. With that form of collectivism I am heartily in sympathy. With each moral reform that lessens the unbridled power of the strong in order to protect the weak and helpless,

every man of heart and feeling should sympathize. Whenever this form of collectivism undertakes to disturb the foundations of our government, upon which the future of this country depends, when it assaults the safeguards that have protected the liberty of the individual, given us internal coherence and strength, and safety abroad, for one I must recoil. I cannot follow upon that path—call me "standpatter" or what you will. For myself I perceive a clear line of demarcation between moral and social collectivism, and governmental and military collectivism. I am not willing, either, to abandon that individualism that has alone of all the races of the world successfully established and maintained self-government; that has made of England for five hundred years a beacon light of progress, the shelter of the oppressed of every race, the hope of the downtrodden nations throughout the world. I am not willing to abandon that individualism that has conquered the seven seas and to-day holds absolute domain over them; that has made the Anglo-Saxon race the paramount race of the world; that has conquered and to-day holds the fairest portions of the globe, holds them free and self-governing. I am not willing to abandon that individualism that has starred the English-speaking sky with names of imperishable glory.

Whatever may be the result of this war, I am not afraid of world dominion by Germany or any other race. Power that is racial, that springs from the soil, founded upon nationality, has endured and will endure; power that is imposed by an alien race upon others bears within itself the seeds of decay. The history of the world from Alexander to Napoleon demonstrates it. There never has been and there never will be any world-conquering race. Whether in the material conflict that now desolates Europe, Germany or England shall be the winner, neither will dominate the world. The great problem for us in this day of change, of shifting alterations of public feeling, emotions and convictions, is to hold true to the governmental ideals that have proven themselves. We may experiment with sociology, but we dare not experiment with the foundations of the temple.

## ADDRESS.

By the President, HON. CHARLES F. SCOTT,[1] before the Kansas State Historical Society, at its forty-first annual meeting, October 17, 1916.

HAPPY the people whose annals are blank in history books!" If the converse of this familiar dictum of Thomas Carlyle is true then most unhappy must be the people of Kansas, for their annals fill many bulky volumes of "history books"; and if this Society, which is coming now to be ancient as it always has been honorable, shall continue its annalist activities in the future as it has practiced them in the past, then there is promise of many bulky volumes more.

But the outburst of the Sage of Chelsea was called forth, of course, by the fact that the annals of most peoples are comprised chiefly of the records of wars, pestilences, famines and other misfortunes and griefs, omitting the story of the days of peace and plenty and happiness and health. It is a different kind of history that the annalists of Kansas have written into our archives. Kansas has not wholly escaped "the terror by night, nor the arrow that flieth by day, nor the pestilence that walketh in darkness, nor the destruction that wasteth at noonday," and faithful pens have not failed to record the whole story, however charged it may have been with woe and wailing. But these same faithful pens have not failed either to paint the other side of the picture. The pastorals of peace have claimed their attention no less than the tragedies of war. The conquest of the wilderness, the subjugation of the desert, the triumphant march of civilization, with schoolhouses as its outposts and railroads as its skirmishers and newspapers as its scouts and heralds, the swift and fascinating transformation of a crude frontier community into a state which has surrounded itself "with all that embellishes and adorns civilized life"—all that splendid story has been told also by our Kansas annalists, who thus have demonstrated that even a happy people may have a history.

These annalists of ours have done their work so well, indeed, and so thoroughly, they have explored with such eager and unremitting diligence every nook and cranny of the state, and have set down with such minute particularity every detail of individual life or of official action or of outside influence having any bearing, remote or near, upon the shaping of Kansas events or the direction of Kansas destiny, that I venture—albeit with apology in advance and with much trepidation, remembering the presence in which I stand—I venture apprehensively to inquire whether we may not have reached a point where we may pause and draw breath and say, "The history of Kansas has been written."

While you are recovering from the shock of this suggestion, and before you begin to say things, or throw things, let me hasten to add that the word "history" is used here as it is used commonly, as the dictionary defines it, meaning "a narrative of past events." In that acceptation of the term it really seems to me as if the history of Kansas has been written.

1. For biographical sketch of Charles F. Scott see "Kansas Historical Collections," vol. 7, p. 126, and "History of Kansas Newspapers," 1916, p. 47.

Certainly if any important—even mildly and moderately important—past event in any way connected with the life of Kansas remains unrecorded, and any of you has knowledge of it and will volunteer to supply the lack at the next meeting of this Society, you will find an eager welcome awaiting you in the office of the program committee.

But because the intimation is offered that Kansas history has been written, do not imagine that your present speaker believes the Kansas State Historical Society should surrender its charter, liquidate its assets, close its doors and itself become a shade in that realm of shadows which we call the past.

I do believe, however, that the time has come when this Society may well consider whether it might not take on a new function and become a compiler and publisher of current Kansas events.

The service this Society has rendered the state by constituting itself a reservoir of the raw material from which future histories of events now transpiring shall be compiled has been invaluable and ought by no means to be remitted. The files of Kansas newspapers, the long rows of Kansas books, the collection of Kansas manuscripts and photographs and relics which this Society, through the generosity of its members and the activity, intelligence and toil of the remarkable men who have served it as secretary, and their official associates, possess a value beyond computation, and in assembling, arranging and conserving them the Society has rendered a service to the commonwealth which may well be a matter of pride to every one who has had even the least share in it. This, the function for which the Society primarily was organized, must of course be continued.

But while nothing which has to do with the history of a state is so potentially valuable as newspaper files, nothing is practically of less utility to the people who are alive now. To sit down to a table with a year's file of a daily newspaper before you for the purpose of looking up the report of an event the date of which you do not recall is about the most deadly discouraging of all human occupations. But to take that same newspaper as it comes every day fresh from the press and summarize its reports of important events is quite a different task. And to have that summary, in convenient book form, published annually or semiannually, would be to confer upon the thousands—certainly the number would reach at least into hundreds—of Kansas people who would find use for such a publication, an inestimable boon.

You all realize, of course, that I am bringing up again the perennial problem of the revival of "Wilder's Annals." But I am doing a little more than that. To bring "Wilder's Annals" down to date is a dream all of us have long hoped to see realized, and it is a duty which this Society must sometime perform. But that task, even when once undertaken, will be a long one, and we ought not to wait for it to be completed before taking up the duty that lies immediately before us.

This is not the time to enter upon a discussion of ways and means. It is enough now to say that if the Kansas State Historical Society should announce that with proper support from the people it would undertake

hereafter to compile and publish current Kansas events, that support in some way, I thoroughly believe, would be promptly forthcoming.

But while I believe, as already intimated, that the early history, or what at this late date might almost be called the ancient history of Kansas, has perhaps been sufficiently written, or that it will have been when the history of Kansas upon which our distinguished and indefatigable secretary is now engaged is complete, and while I believe that a brief summary of contemporaneous Kansas occurrences might most profitably be undertaken, I would not leave the impression that no other fields remain open to the Kansas annalist. Our accomplished secretary, Mr. Connelley, whose several volumes constitute the most notable contributions yet made to the historical literature of the state, has placed all of us under renewed obligation to him by the exhaustive history of the newspapers of Kansas which is now on the press. The field of biography which he also has entered to our great profit has been by no means exhausted. At various times the state has witnessed important social, economic and political movements, the record of which ought to be clearly and completely and dispassionately written out. All the world knows that Kansas "went dry" a generation ago, but how many remember how and why and under what leadership the great reform was accomplished? "The Lewelling war" was a common phrase twenty years ago, but where would you go to find out now what it was all about, who were leaders in it, how it started and how it came out? The great movement which found its political expression in the organization of the People's Party brought into prominence some of the most striking and remarkable personalities that ever appeared in our public life, and was, on the whole, one of the most unique and dramatic episodes in the history of our state. Why should it be forgotten? Why, indeed, should we not have the story of all the minor political movements that from time to time have disturbed the calculations of the politicians and brought more or less grief to one or the other of the established parties? More or less sporadic and ineffectual these movements were, of course; and yet each of them had its reason for being, and the record of that reason and of what was accomplished or attempted, and the leadership that was developed, cannot but add something to that light which the events of the past are presumed to cast forward along the pathway of the future. Another chapter, and a very proud chapter, of Kansas history is that which will record the response this state made to the appeal of Belgium, that new Niobe of the Nations, and of the civilian populations of Poland, Hungary, Serbia and other lands devastated by the Great World War. That chapter ought to be written while the memory of it still is fresh and fragrant and while the data for it all still are easily available. It certainly will be gratifying for the children of a future Kansas generation to know that when all Europe was in agony their fathers and mothers did not remain idle and indifferent spectators of the frightful tragedy, but that they joined with other Americans to save a nation alive. That the first relief ship to be sent by any state was sent by Kansas, and that it carried not less than fourteen million days' rations to the helpless men and women and children of beleaguered Belgium.

The foregoing are suggested merely by way of illustration to indicate the wide field that yet remains open for Kansans with a taste for the writing of history. The newspapers supply us with the history of a day. If this Society, either by encouraging others or through the activity of its own officers and members, can have us supplied with the history of a decade, so that the record of events that transpired last year, or five or ten years ago, can be made as readily accessible as the history of events that transpired fifty years ago, it will have established a new claim upon the gratitude of the commonwealth.

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## ADDRESS UPON THE OPENING OF THE NEOSHO COUNTY COURTHOUSE.

Delivered by JUDGE LEANDER STILLWELL,[1] at Erie, Kan., November 24, 1904.

*Mr President, Ladies and Gentlemen:*

IT is one of the notable characteristics of the American people that they cannot hold any sort of a public gathering without some attempt at speech-making. This ancient and hoary custom is not to be ignored this afternoon, by any means, and the duty has been assigned to me to make some remarks on behalf of the people of Erie in the nature of a public welcome to everybody to the new courthouse. I will say at the start, in order to put you in as good a humor as possible, that my alleged speech will have at least one superior excellence and paramount virtue, in this—it will be brief. With that understanding, I now invoke your most considerate kindness and long-suffering patience, and will proceed to punish you in the orthodox manner.

It is said of the legal fraternity that, like their supposed patron saint —an ugly personage of horns, hoofs and tail—they have a special faculty for quoting Scripture when a fair opportunity is afforded, either to point a moral or adorn a tale, or to capture a court or a jury. And in order to be in line with the profession, I want to give you the substance, at least, of one or two passages of Holy Writ that have, in my opinion, a special application to the feelings to-day of many of the old-timers present on this occasion.

It is recorded in the book of Luke that at the time of the advent in the world of the Savior of mankind there dwelt in the city of Jerusalem a certain man named Simeon. It is said of him that he was a man who was just and devout, and who was waiting for the consolation of Israel; that is to say, the appearance of the expected Messiah. It had been divinely revealed to him that he should not see death until he had seen the Lord's Christ. By the admonition of the Holy Spirit he was in the temple when the child Jesus was brought there, in conformity to a certain requirement of the Jewish law. The sacred writer goes on to say that Simeon, as soon as he saw the child, recognized his divine origin, took him up in his arms, blessed God, and said: "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation."

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1. For biographical sketches of Judge Stillwell see "Kansas Historical Collections," vol. 9, p. 65, and vol. 11, p. 296.

Now, with all due reverence, it can, I think, be truly said that many of the old pioneers present here this afternoon have feelings which bear some shadow of resemblance to those that exalted the soul of the just and devout Simeon on the memorable occasion I have mentioned.

Like him, we have been waiting, waiting, watching and hoping, for many long and weary years, to see the consolation of Erie in particular and the county in general, in the shape of a new, ample and commodious courthouse, and our wishes at last have been attained. Like Simeon, we have finally been blessed with the sight of this long-expected and much desired temporal salvation that will redound to the earthly convenience, accommodation and benefit of all the people of the county, likewise the stranger within our gates.

And when the old settlers recall the mere apologies for county buildings that we had thirty-six or -seven years ago, and for many years later, and compare them with this elegant structure, who can wonder at or begrudge our feelings of thankfulness and exultation!

I have personally attended on the district court in this county, in one capacity or another, at every term of court held therein except two, and (barring Osage City, the temporary county seat by designation of Governor Carney) I have transacted business in all the alleged courthouses save one. There is only one man, I think, now living who outranks me in that regard, and that is our friend Joseph L. Denison, the present county attorney. But do not misunderstand me here. I am now speaking only of attendance upon the terms of the district court. So far as priority of settlement in the county and active and prominent participation in its public affairs are concerned, there are many others who are entitled to the precedence—at least, so far as I am concerned. The man yet living who stands at the head of the list, according to my best information, is S. E. Beach, of Chanute. There are many others not far behind him, among whom may be mentioned Col. John C. Carpenter, Ben Smith and J. M. Allen, of Chanute; Squire Rosa, of Galesburg; Henry and John Wikle, Judge J. A. Wells, Capt. John Berry, J. F. Himmelwright, J. C. Hudson and John Haviland, of Erie; Joe Boyle and Port. Williams, of Osage Mission; Alva Clark, of Lincoln township; and several others whom I have not now the time specifically to mention.

But, recurring to the terms of court in this county, it is a matter of local history, and also within the personal knowledge of some who are yet living, that the first term was held in October, 1867, at the store of Roe & Denison, about two miles northwest of Erie.[2] The second term was held in Erie, in April, 1868, in a small one-story frame building used as a schoolhouse, and situated nearly in the center of the block on the west side of Main street, about opposite the present post-office building. The next term, in October, 1868, was held in the upper story of the Gilbert building, which is still standing just across the street

2. Andreas' "History of Kansas," 1883, p. 826, says: "The first term of the district court was held at Old Erie in September, 1867. Hon. W. A. Spriggs, of Garnett, was presiding judge. T. C. Cory was appointed by Judge Spriggs county attorney, and acted in that capacity throughout the term. T. J. Brewer was clerk of the court, and the lawyers in attendance from Neosho county were J. C. Carpenter, B. P. Ayres, Tom Bridgens and C. F. Hutchings." Old Erie was some two miles northwest of the present town of Erie, and it was there that the store of Roe & Denison was situated.

from the southwest corner of the square on which this courthouse stands. Up to the spring of 1871 court continued to be held in the Gilbert building; then the county seat went to Osage Mission. The first term of court there was held in a hall over the Blue Wing saloon. This close proximity of the seat of justice to a place where liquid refreshments could be obtained was quite a convenience to many members of the bar of that period, and possibly, in a mild way, it was also appreciated by the court. But in order to even up things and maintain our good standing in the community, the next term was held in the Baptist church, in that part of Osage Mission then known as Catholic Mission. One term of court held in the church was deemed sufficient to restore the bench and bar to its normal purity and pristine sweetness, and court was next held in the hall of a building on the north side of County street, which hall, up to a recent period, has been occupied as the printing office of the St. Paul *Journal.* Court continued to be held at this place until the fall of 1874, when it followed the county seat to Erie, and from that time up to last Thursday the alleged blindfolded goddess of justice held her sessions in the east part of this town, in a building originally constructed for, and a year or two used, as the public-school building for the children of Erie and the immediate vicinity.

If the events which have occurred in that old courthouse so recently abandoned could be truly and graphically written they would make a history of most intense interest. For over thirty years it witnessed the forensic battles of the leading lawyers of southeastern Kansas. Its low ceiling and grimy walls have echoed and reëchoed the voices of advocates who had been, were then, or later became senators or representatives in Congress, judges in this or other states, or held other positions of high honor and emolument in different states of the nation. In that dingy old courtroom have been tried cases which attracted national attention, and which elicited editorials thereon from the leading newspapers and periodicals of the United States. It will be many years before the history will be made in this room that was enacted in the old stone courthouse that now stands tenantless and alone in its grove of catalpa trees on the east bank of Puckett's Run.

One inconvenience among the many we were subjected to in the early days on account of the absence of suitable county buildings was the fact that for some years in the early '70's, and prior thereto, you could seldom find to exceed two county officers under the same roof. The county clerk was at one place, the register of deeds at another, the treasurer at another, and so on. At one time I remember distinctly the county attorney held forth in New Chicago (now Chanute); the county superintendent of public instruction could be found on his farm in East Lincoln; the probate judge on his farm on the upper waters of Big creek; and such small fry as the surveyor and coroner at any old place in general, but nowhere in particular. The probate judge would attend at his alleged office only on one day in the week, to wit, Saturday. If he was wanted in the meantime you had to hire a livery rig and hunt him up. He had one arrangement, however, which was decidedly praiseworthy. He kept a number of marriage licenses signed up in blank, and some lawyer or

storekeeper was verbally authorized to fill in the details when a marriage license was applied for. This may have been a little irregular, but, very properly, nobody kicked, which spoke well for the good sense of the people. I think myself that of all the situations in life when legal technicalities ought not to stand in the way for a moment, it is when a handsome, stalwart young man and a sweet, pretty girl are both willing and anxious to get married. But there were some things which the probate judge could not commit to an alleged deputy, as we lawyers especially often found out to our sorrow, trouble and expense. I remember one time, in the winter of '70 and '71, a couple of clients of mine were arrested on a state's warrant issued by a justice of the peace of Montgomery county, and were in the act of being forcibly deported to that county to answer for some misunderstanding about a horse. The only remedy in sight was a writ of *habeas corpus*, which was the great king cure-all in those days. I wanted that writ then, and wanted it bad, but on inquiry I found that Judge Fletcher was on his farm in Big Creek township, ten miles away, and "hit a snowin'." Mike Barnes was sheriff of the county at the time, and had my clients in his custody. He was a kind-hearted man, and good to us young lawyers, and at my earnest request he agreed simply to hold my people till I could get the desired writ. I went to Rube Lake's livery stable here in this town, got a rig, consisting of an old open buckboard drawn by a span of Indian ponies, and started to interview "Jonas," as we boys used to call him. I got off a little after dinner, the ground being covered with a soft, heavy snow, which made the traveling difficult and laborious. Reaching Judge Fletcher's late in the afternoon, I found him not at home and was told by the family that he had gone to New Chicago that morning, that maybe he would return that evening, and maybe not till the next day. But my case would tolerate no delay, so I turned the heads of my tired ponies to the west and started for New Chicago. As the wintry sun, gleaming through the clouds angry and red, was just sinking below the prairie swells west of New Chicago, I reached the summit of that high divide east of the Neosho river which overlooks the river bottom, and there I met Judge Fletcher in his farm wagon on his way home. The place of our meeting was near a little log schoolhouse situated on the south side of the road. School had been dismissed, but there was no lock to the schoolhouse door, so we tied our teams to some saplings, went in, and found a comfortable fire still burning in the stove. After warming our numbed hands I produced my papers, all prepared for the judge's signature; we made a raid on the children's pens and ink, the judge signed the writ, and verbally authorized me to go to his office at Osage Mission and attach to the document the seal of the probate court. Then we started, he for his home and I for Erie, which place I reached about midnight. But I kept busy until the writ was duly served, and in the end my men were finally discharged.

I might say, however, before dismissing this episode, that, as regards one of my clients, at least, my labors simply postponed his evil day for only a brief period. Not long after, down in the Indian territory, he picked up a rope and walked off with it, and a vigilance committee of the

neighborhood, after a very short and summary investigation, utilized said rope by hanging him with it to a hackberry tree till he was dead. It is possible I have omitted to state that the rope my unfortunate client appropriated had one end attached to a horse, the title to which was in somebody else, and that may have aggravated the difficulty. People were most particular and "techey" about their horses in those days.

Now please do not infer from anything that I have said that I am criticising honest old Jonas Fletcher, or any other of the county officers of that time, for any seeming inattention to their official duties, for I am not. That state of affairs simply resulted from existing conditions, and from our lack of better facilities to enable the county officers to attend to their duties in the way and manner that they are expected to do now. And this brings me really to what I suppose you have patiently been listening to hear, namely, the welcome to the new courthouse. What I have said so far was intended, in the main, to remind you, or rather refresh the recollection of many of you, concerning some of the annoyances and discomforts we had to undergo in the primitive times for want of the public accommodations which we have in these latter days attained. If I have succeeded in impressing you with the conviction that there are many of us who most sincerely appreciate the advent of these better things, you will all the more readily believe that the welcome which is given you is genuine and unfeigned. And compressing it into as few words as possible, I will say that I have the pleasure and the honor to extend you, in behalf of the people of Erie, in all heartfelt sincerity, a most cordial welcome to this new and admirable courthouse of Neosho county. We want you to remember, all the time, that it was your votes at the ballot box that authorized this building to be constructed, and it is your money that will pay for it from top to bottom. While the naked legal title thereto, as we lawyers say, is vested in the board of county commissioners, yet the equitable title, the right to its use and enjoyment in all lawful ways, is possessed by the men, women and children of the county, and any others who have property rights therein. We hope you may continue to enjoy all the rights and privileges resulting from a safe, comfortable and permanent county building for many years to come, and your children and their descendants after you. We feel grateful to the people for having by their action made the construction of this courthouse a fact accomplished, and we want them to feel and realize our gratitude. You will find here all the county officers under one roof; they are simply your servants, and those of the public generally, for the time being. They are all courteous and honorable gentlemen, and you will find them willing and anxious properly to attend to any of your business which may come within the scope of their respective duties.

I may have gone a little too far when I said you would find all the county officers here. I am not sure about the coroner. But while the present coroner, likewise his predecessors for many years past, is a most courteous and competent gentleman, yet in his official capacity he is almost the last person in the world we want to see anyhow, so I don't suppose his absence will cause any of the taxpayers to go on a strike. If he should be needed we can reach him by telephone, an agency which when I hung

out my shingle in Erie, about thirty-seven years ago, would have been regarded as the invention of the very devil himself.

But while I am thus extending you a cordial welcome to this building and every part thereof, nevertheless I am inclined to think that one of the best wishes I can make in your behalf is that you may be seen in this courtroom, in the character of litigants, just as seldom as possible. The words of the apostle Paul, spoken about nineteen hundred years ago, are just as sound and full of wisdom now as they were when he said, "If it be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men." And you are all familiar with the advice of the Savior given in his immortal Sermon on the Mount, "If any man will sue thee at the law and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also." Poor sinful mortal that I am, I do not know that I can go so far as to urge on you a literal compliance with that injunction; nevertheless I quote it and commend it to you for consideration as the very highest authority bearing on the general subject of the unprofitableness of lawsuits.

I am going to take my seat now in a short time, but I feel that I would not be doing my entire duty on this occasion if I neglected to advert briefly to one more matter. You cannot have failed to notice and admire the style, material, and the sound and substantial construction of this building in every respect. Its materials are first class, there is no flaw or defect in its construction, and there has not been the slightest taint of jobbery or corruption in its erection from beginning to end. The men to whom, above all others, in my judgment, you have to thank for these gratifying results, are the men composing the board of commissioners of Neosho county, Henry Lodge, J. A. Alleman and Matthew Devine. As long as this noble edifice exists, which in all human probability will be until after all of us shall have passed away, it will stand as an enduring monument to the competency, honesty and faithful public service of these just and upright men.

# ADDRESSES AT THE DEDICATION OF THE MONUMENT AT TURNER,

## TO MARK THE SITE OF THE FIRST METHODIST MISSION TO THE SHAWNEE INDIANS IN KANSAS.

Compiled by REV. JOHN ENDACOTT, Junction City.

THERE is a proverb which reads, "Fortunate is that country which has no history." And if history means wars and bloodshed, there is point to this. Inevitably a country gains a history, and fortunate is it if it contain at least a few persons who will rescue from oblivion that which is precious and inspiring. Sentiment is not to be ignored; hills and valleys are glorified by the achievements of the human spirit wrought on them.

REV. JOHN ENDACOTT.

Monuments, moreover, have a strictly utilitarian value; they educate all, even the careless and vagrant passer-by. The state of Indiana has erected at Indianapolis, at vast cost, a monument to the soldiers and sailors of the Civil War—private soldiers and common sailors, mind you — which is a mighty teacher of democratic principles.

Into unexplored territories there go the explorer, soldier, trader and missionary, and it is to the glory of all concerned that the missionary is there. His record and the spirit which impelled him are too precious to be allowed to perish. By every means we must keep that missionary impulse in motion.

By an act of Congress dated May 26, 1830, the Indian country was set apart for Indian occupation and divided among the different tribes. Part of Kansas and Oklahoma was included in this tract. The Shawnee Indians were given a long, narrow strip of land running east and west along the south side of the Kansas river. Their government agent seems to have been an enlightened man. His name was George Vashon, and in 1830 he made an appeal to the churches for missionaries to come and teach the Indian children. The Methodist Episcopal Church was represented in its Missouri district of the Missouri conference by Rev. Jesse Greene, and in July, 1830, he received a letter from Mr. Vashon urging him to establish a mission among the Shawnees. Up to that time no

attempt had been made by the Methodists to establish missions among any of the Indian tribes in Missouri or in contiguous territory.

In September, 1830, following the receipt of Mr. Vashon's letter by Mr. Greene, the fifteenth session of the Missouri conference was held in St. Louis. The request of Mr. Vashon was brought before the conference by Mr. Greene, as we understand, and the conference took immediate

TURNER MONUMENT.
Mr. Heisler at left.

and favorable action. A constitution was drawn up and adopted and a missionary society organized—not a conference society, but a society for the church at large. Let the reader reflect on the nobleness of the spirit and act of these men, who themselves received for their support less than $40 a year, thus resolving that they would contribute a part of their very limited means to send the gospel to others. We know of no more heroic self-denial. It was thus that this struggling conference of but twenty-

six members, whose whole territory was but a missionary field in the depths of its poverty of both men and means, could still remember those who were more destitute. The Rev. Joab Spencer, D. D., who was a teacher in the mission for some time, gives us this account of the beginning of the mission, in the *Central Christian Advocate* of July 7, 1915.

The man selected for missionary was the Rev. Thomas Johnson—young in years, strong of body and vigorous of mind. He married a worthy helpmeet, Miss Sarah T. Davis, and they started for the Shawnee country on their wedding trip. A man named Chouteau had a trading post on the south bank of the Kansas river a few miles back from its mouth, and not far from him the young people went into the big timber and erected a double two-story log house and started housekeeping, with a mission and a school. Herein the missionary differs from the explorer, the soldier, and probably the trader. He founds a home and raises children. Any civilization worthy of the name must have its roots deep in sound domestic relations.

The first child born to these devoted people only lived a few months. That little new-made grave with its firstborn occupant must have seemed almost tragedy to the young missionaries. The second child, Alexander Soule Johnson, was usually called the first white child[1] born in Kansas, by people who did not know of his older infant brother. He grew to be a man, and when the first territorial legislature met at Pawnee, the missionary father was president of the upper house or council and the son was a member of the lower house, and the only native member. He had time to grow up previous to 1855. As Colonel Johnson he was well known to many of our readers.

The two-story double log house was built three-quarters of a mile southeast of Turner, Wyandotte county, Kansas, on the northeast quarter of the southwest quarter, section 24, township 11, range 24.[2] It is now a fruit farm owned by Mr. Charles Partonnar, who kindly gave permission for the erection of this monument.

The mission was successful from the start, and for nearly nine years it was continued in the log house. Mr. William Johnson, a brother of Thomas, was associated with him in the work. But the coming of Mary Todd arouses our interest. Mary was born in England, at Bristol, where John Wesley wrote his "Notes on the New Testament" and Charles Wesley had his home. When she was a little girl her parents emigrated to New York and joined the John Street Methodist Episcopal Church. When a young woman she offered her services to the New York conference. The missionary society of the Methodist Episcopal Church was only nineteen years old. Missions were few, so they sent her out to

1. There has been much discussion as to who was the first white child born in what is now Kansas, and, after all, it is a fruitless discussion and an empty honor, since it is quite impossible to positively know. In the Fifteenth Biennial Report of the Historical Society, p. 35, may be found a list of births of white children in preterritorial days in Kansas. This list was made up from properly authenticated Bible records, and is indisputable, but it does not claim to be complete. The first white child born in Kansas (of which there is record) was Napoleon Boone, born August 22, 1828, son of Daniel Morgan Boone and grandson of Daniel Boone. He died in California, May 20, 1850. Lewis Dougherty, of the famous old Dougherty family, was the second white child born in Kansas, December 27, 1828. There is record of at least four children born before Alexander Soule Johnson.

2. See "Kansas Historical Collections," vol. 9, p. 165, and p. 169, note 17.

the Indian country as a missionary to the Shawnees in 1838. She made the trip alone by stage in midwinter. The presiding elder, Rev. Jesse Greene, who had remained a staunch friend of the mission, naturally desired such a girl for a wife, and they were married. The missionaries were the only white people to offer congratulations. The work grew beyond the capacity of the log house, and in 1839 a move was made to the prairie several miles south, in Johnson county. The government gave land, and large brick buildings were erected, which still stand. Altogether for about thirty years the mission was continued. Except for some intervals of ill health, Rev. Thomas Johnson continued at the head of the mission, giving his life to his task. Rev. Jerome Berryman relieved him when necessary. Not only did the mission maintain the best school in all the country—the curriculum is surprising—but industrial education was extensively followed. The United States government has been glad to continue the work. The large school, Haskell Institute, was established a few miles away, at Lawrence, Kan., and the methods worked out by the mission are still in vogue.

Those who are interested in a fuller account of this and other missions to the Indians in Kansas can find the facts in volume IX of "Kansas Historical Collections."

After the log house was abandoned it was demolished, and finally forgotten for nearly fifty years. But the site has added importance from the fact that it marked the beginning of Methodism in Kansas; this alone entitling it to everlasting remembrance.

To Mr. E. F. Heisler belongs the credit of rescuing the site from oblivion; without his patient efforts it would have been lost forever. Among his other enterprises, through his paper, the Kansas City (Kan.) *Sun*, he arranged for a sociability trip over the historical places of Wyandotte county and part of the scenes of the battle of Westport in Jackson county, Missouri. The trip was made on August 14, 1915, and was interesting and profitable. Along in the day the site of the log house was reached. Its importance could be readily seen, and plans were formed at once to erect a suitable monument. As the site was of great importance to the Methodists, it seemed fitting that the Kansas Methodist Historical Society, with headquarters at Baker University, should undertake the work. The officers—Judge Nelson Case, president; Dean O. G. Markham, secretary; and Rev. M. R. Molesworth, treasurer—entered heartily into the plans, and funds were collected from the Kansas ministerial and lay conferences and churches and friends.

The monument is of granite, five feet high and three feet wide. Into its northern face is inserted a bronze tablet ten by eighteen inches, with this inscription: "This monument marks the site of the mission house erected for the benefit of the Shawnee Indians by Reverend Thomas Johnson, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in 1830. The mission was removed to the site southwest of Westport, Missouri, in 1839. Methodism in Kansas began on this spot. Erected by the Kansas Methodist Historical Society, 1916." The monument was supplied on very liberal terms by Ditsch & Fischer, of Kansas City, Kan.

## THE DEDICATORY CEREMONIES.

The date for the dedication was set for Tuesday, June 26, 1917, at ten a. m. Nature was kind, and it was a perfect day. The good people of Turner took a keen interest in the event and provided tents and seats. A committee consisting of Mr. E. F. Heisler, Rev. T. R. Heath, pastor of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and Mr. J. J. Swingley made all

TURNER MONUMENT.
Bishop Hendrix about to press John Wesley's seal against the monument.

TURNER MONUMENT DEDICATION.
Bishops blessing Mrs. Stinson.

necessary arrangements. Without charge, people were taken in conveyances to the site from the end of the street-car line at Argentine. A large crowd attended and the program was carried out in full. Dr. S. S. Glasscock was chairman of the day. The ceremonies opened with the singing of good old missionary hymns from the Methodist hymnal. Bishop Eugene R. Hendrix, senior bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, made the first address. He also exhibited the private seal of John Wesley, which he obtained in England, and a piece of the oak from the church of Robert Strawbridge in Maryland, perhaps the first Methodist church in America, and pressed these relics against the monument as part of its dedication. After prayer, Mr. Heisler made an address, "How the Site was Lost and Recovered." Mr. and Mrs. J. Oliver Brison sang a duet, after which Bishop William O. Shepard of the Methodist Episcopal Church made an address, linking the past with the future. Then Judge Nelson Case, on behalf of the Kansas Methodist Historical Society, presented the monument to Bishop Shepard for dedication. Little Miss Sue Wornall, five years old, a great-great-granddaughter of Rev. Thomas Johnson, pulled aside the covering and unveiled the monument, after which Bishop Shepard read the inscription on the tablet and formally dedicated the whole structure to the service of future generations. Mrs. Julia Stinson, who was born in 1832 a half mile east of the site, was introduced and made a very interesting talk. She is part Indian, a third cousin of Tecumseh, and is bright and hearty in spite of her eighty-five years. She told a number of incidents of her childhood, and pointed to surrounding hills and gave the names of the people who occupied them. This personal eyewitness testimony gave an indescribable charm to the dedication. Then the crowd departed, feeling that in erecting this monument a good and useful deed had been done.

ADDRESS OF MR. E. F. HEISLER: HOW THIS MISSION SITE WAS LOST, AND HOW RECOVERED.

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN—According to the program before us, the part assigned to me is to tell how the site of this mission was recovered, after a lapse of about half a century. Yet to many persons it is a matter of greater concern to know how the spot ceased to be known as the site of the first mission of the Shawnee Indians in Kansas.

When the United States government designated this ample domain south of the Kansas river, extending from the western line of the state of Missouri, more than sixty miles westward, as the Shawnee Indian reservation, it simply gave it to the tribe in common. No member of the tribe had a title to any part of the land. But every member of the tribe had the privilege of building himself a home and tilling the adjoining land as long as he desired to. When he vacated this property and established a home elsewhere, his first home again became common property, and when occupied by another person as a home, was that person's, "to have and to hold" as long as he continued to live there.

So that when Rev. Thomas Johnson, in 1830, occupied this place as a home and a mission, it was known as the "Shawnee Methodist Mission and Manual Labor School," and his home, until he vacated it in 1839, when he established his home and the mission in a more desirable location.

Then when John Smith, Polly Rogers or any other person occupied the old mission building as a residence, it was known as the property of John Smith, or the person who chanced to occupy it, as the case might be. And probably not in fifty years did the rising generation hear that it had been occupied as a mission. No wonder that it was forgotten.

Now, as to how it was recovered, and why.

In giving this narrative I may be obliged to use the personal pronoun more frequently than good taste may dictate, but I beg your indulgence.

About the years 1874 and 1875 I published a map and history of Johnson county, Kansas,[3] in which the new Methodist mission had been located since 1839, and it was claimed that Col. A. S. Johnson was born there in 1832. In my researches at the State Historical Society[4] in Topeka, and elsewhere, I found no record or account of any other Methodist mission among the Shawnee Indians in Kansas, except the brick mission established in Johnson county, 1839. After diligent inquiry among some of the older Shawnee Indians I soon discovered that another mission had been established farther north in the timber in Wyandotte county as early as 1830. But there was no record of such a mission in the State Historical Society, or the seven histories of the state, written by as many different authors. I found that an error had been made. So I made inquiry among some of the older Shawnee Indians—Rev. Charles Bluejacket, Mrs. Randall and others, and Rev. J. G. Pratt, the two Chick brothers, of Kansas City, Mo., Mrs. Susanna Grinter, a Delaware Indian, and several others—all of whom said that they had been at the log mission in the timber in Wyandotte county while Rev. Thomas Johnson had charge of it, before he established the brick mission in Johnson county on the prairie.

Accordingly I announced the fact that Col. A. S. Johnson was not born in Johnson county in 1832, but in Wyandotte county, where the mission was established at that time. This announcement caused a storm of opposition to my publication, because the people did not want to be "robbed" of the honor of being the birthplace of the first white child in the state.[5]

Among others, Judge Noteman was very outspoken in his criticisms. He even went so far as to point the finger of scorn at me, saying, "This man Heisler sets himself up as knowing more about the history of the state than the seven historians and the State Historical Society combined." Soon the controversy waxed warm, and finally I said to Judge Noteman, "I have documentary evidence and living witnesses by which I will prove that you are, or I am, the biggest liar in the state of Kansas." Noteman asked to know who the living witnesses were. I gave him the names of six prominent persons, some of whom he was not acquainted

3. The publication to which Mr. Heisler refers is "Atlas Map of Johnson County, Kansas, compiled from actual personal surveys and records by E. F. Heisler and D. M. Smith, assisted by A. J. Coffin and A. H. Lott; . . . also History of Johnson County, Kansas, by Oliver H. Gregg." Published in 1874 by E. F. Heisler & Co., Wyandotte.

4. The Kansas State Historical Society was not organized until December 13, 1875. The next year, 1876, it was given a small office in the statehouse, a cubbyhole under the stairs leading to the senate chamber. Its library consisted of a small bookcase of books, all donated. The first appropriation it received from the state was in 1877, and was $3,000.

5. *Supra*, Note.

with. But he said: "Every person knows that Rev. Charles Bluejacket is an honorable man—a man whose simple word I would believe rather than many others under oath. If he will make a statement in writing that the Methodist Shawnee mission was located in the timber in Wyandotte county I will admit you are right in your contention."

Bluejacket wrote a note like this:

"I have frequently been at Johnson's log mission in the timber, but since the building is gone, the big saw timber has been cut away, and much of the land cleared, it might be difficult to locate the site; but when the Shawnee prophet died and was buried near his cabin at the 'White Feather spring,' in November, 1836, Johnson then lived at the log mission, about two miles west."

This settled the controversy for the time.

The two Chick brothers, of Kansas City, Mo., wrote me that they both attended school at the log mission a few weeks, about the year 1837, while their parents visited relatives in St. Louis. Wm. M. Johnson induced one of the brothers to sketch a plan of the log building as he remembered it, which has since been engraved.

One of the most convincing proofs of the location of the log mission in Wyandotte county is the statement of Rev. John G. Pratt, who with his wife came to the Shawnee mission from Boston in 1837. Not finding any conveniences for keeping his papers, except laying them on shelves about the room, he went to Westport to buy a suitable desk. But he found no furniture store nor any lumber to make a desk, so he was advised to go to Johnson's Mission and Manual Labor School, near Chouteau's Trading Post, and get a desk made.

On reaching the mission Johnson told him they had no lumber, but if he could make a bargain with the Indian boys of the school, they had a whipsaw, with which the lumber could be sawed from one of the trees standing near by, the lumber kiln-dried and made into a desk. Pratt was asked which he preferred—oak, walnut or cherry. A cherry tree was selected, and these Indian boys, with Graham Rogers as foreman, made the first office desk ever made in Kansas, and when Rev. J. G. Pratt died a few years ago the Kansas State Historical Society came and got the desk and placed it in their archives at the state capitol at Topeka—a mute but substantial witness of the skill of Indian boys in the first manual labor school.

About a year before his death, I interviewed Col. A. S. Johnson relative to his birthplace. He said that he was born in Wyandotte county, and remembered when the move was made to Johnson county. "I think I was about seven years old at the time. When these historians would send me their write-up for my inspection and correction, I would change Johnson county, as my birthplace, to Wyandotte county; but they would invariably change it back to Johnson county, so that I gave up in despair and let it go at that. I think it will require a person of great fortitude to correct this error."

Now as to the exact location. I inquired of many persons, and most of them thought it must have been located near Shawneetown. But I found that there never had been a mission located near Shawneetown. It

is generally known that it is very difficult for a stranger to get any definite information from an Indian. At first Mrs. Randall, an intelligent Indian living about half a mile east of Shawnee, told me she did not know where Johnson's log mission had been located. I made a second visit to her large two-story frame home, supplied with a letter of introduction from a friend of hers. Then she was more communicative.

She admitted that she had attended all of the Indian missions, either as a student or as a visitor to call on some of her girl friends. "Now, Mrs. Randall, tell me, which one of the missions did you attend most as a student." "The Quaker mission, because it was nearest to my home—only about a mile east." "Did you ever attend the Johnson brick mission as a student?" "Yes, frequently." "Did you ever attend any other mission?" "Yes, the Baptist log mission, but only as a visitor to see some of my girl friends?" "Did you ever visit any other mission to see your girl friends?" "Yes, Johnson's log mission." "Where was it located?" "Down that way" (moving her hands in the direction of the old Chouteau Trading Post). "Was it near the old trading post?" "No." "Was it in the flat valley, or bottom?" "No." "Was it on the high ridge south?" "No—it was about half way between the ridge and the valley." This was as near as she appeared to be able to locate Johnson's log mission.

Soon after this I secured a steel probe and went over the neighboring fields to locate the foundation stones of the mission building.

After a time my efforts were rewarded. And a few weeks later, in company with Wm. M. Johnson, youngest son of Rev. Thomas Johnson; Mr. Luke Babcock, an old-time resident; and Col. Edward Haren, secretary of the Wyandotte County Historical Society, the locality was visited. Some of the foundation stones were uncovered, and a photograph was taken with a kodak.

Now I have given you the evidence of eight reputable witnesses, all of whom have visited this log mission, and the testimony of either of whom would be taken as conclusive testimony in a court of justice. In reference to Mrs. Randall, I dilated upon the testimony in order to show the difficulty encountered in getting information from the Indians. And now we have another Indian here to-day—a live Indian, Mrs. Stinson—born 84 years ago, within a half mile of this mission, who will testify in person. Many other proofs may be given, but the hour is passing, and I fear I may have wearied your patience. I thank you for your indulgence.

SYNOPSIS OF THE ADDRESS OF BISHOP EUGENE R. HENDRIX.

My friends, in all the Holy Land there is only one spot upon which we can be absolutely sure that Jesus stood. That spot is Jacob's well; it can be identified by the stones surrounding it. But with these brick and stones dug from the foundation of the old log house, and this veracious witness whom we have just listened to, we can be sure that on this spot the Shawnee Mission was begun. The beginnings of Methodism are interesting to us. One of the pioneers of Methodism in America was Robert Strawbridge. He was a farmer and a beautiful singer. The people loved to hear him sing, and he started to preach in Maryland about 1764 or '66. He preached under an oak known as the Robert Strawbridge oak, and it

was identified in a remarkable way. Some Indians had captured a woman and her children, and they camped under this oak. In the night the captives escaped, but shots were exchanged, and one Indian was badly wounded. He shot at the fleeing captives, but missed, and the bullet lodged in the oak. A few years ago, when the tree was destroyed, we searched for and found that bullet. Robert Strawbridge built a log meeting house, and I have a piece of it here to-day.

Then in New York another preacher from Ireland, Philip Embury, a carpenter, was commencing to preach. He started the old John Street Church, which is still doing a good work. Embury was assisted by a one-eyed soldier, Captain Thomas Webb, who was the founder of old George Street Church, Philadelphia.

Then there was Thomas Rankin, who ranted. Mr. Wesley wrote him a letter, which I have framed in my study. It advises Tommy not to talk so loudly. I show it to a young man sometimes if I think he needs it.

The men who founded this Shawnee mission were great men. Thomas Johnson was a great man. Jerome Berryman had the spirit of Christ. His wife lies yonder in the old mission cemetery in Johnson county.

In connection with the mission, Nathan Scarritt had the best high school in all the country round. The white boys attended it because it was the best. My dear wife was born at the mission down in Johnson county. We do well to honor these men—these pioneers who labored so well in their time.

OUTLINE OF THE ADDRESS OF BISHOP WILLIAM O. SHEPARD.

My Dear Brothers and Sisters—Circumstances have made it difficult for me to come, but I have come because I have promised to do so. This monument commemorates the first efforts of the missionaries for the benefit of the Indians, and we do well to remember the past. But in these remarks I wish to say something of the future. You may say I know nothing of the future, and that is true, but I know as much as the rest of the people. This monument is a stepping stone between the past and the future. The past is glorious. What mothers we have had! What pioneers! And these are a prophecy of the future. What times these are! What wars and rumors of wars! Yet this is a splendid time in which to live, because these are times of preëmption. We are opening doors to the greatest Christian activities of all time. I believe these are the best days in the history of the world, but the future days are to be better. Look at the great movements among the young people in the church. What is the deaconess movement to be? What is the Epworth League to be? These young people have been trained, and they will be a power in the world. I believe we are seeing for the first time a church which is really trained. The young people of a generation ago never had such opportunities as those of to-day. Our Methodist Episcopal Church has 50,000 young people studying in our schools, and these will be the leaders of the church and of the land.

SPEECH OF JUDGE NELSON CASE, OF OSWEGO, KAN., PRESIDENT OF THE KANSAS METHODIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN—I am sorry for any man who has no regard for ancestry, and we come here to-day to pay our homage to those who have done so much for the kingdom of God.

Bishop Shepard, I now present to you for dedication this monument which has been erected by our Historical Society, in order that it may tell to coming generations the heroic deeds of the past.

ADDRESS OF MRS. JULIA STINSON.

MY FRIENDS—I don't think any one here feels as I do, for it was very near this place, just on that knoll east, that I was born, in 1834, and I remember the old mission house that Rev. Johnson built here among the Indians to teach them and show them a better way to live. And how it has changed. Then it was a dense forest from here to the Chouteau trad-

GROUP AT DEDICATION OF TURNER MONUMENT.

ing house, near the river, and now these beautiful gardens and orchards are so different. And many things that are luxuries now, such as deer, wild turkey, prairie chicken, quail, etc., were our daily food when we wanted them. We were not satisfied. We wanted better things than log houses, and we have them; and I am so glad that I can be here to help dedicate this monument that has been erected on the old foundation of the first Methodist mission house in Kansas. The old log house is very real to me. I used to come over here when I was a little girl, and one day I was running through the house and I stubbed my toe and fell and bumped my head; then I cried, and Mrs. Johnson came to me and comforted me. She was a good woman. Don't let anybody say this is not the right place, for I tell you I was here.

To have an eyewitness present from the bygone past lent a wonderful interest to the proceedings. The audience was greatly moved by her recital, and at its close the two bishops present laid their hands upon her head in blessing.

## THE WOMAN'S KANSAS DAY CLUB.

Written for the Good Government Club, January 21, 1916, by MRS. ALBERT H. HORTON.

ONE WEEK from to-morrow, January 29, 1916, will be the fifty-fourth anniversary of the admission of Kansas into the union of states, and it will be the tenth anniversary of the organization of The Woman's Kansas Day Club. The real birthday was one year earlier—or, I might say, the inspiration which brought into existence this offspring of the Good Government Club had birth before that time.

I am sure that the idea of the formation of a society of a similar character had been cherished in the mind of the founder of this club for some time, but the conversation which suggested the expression of that thought occurred in the early part of December, 1904.

On December 1 of that year a meeting of the City Federation of Clubs was held in the corridor adjoining the State Historical Society rooms, in the statehouse, and the principal speaker upon that occasion was Senator Fred Dumont Smith. Among the good things said by Mr. Smith was the following: "Women are born historians. The small details, which a woman can give so much better than a man, are the things which the Historical Society is seeking to make the flesh and life of the dry bones of history doled out to the youth in historical textbooks." He thought that the stories of the lives and labors of the pioneer women of Kansas would be most interesting and inspiring, and regretted that so few such records had been preserved.

Mrs. J. D. McFarland was talking with a friend one day about Mr. Smith's address and the part the women had taken in the building of the state of Kansas, and the few opportunities they had for showing their interest in and loyalty to the state.

Finally the talk drifted to the annual meeting of the Kansas Day Club, when many of the prominent men of the state gather to discuss their political plans and aspirations, and incidentally to eat of the good things set before them, while they listen to brilliant speeches and smoke the "pipe of peace" and Republicanism. On these occasions wife, mother, daughter or sweetheart may sit in the gallery and watch "hungrily and listen silently." When the conversation had reached this point Mrs. McFarland suddenly exclaimed, "Why can't we women have a Kansas Day Club?" and that was really the birth of this organization of which we women are so proud. With Mrs. McFarland to think is to act, and she proceeded to carry out her idea by proposing the plan to the Good Government Club at their next meeting. After some discussion it was decided to call a meeting of the women, furnish a program, state the reasons why women should organize, and watch the result.

One important factor in the success of this experiment was the securing of a suitable room to which we could invite our friends, both men and women. A committee of three was appointed to secure the place of meeting, while others were to arrange a program and invite the audience.

The women found an ardent friend and supporter in Mr. George W.

Martin, secretary of the State Historical Society, and he immediately gave them permission to use the corridor adjacent to his office in the rooms of the Society. He paid the expense of building a small platform for the use of the speakers, and furnished the chairs for seating the audience. He decorated the room with flags, and also donated five dollars in cash, which paid our expenses the next meeting. Mrs. McFarland and her friends labored incessantly to make this meeting a success. Invitations were sent to Kansas women, and especially pioneer women. Newspapers were asked to advertise our scheme, telephones were in constant use, and I think every person any one of us met anywhere was invited. The time was short in which to prepare for this great event, and of course we could not help feeling anxious about the outcome.

The 29th of January came on Sunday that year, so our meeting was held on Monday, January 30, 1905. The day arrived, and our hearts were filled with pride and pleasure when we saw some three hundred women assembled and realized the enthusiasm with which our plans were received. Mrs. A. H. Horton, president of the City Federation of Clubs, presided at this meeting.

The program was as follows: Prayer by Dr. S. S. Estey; a talk upon the "Mothers of the State," by Doctor Sheldon; a paper on "Kansas Authors," by Mrs. Ellen Loomis, a pioneer woman; an original story by Mrs. Kate Aplington, of Council Grove; "The Negro Exodus," by Mrs. St. John, wife of a former governor; "Bijah and Susan," a story written by Mrs. J. K. Hudson; and the story of "the battle of the Arickaree or Beecher's Island" was well told by Miss Helen Morton, daughter of Colonel Morton, who took an active part in that desperate fight. Music was furnished by the High School Orchestra and Mr. Ray Hall, violinist.

Before adjournment Mrs. W. A. Johnston moved that a permanent organization be formed to be called "The Woman's Kansas Day Club"—the motion was carried unanimously.

I have devoted the time and space to an account of this first meeting and the inspiration which led up to it, because I believed the future of the Women's Kansas Day Club so largely depended upon its success and the expressed opinion of the press and the public in regard to the usefulness of such an organization. Some of the newspapers treated the whole affair as a huge joke, but the greater number approved of this "new movement by the women" and wished us success.

Soon after the worry and excitement over this experiment had somewhat subsided, the president of the Good Government Club, Doctor Longshore, appointed two committees—the first one to prepare a constitution and by-laws, provided for election of officers at our next meeting, and perform other duties incident to forming a new organization. This committee consisted of four women besides the president, viz.: Mrs. J. D. McFarland, Mrs. W. A. Johnston, Mrs. Lee Monroe and Mrs. A. H. Horton. Mrs. S. S Estey, Mrs. S. A. Swendson, Mrs Levi Hawkins and Miss Gertrude Barnes composed the second committee, and they were expected to secure speakers and music for the next meeting, and also a hall where it could be held, and to work in conjunction with the first committee.

That year was a busy one for these women, but they were interested in their work and determined to succeed in their efforts. I do not remember how many meetings were held, but there were many things to consider in preparing a working basis for such an organization. After much discussion and the advancement of numerous ideas from each member of the committee, Mrs. Monroe, who had acted as secretary, took her notes home and wrote a constitution and by-laws, which has been used, with but little change, since that time.

Following the name, "The Women's Kansas Day Club," the object of the organization was stated as follows: "To encourage and promote the collection and preservation of the early history of Kansas, to instill patriotism in Kansas youth, and establish a comradeship among Kansas women." One of the by-laws states that "this organization shall be non-partisan, nonsectarian, and its membership will be composed of the loyal, patriotic women of Kansas. Loyal, patriotic men may be admitted."

The first plan for the meeting on January 29, 1906, was to use the corridor near the historical rooms in the state house, as had been done the year before, but the interest and enthusiasm increased until it was found that more commodious quarters would be needed, so permission was secured to use the senate chamber—which was more than filled.

The following program was presented at 2:30 p. m., Mrs. W. A. Johnston presiding: Prayer, Mrs. George A. Huron; solo, Mrs. Florence Fox Thatcher; address of welcome, Mrs. E. W. Hoch; "Santa Fe Trail," Miss Grace Meeker; "Kansas Congressmen," Charles Scott; Greetings from ex-governors wives, Mrs. W. E. Stanley and Mrs. John P. St. John; the unveiling and presentation of the portrait of Mrs. Charles Robinson, wife of the first governor of Kansas. Then followed the election of officers and the adoption of the constitution and by-laws.

Mrs. J. D. McFarland was elected president, as was her due, as the mother of the club; vice president, Mrs. De Witt C. Nellis; secretary, Mrs. A. H. Horton; treasurer, Mrs. George Johnson, of Courtland; auditor, Mrs. C. F. Wilder, of Manhattan. A vice president from each congressional district was also elected.

A reception was given at the governors mansion in the evening, to which the public were invited.

From this time the popularity of the Woman's Kansas Day Club was assured, and the women who had worked so hard to make it a success felt more than repaid for the hundreds of letters sent out over the state, personal invitations given, and many other methods of creating an interest among the women of Kansas. In September, 1906, a celebration was held in Republic county, upon the site of the old Pawnee Indian village, where Lieutenant Zebulon Pike raised the stars and stripes on Kansas soil, just one hundred years before. This celebration lasted four days, one of which was called "Woman's Day," and the Woman's Kansas Day Club were invited to furnish a program for that day; which they did by asking each woman's organization of the state to send a representative to speak for them. The program was successfully carried out, and many of the speeches may be found in the "Kansas Historical Collections," volume 10. The address of welcome was by Mrs. E. W. Hoch;

Mrs. Cora G. Lewis represented the Woman's Kansas Day Club; Mrs. Lee Monroe, the Equal Suffrage Association; Mrs. A. H. Horton, the Daughters of the American Revolution in Kansas; Mrs. Elma Dalton, the Ladies of the Grand Army of the Republic; Mrs. Eva Morley Murphy, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union; and Mrs. Adams, the Woman's Relief Corps.

In order to teach the school children of Kansas a lesson in patriotism, the Woman's Kansas Day Club suggested that a day be set apart during this celebration, some portion of which should be devoted to a program suitable for the occasion, and the officers of the club outlined such program. The state superintendent of public instruction approved the plan and directed that it be carried out. I believe that the Woman's Kansas Day Club and the Daughters of the American Revolution are largely responsible for the general observance of patriotic anniversaries by schools, clubs and other societies throughout our state.

On January 29, 1907, our first annual meeting was held in the First Baptist church at Topeka. It was well attended and a fine program rendered, over which our first president, Mrs. McFarland, had spent much time and thought. A reception was given to the club that evening in the rotunda of the statehouse, the City Federation of Clubs being the hostesses. At a business meeting held the next morning new officers were elected and other necessary business attended to. A proposition was made by Mrs. A. H. Horton that the Club consider the advisability of purchasing the ground near Pawnee Village, Barton county, upon which stands old Pawnee Rock, made so famous in the early history of Kansas, that it might be preserved as one of the historical spots of our state. A motion was made by Mrs H. O. Garvey that other organizations of women be invited to assist in this enterprise. The motion was carried, and a committee was appointed to inquire of the owner of the ground what it could be bought for, and report at the next meeting.

Experiences from pioneer women were then called for, and some very interesting stories were told by those present. Mrs. Mary Vance Humphrey, of Junction City, had been elected president, and during her term of office she published a booklet entitled "The History of the Woman's Kansas Day Club," which was a very complete account of the club during the first two years of its life, and also contained other interesting matter.

Mrs. Humphrey was succeeded in office by Mrs. J. S. Simmons, of Hutchinson, who had been chairman of the "Pawnee Rock committee." She reported at the annual meeting that she had induced Mr. Unruh, the owner of Pawnee Rock, to donate five acres of ground to the woman's Kansas Day Club upon condition that three thousand dollars' worth of improvements were placed thereon. One stipulation was that a monument should be placed on the rock and that Mr. Unruh's name should have a place upon it.

During Mrs. Simmons' administration some eighteen hundred dollars was raised toward the monument, besides several hundred dollars pledged by the citizens of Pawnee Rock village. At a joint session of the two houses of the legislature in January, 1908, the Woman's Kansas Day

Club, through its president, Mrs. Simmons, presented to the state of Kansas the land and improvements at Pawnee Rock, which had been secured by them with the assistance of the other state organizations of women. The gift was accepted on behalf of Kansas by Governor Stubbs, with the promise that it should be preserved by the state as a public park, and sufficient appropriation should be made therefor.

The dedication of this spot and the unveiling of the monument took place on May 24, 1911, with appropriate ceremonies.

The meetings of the Woman's Kansas Day Club, as the constitution provides, are always held in Topeka, but any woman in the state is eligible to hold office in the society. As the years have passed the interest in this club has increased among the women, and is looked forward to by hundreds as the one day in the year when every one is welcomed by everybody else as loyal Kansans.

The women who have served as presidents of the club are: Mrs. J. D. McFarland, Topeka; Mrs. Mary Vance Humphrey, Junction City, deceased; Mrs. J. S. Simmons, Hutchinson; Mrs. A. H. Horton, Topeka; Mrs. E. W. Hoch, Marion; Mrs. Cora G. Lewis, Kinsley; Mrs. Scott Hopkins, Topeka, deceased; Mrs. W. J. Bailey, Atchison; Mrs. W. A. Johnston, Topeka; Mrs. E. F. Ware, Kansas City, Kan., deceased; Mrs. W. D. Atkinson, Parsons.[1]

1. Mrs. Atkinson died November 10, 1916, and was succeeded as president of the Woman's Kansas Day Club by the first vice president, Mrs. Albrecht Marburg, of Topeka. Mrs. Marburg was elected president of the club for the following year, and was succeeded in 1918 by Mrs. Charles S. Huffman, of Columbus.

# ORIGIN OF THE NAME "JAYHAWKER," AND HOW IT CAME TO BE APPLIED TO THE PEOPLE OF KANSAS.

By WILLIAM A. LYMAN, of Olathe.

THE writer of this sketch came to Kansas in July, 1857, with his father's family, settling first in Coffey county, at the town of Ottumwa, where his father Jonathan Lyman, commenced the publication of the Ottumwa *Journal*, the first paper published in that county. For various reasons the paper was short lived, and in the fall of 1858 the publisher removed his family to Linn county, and on April 1, 1859, established the *Linn County Herald*, the first paper published in that county. The name was afterward changed to the Mound City *Report*.

At that time there existed in Linn county an organization known as the "Jayhawkers," brought together for mutual defense against the incursions of parties known as border ruffians of Missouri. These border ruffians had committed numerous outrages against the free-state settlers in Kansas, from horse sealing and arson to wholesale massacre, the culmination of their crimes being the well-known Marais des Cygnes massacre. This occurred in the spring of 1858. Eleven free-state men, citizens of Kansas, were taken wherever found, by Hamelton, a noted border ruffian, and carried to a ravine on the high land above the Marais des Cygnes and brutally shot down.

As to the origin of the name "Jayhawker" there seems to be some difference of opinion. Adjt. Gen. S. M. Fox, in his story of the Seventh Kansas, says that "the predatory habits of the jayhawk would indicate that the name as applied to Jennison's men was singularly appropriate." Ingalls wrote an essay on the "Last of the Jayhawkers," a title suggested, no doubt, by Cooper's "Last of the Mohicans." In it he gives a sketch of the career of Captain Cleveland, and incidentally states that the jayhawk is a bird entirely unknown to the ornithologist; that it is a myth. It is well known that the name did not originate in Kansas, for as early as 1849 a party of Argonauts from Illinois made the overland journey to California and called themselves "Jayhawkers." They were lost in Death valley, and the story of their sufferings and final rescue has often been told.[1]

However, we are chiefly interested in the question as to its origin in Kansas and its final application to all Kansas people. As before stated, the name was assumed by a band of men organized in Linn county for the legitimate defense of their lives, homes and property.

Some time in the spring of 1859, if my memory serves me correctly, there appeared at Mound City one Dr. C. B. Jennison, hailing from Munroe, Green county, Wisconsin, not, as Fox has it, from the Empire state.[2] He being a man of dash and possessed of certain qualities of

1. See "Kansas Historical Collections," vol. 8, p. 17, text and footnote.

2. Charles Ransford Jennison was born in Jefferson county, New York, June 6, 1834, but moved with his parents to Wisconsin when he was twelve years of age. He married at Albany, Wis., Miss Mary Hopkins, February 26, 1854, and they moved to Kansas in 1857, settling first at Osawatomie, but removing shortly to Mound City.

leadership, affiliated with the Jayhawkers, and soon became one of their leaders. When matters began to quiet down along the border he was not satisfied, but with certain of the rougher element as his retainers, organized and conducted raids across the line into Missouri. These raids were ostensibly retaliatory, and for this reason had the sympathy, if not the active support, of many of the better class of citizens. Perhaps the less said about them the better.

During the summer of 1859 a movement of a different character was set on foot, or perhaps was a revival of methods of an earlier day—the "cleaning out of nests of unclean birds," as I heard it expressed by James Montgomery at my father's table. These were settlements of proslavery sympathizers who were accused of harboring the border ruffians and furnishing them with information to the detriment of the free-state settlers. In the prosecution of this cleaning-out process several men were shot or hung without process of trial of any sort. Among these were Sam Scott, a man named Hinds,[3] and another named Morgan. Having become familiar with that method of getting rid of objectionable characters, it was extended to cover other cases when the provocation was not the same. Thus an old man named Waffle was accused of stealing from his neighbors. With him was associated his son and a young man named Chas. Doy, a son of Doctor Doy, who at an earlier day was rescued from prison at St. Joseph, Mo., by a party of Kansas men. A party of Jayhawkers attacked the house, killed Waffle and Doy, and burned the house to the ground.[4] I saw a statement in a Kansas City paper recently to the

3. Russell Hinds was hanged on or about November 12, 1860, and Samuel Scott was hanged either the day before or the day after. The hanging was done by a party of nine men, under command of C. R. Jennison. Hinds was accused of restoring a fugitive slave to his master. Montgomery wrote to Judge Hanway: "Russ Hinds, hung the 12th day of November for man stealing. He was a drunken border ruffian, worth a great deal to hang, but good for nothing else. He had caught a fugitive slave and carried him back to Missouri for the sake of the reward. He was condemned by a jury of twelve men, the law being found in the 16th verse of Exodus, xxi." A man by the name of Turner was equally engaged with Hinds in the return of the slave, but was saved through the silence of Hinds, who, though knowing his own fate, refused to implicate Turner.

4. "The Linn County Mass Meeting.—The mass meeting of the citizens of Linn county, which was held at Mound City, 26th ult., and convened for the purpose of obtaining a popular expression respecting the execution of Doy and his accomplice, Waffle, submitted a detailed account of the whole affair, with the numerous and repeated causes which led to the summary administration of justice, of which the following is the introduction. The meeting was composed of men of all parties, Captain Montgomery taking a conspicuous part and concurring in the report.

"It seems that, in the fall of 1857, Dr. John Doy and his family enjoyed the confidence and general respect of their neighbors and acquaintances in the territory. Henry Waffle at that time was regarded by the few who knew him as an ignorant man and of low instincts, but was not generally suspected as a thief. He professed great zeal in the cause of freedom, and thus won a degree of confidence and respect from the free-state settlers. Under the shelter of such confidence and respect, Waffle, with his son Harvey, and Charles Doy, joined and served in Captain Montgomery's company of free-state men, organized for the protection of life and property in southern Kansas. But they very soon proved to the satisfaction of their commander that they had espoused the free-state cause, and offered themselves as volunteers in the free-state army, for the sole purpose of finding an opportunity to carry on the business of thieving. They were consequently dismissd from the service, and, disgraced as thieves and freebooters, driven from the free-state camp. Returning to Waffle's neighborhood, they secured the coöperation of others of the same ilk and organized a band of felons to carry on extensively the business of stealing and robbing. Some of the old camp associates of Doy and old Waffle, having a knowledge of their unlawful proceedings, remonstrated with them, and entreated them to abandon their vile habits and connections and turn their hands to honest industry. But such persuasion was of no avail. Doy and Waffle had fully resolved to steal for a living. At first they pretended, to those who knew them, that they only took the property of the proslavery men—that the free-state men and their effects would always be spared. Had they lived up to this profession, still their characters as thieves and freebooters would have been no less vile and worthy of punishment. But they did not live up to it. They

effect that Dr. Chas. Doy, son of the old doctor referred to above, was practicing medicine in Boston. I know that he was killed in Linn county as long ago as 1859 [1860].

In the fall of 1859, Judge Joseph Williams, one of the judges appointed by Buchanan to serve in Kansas, came to Mound City for the purpose of holding court. He became impressed with the idea that he was in personal danger, adjourned his court, and fled precipitately across the Missouri border, made all speed to Jefferson City and on to St. Louis, reporting to the governor of Missouri and the federal authorities that his court was broken up by the Jayhawkers, his life threatened, and that a general condition of anarchy existed in Linn county. As a result the militia of Missouri was called out and stationed along the border, and federal troops were put in motion for the scene of disturbance, which, however, was mostly in the old judge's fevered imagination, for neither he nor his court were in the least danger.

One day there appeared suddenly upon the scene a force of infantry and cavalry from Fort Riley under command of Capt. Nathaniel Lyon, later the hero of Camp Jackson and Wilson's Creek; while the noted Indian fighter, General Harney, with a force of cavalry and Bragg's battery, moved from Fort Leavenworth down through western Missouri to Fort Scott and made their approach from the south. This Captain Bragg was the rebel general with whose name most of us are familiar. Thus was the little band of Jayhawkers, not exceeding one hundred in number, to be surrounded and utterly annihilated.

The troops from Fort Riley showed the effect of strenuous service on the plains, while those from Fort Leavenworth, horses and men, showed the results of careful grooming. As the latter came into town from the south, with sabers rattling and carbines with butts resting upon thigh ready for instant action, horses champing their bits eager for the fray, their appearance was extremely impressive.

They surrounded the house occupied by Jennison and his wife, and after diligent search found nothing, while Jennison stood on the top of a wooded mound at the rear and laughed at them. So also they sent a detachment consisting of cavalry and artillery up to Montgomery's fort a few miles west of town. Guns were planted and trained upon the fort, while cavalry dismounted and cautiously advanced from all sides, to find nothing but a woman and children, even after searching under beds, up chimneys, and every conceivable place. They did find an empty box which was said to have once contained some of "Beecher's Bibles," otherwise known as Sharpe's rifles. Said fort consisted of an ordinary log house supplemented by a second thickness of logs built around the outside, making the walls double thickness, and perforated with port-holes for the use of the aforementioned "bibles." Montgomery built it for the protection of himself and family from the raids of border ruffians.

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stole indiscriminately, from every one alike. They consulted their own base desires, and never the rights of others, whether free-state or proslavery; indeed, they soon became known in this country as the vilest of the vile—the most desperate of hardened desperadoes, and were shunned and dreaded accordingly. They were publicly, prominently and positively recognized as the most depraved, reckless and dangerous of a numerous confederated gang of plundering banditti.—*Topeka Tribune*, Saturday Morning, August 18, 1860.

So ended this noted expedition in pursuit of the Jayhawkers. Not a man was arrested nor a gun captured. The Jayhawkers had disappeared like the mist before the morning sun. The troops returned to their former station, and doubtless General Harney made a glowing report of the successful dispersion of the enemy.[5]

About the time of the opening of hostilities in 1861, Cleveland[6] appeared at Mound City in the character of a much-abused individual who had escaped from the Missouri penitentiary by swimming the Missouri river. Of course he was innocent of any wrongdoing. Cleveland was an extremely handsome man and a superb horseman, and utterly fearless. Naturally he became one of the leaders among the Jayhawkers, who again became active. Many of their deeds at this time admit of no apology. The damage they inflicted on the proslavery Missourians and their sympathizers ranged all the way from blood to loot; indeed, the latter was carried to such an extent that the pedigree of most Kansas horses, it was said, should have been recorded as "out of Missouri by Jennison."

Thus it will be seen how the name "Jayhawker" came to be a term of opprobrium and reproach.

About the 1st of August, 1861, Governor Robinson gave authority to Jennison to raise a regiment of cavalry. Placards were immediately posted in the villages, headed "Independent Mounted Kansas Jayhawkers," and offering wonderful inducements in the way of equipment, all in strong contrast to the pitiful equipment that was in reality issued.

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5. During the summer of 1858 Judge Williams had been writing to the governor of Kansas territory relative to the "outrages" of Montgomery, Reverend Stewart and others of the "Jayhawk gang." On January 11, 1859, Governor Medary addressed a message to the legislature on the "Troubles in Linn and Bourbon counties." Legislative proceedings were had relative to the message, and after submitting majority and minority reports the matter was referred to a special committee, who recommended the adoption of the following politic resolution: "That this house will cordially sustain the governor of the territory in all legal measures to enforce the law, to quell disturbances, to protect citizens, and restore peace to the territory."

Very shortly thereafter a memorial from Fort Scott was submitted to the governor praying that martial law be declared in Linn and Bourbon counties and also in the counties of "Anderson and Lykins, to which last two counties it is believed that these desperate men flew for concealment and protection." In April, 1859, Governor Stewart of Missouri notified Governor Medary that he had ordered the adjutant general of Missouri to proceed to the border of Cass, Bates and Vernon counties, and had authorized him to organize armed companies to repel "aggression from our soil" and to coöperate with the authorities of Kansas territory. November 26, 1860, George M. Beebe, acting governor of Kansas territory, wrote President Buchanan of a proposed invasion of Missouri by the "Jayhawkers." He detailed their "outrages" and said that they had threatened to break up a special term of the United States district court called to meet at Fort Scott on the 19th of November; that they had also threatened to kill "Presiding Judge Williams." He further stated that he had asked General Harney at St. Louis for 300 dragoons from Fort Leavenworth to be placed subject to his order. Beebe himself had proceeded to the "infected district," and later to Fort Scott, where he found that Judge Williams, the marshal and the deputies had fled to Missouri, as had also many residents of Fort Scott. Governor Beebe saw Montgomery and Jennison, the "Little Dock," as he was familiarly called, and an agreement was made between them to surrender themselves to arrest and to disband their men. But after returning to Lecompton, Beebe received word that they had "renewed their outrages" and were "again in open rebellion"; therefore he asked that the governor be authorized to proclaim martial law and to have placed subject to his command "at least 300 United States dragoons."

The public land sales at Fort Scott early in December (1860) were made the protext for sending General Harney and his command to Fort Scott, and from there they proceeded to Mound City to arrest Montgomery, Jennison and others. No arrests were made, and General Harney and his men could only "march down again." For more extended accounts of the Linn and Bourbon county troubles see "Kansas Historical Collections," vol. 5, p. 539 et seq.; also vol. 7, p. 403.

6. For an account of Capt. Marshall Cleveland, whose real name was Charles Metz, read Ingalls "Last of the Jayhawkers" or "Kansas Historical Collections," vol. 8, p. 23.

The regiment consisted of ten companies, mustered in at different dates, and was finally organized as a regiment, October 28, 1861. The writer was a member of Company G, and had the honor and good fortune to serve with it during its whole term of service. I shall not attempt to give a history of the regiment, but will only note a few incidents in its career.

Until the spring of 1862 it was known as the First Kansas cavalry, but later the Kansas regiments were numbered consecutively without regard to the arm of service, and this regiment became the Seventh Kansas. It will be noted that it was organized under the name of "Jayhawkers," and as the war records will show, bore that name throughout the war. Jennison resigned May 1, 1862, and Col. A. L. Lee took command, than whom there was not a more efficient cavalry officer in the West.

The Seventh Kansas operated along the Missouri-Kansas border during the first winter of the war. In May, 1862, we moved out to Fort Riley, with orders to march to New Mexico, but on May 18 this order was countermanded, and we went south with Mitchell's brigade, landing at Columbus, Ky., and marching down the Mobile & Ohio railroad to Corinth, where we arrived about July 10, 1862.

Our reputation became such that the Southerners had strange notions as to what Jayhawkers were, it being said that they possessed horns, and that a common article of diet among them was young and tender babies.

But in spite of the handicap with which the regiment was burdened, the Jayhawkers achieved a fame and acquired a reputation for bravery and honor not excelled by any regiment in the army. Many a regiment of infantry, when battle was impending, was glad to know that the Jayhawkers were on their front. Colonel Lee, when promoted to Brigadier General, and making his farewell speech, said, among other things, "They have called you all kinds of names, except one—they never have called you cowards."

The Seventh Kansas was the first regiment to reënlist in the part of the army where it was stationed, and was the only Kansas organization to reënlist as a regiment, and maintain, as veterans, the full regimental organization.

On returning to Leavenworth as veterans we were received with the highest honors, all troops, regular and volunteer, turning out to do the regiment honor. At the end of our thirty days' furlough we returned to the front and served until the 29th of September, 1865. Thus by more than four years of efficient and honorable service the name of "Jayhawkers" was redeemed from the obloquy which had rested upon it. It was made known from one end of the country to the other, and given such standing that to-day Kansas people are proud to be known as "Jayhawkers."

# THE MARAIS DES CYGNES MASSACRE.

By Joel Moody.[1]

IT IS TOO SOON to write the history of Kansas. The best of us—in fact, any of us—can only add our own observations and knowledge to the record. When the future historian of Kansas comes, he will have been born to write, and he will write without fear or favor.

And first he will know that mere narrative is not history. It is the sound of the hunter's horn, not the fact nor the thing the hunter has found. These depend on much further information and deep study and inquiry, dealing with causes and effects. Narrative is but a tale that is told, not an inquiry as to the causes of any event. It is but a skeleton of dry bones on which history puts flesh and molds it into beauty of form and feature, and puts life into body and brain. So that when human events are told, history picks them up and gives the reason for their being, for the object of history is to deal with the causes and the primary factors of human action, and thereby becomes a science.

It was more than a thousand years after the fall of the Roman empire that Edward Gibbon, the English student and scholar, in a quiet retreat under the Swiss Alps, wrote his masterly account of it. This he gathered from manuscripts and books and from inscriptions on monuments and tombs, and coins which he found scattered throughout Europe, Egypt and Asia. The Greek and Roman classics, the ecclesiastic writings of priests and the profound studies of the philosophers found their way into his den on the banks of the Lucerne—all things said or written by priest or potentate paid tribute to his pen—and honest investigation produced his great work, "The Rise and Fall of the Roman Empire." It was an appeal to the record, and the conclusions of that work stand as the scientific truths of history.

I bring you in this paper, for your consideration and serious thought, a brochure or chapter of early Kansas history, "The Marais des Cygnes Massacre,"—the causes thereof and the actors therein. It will deal with the actors therein as to what they said and did as then living witnesses and participants. It sometimes goes under the name of the Hamelton massacre, from the leader who organized, led and accomplished the bloody act. As to the causes which underlie the drama and moved the actors I shall briefly recount, for they are the most potent factors therein.

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1. Joel Moody was born near Fredericktown, New Brunswick, Canada, October 28, 1833. When he was a little less than a year old his parents moved to St. Charles, Ill., and there young Moody received his elementary education. He afterward attended Oberlin College, graduating with high honors, and from there went to the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, graduating in 1858. His parents died when he was but thirteen years of age, and it was through his own efforts that he acquired his college education. He chose the law as his profession, and was admitted to the bar in Columbus, Ohio. On January 1, 1859, he married Miss Elizabeth King, and they came to Kansas, settling in Woodson county, but later made their home in Mound City. In July, 1862, Mr. Moody was commissioned a first lieutenant in the Second Indian regiment, and on May 27, 1863, was advanced to captain, commanding company H. Captain Moody represented his districts in the legislatures of 1865 and 1881, and was a member of the state senate sessions of 1889 and 1891. Sometime during the '80's Mrs. Moody died, leaving three sons, Robert, Ralph and Joel, and in 1891 Captain Moody married Mrs. Ella Choate Porter, of Fort Scott. They moved to Abbeyville, La., where Captain Moody published a newspaper, but returned to Kansas in 1908, settling in Topeka, and here Captain Moody died, February 18, 1914. Captain Moody was the author of several books, and contributed to magazines scientific and literary articles, as well as poems.

Why men do notable things is the pith of history. The impelling cause must never be overlooked.

The Hamelton massacre was the concluding act of the great drama which began with the opening of Kansas territory to settlement. The Hameltons of Georgia were here at the opening and remained to this closing act. I have a manuscript from the hand of the late John H. Rice, written by him in answer to a request of mine for the true history of the Hameltons of Georgia, knowing that he lived with and knew all about them at his home in that state before he came to Kansas. Here is a copy of this remarkable letter:

FORT SCOTT, KAN., July 7, 1892.

*Hon. Joel Moody:*

DEAR SIR—In reply to your inquiry concerning the Hameltons I state: I became acquainted with Dr. Thomas Hamelton in 1847. He was an eminent physician. As a physician and scholar he stood far above the average of his class. His sons were: Charles A. Hamelton, born about 1822; George P. Hamelton, born about 1826; Algernon S. Hamelton, born about 1828. Doctor Hamelton, the father, died in Rome, Ga., in 1857. In 1854 Milt McGee, of Kansas City, came to Georgia soliciting money to make Kansas a slave state. He made a speech at Cassville. Dr. Thomas Hamelton gave him his check for $1,000. Charles A. Hamelton was a planter, as they were called. George P. read medicine. Algernon S. never followed any special pursuit. Capt. Charles A. and George Peter came to Kansas to carry out the old doctor's sentiments. I do not remember exact date; I guess about 1855. They left Kansas and returned to Georgia in the fall or winter of 1857 and 1858, I think. I was practicing law in Rome in 1858, and at the September term of court, 1858, Capt. Chas. A. Hamelton came to me and said he was bankrupt, insolvent, and was under arrest then for debt. Imprisonment for debt was in vogue then, and we had a state insolvent law similar to the last national bankrupt law. Under certain circumstances the debtor would file a schedule of property and take an oath that released him from arrest.

I filed proceedings for him—filed his schedule; as well as I remember now, contained one item, a watch. And the court, on my motion, ordered the oath administered and Hamelton released. When done he said to me: "I will see you at your office directly after dinner (not a word had been said about fee). About one o'clock he came into my office and said: "General, you did me a great favor, and I am free; and now I start again in the world" (and he shed tears freely). "Here is all I can give you as compensation for you trouble" (and he threw down on my table four $20 gold pieces.) "I am going to Texas—start in an hour—good-bye." That is the last I ever saw or heard from him except from hearsay. He, however, went to Waco, Tex., lived there until 1861, raised a regiment and joined Lee in Virginia; lived through the war; returned to Texas, lived there till about 1878, when he returned to Georgia and lived in Jones county, where the old Doctor, his father, was born, and died about 1881 of apoplexy. He stood about 5 feet 10 inches, weighed about 180 pounds, of a florid complexion, was intellectually and physically an active man, and was one of the handsomest men I have ever seen.

George Peter Hamelton, on returning from Kansas, went to Mississippi, where he practiced medicine, and died there (so I have heard).

Algernon S. Hamelton went into the Confederate army and was killed in one of the Virginia battles.

Old Doctor Hamelton was my father-in-law's family physician. I knew them all well. They were a very "high-strung" family—aristocratic, rich, haughty and domineering. In 1850 there lived in Cass County, Georgia, Col. Lindsay Johnson and his two sons, Jefferson and William Johnson. They were rich and imperious also. But we had great

political excitment then. The two parties were then "Union" and "Southern Rights." The Johnsons were "Unions"; the Hameltons "Southern Rights," or "Fire-eaters." There was an election for a state convention. Colonel Johnson was the "Union" candidate. Old Doctor Hamelton was the "Southern Rights."

Jeff Johnson said something about Doctor Hamelton. The Hameltons heard it. Charlie Hamelton said, "I'll make one of my niggers cowhide Jeff Johnson." Johnson heard that, and on next Saturday the three Hameltons and three Johnsons and friends met at Adairsville for public speaking. No sooner on the ground, and Jeff Johnson knocked Charley Hamelton heels over head off of a high porch, and then he stood still. Hamelton rose, pistol in hand. Johnson drew his (and he was a noted dead shot). Hamelton fired and shot Johnson through his groin. George P. Hamelton, who was off to one side fifty yards, drew a pistol and shot five times, thrice at Jeff Johnson, on the porch, and twice at Bill Johnson, who came in the meantime between them—hit nobody. While George P. Hamelton was firing, Charlie was prevented by one or two persons from firing a second time at Jeff Johnson; but when George P.'s five shots were out, Jeff Johnson dropped his pistol, as deliberately as if shooting at a mark, on Charley Hamelton, and shot him through and through the left breast. The shot whirled Hamelton round, and next, in the next moment, he shot Hamelton in the back—coming out on right of right breast—and Hamelton fell. As he struck on his knees, with his rump toward Johnson and head directly from him, he shot him again a raking shot that tore along his back, as coolly as shooting at a mark. He turned half round, and as George Peter, who had emptied his pistol, came up with a long dirk, shot him on the side, which whirled him half round; and then Johnson, giving him the last shot—a shot in the hip—and he fell. There was Johnson and two Hameltons, all badly, and as a dozen doctors said, fatally wounded. Unfortunately for the world and the peace of society, all three got well.

Then Doctor Hamelton challenged Colonel Johnson to fight a duel. Johnson accepted—to fight with broadswords. Dr. Hamilton refused to fight, because Johnson, being forty pounds the heaviest man, had chosen "an unusual weapon." Then Doctor Hamelton indicted the Johnsons for "an aggravated riot," which under the code was a penitentiary offense.

I was a Union man and was Johnson's right bower in all the fight, and I defended the Johnsons in the most exciting trial of a week I ever saw. They were acquitted, and the Johnson mob, in spite of sheriff and court, rushed in, took the jurors on their shoulders and carried them in a triumphal march around the public square. The Hameltons got out of sight, fast.

I always wondered, and never knew, why Charles A. Hamelton came to me to get through the insolvent court. All I ever knew was, he did. Johnson was elected.

Much of this is outside of the history you asked for, but I thought it might interest you.

A little more of the same sort in parenthesis: I said unfortunately they did not all die. The Hameltons lived to perpetrate that most murderous, damnable massacre at Trading Post.

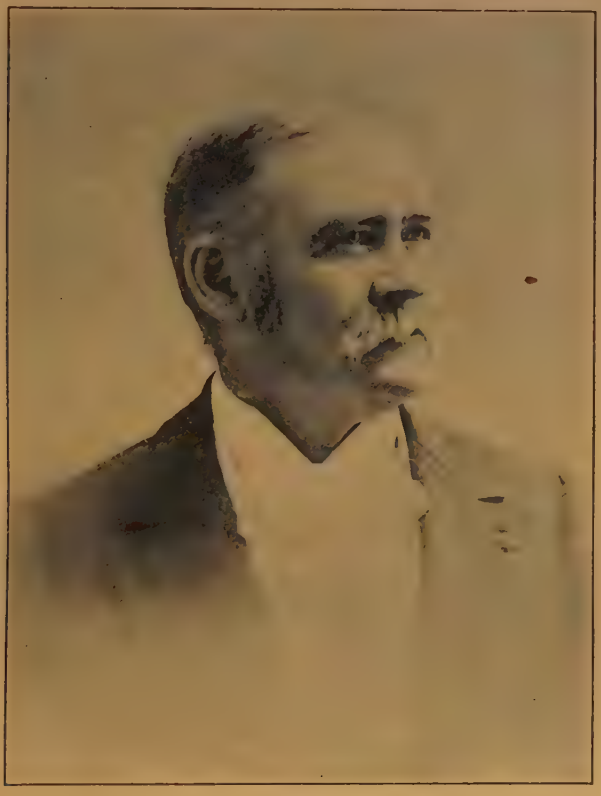
Bill "Eorpi," of whom you have read, shot William Johnson, Jeff's brother, dead. Jeff killed a man in Chattooga county, Georgia, after the war, and a year or two after was shot from ambush and killed. His oldest son wantonly shot a negro; was tried, convicted and hung at Rome, Ga. (The first white man ever hung in Georgia for killing a negro); and his second son was hung to a limb in Arkansas a few years after for some devilment. Thus went these six men, and the world would have been none the loser had they never lived.

Now, Joel, I really have no pen to write with; could not write much better if I had. And it is too hot to spell correctly or think. So if you read this you are a good scholar. Your friend, etc.,

JOHN H. RICE.

This letter, from a man of such high standing in intellectual and moral growth, reared and educated in the midst of those whom he describes, is one of the most remarkable documents of historic narrative that has appeared upon the subject matter herein, and I now give it to the public.

At that time of American history which we are considering, the same conditions, the same great underlying causes, the same class of desperate



JOEL MOODY.

men, all existed in every Southern state of the Union. In every Southern state they had the same ultimate object, which was to perpetuate African slavery in America. It was to be made national in the United States through legislative enactment and judicial decisions. But in the South there were always found men who conceded the right of slavery, yet were firm Union men and would let slavery go rather than destroy the nation; so that when the great conflict was on they stood firm and all the time looked through the darkness of slavery to the light of liberty. And even

when Sherman, with the boys in blue, was sweeping his way to the sea, in the great war, we can sing to their faith:

"Yes, and there were Union men
Who wept with joyful tears
When they saw the good old flag
They had not seen for years.
Hardly could they be restrained
From breaking forth in cheers,
While we were marching through Georgia."

These neighbors of General Rice, the Hameltons, were citizens of the first class in Georgia. Two of them came to Kansas City under the wing of Milt McGee, one of the founders of that city, who had received from the father, Doctor Hamelton, the contribution of $1,000 which went into the buildings and lands of the incipient city to guard the gate of travel and commerce into the territory of Kansas. Aside from the $1,000, Doctor Hamelton threw in his two sons, Capt. Charles A. and Dr. George Peter. They proved to be living artillery and munitions of war. These two sons of the South came as border ruffians, and did border-ruffian duty for Georgia during four years on the border between Missouri and Kansas. They lived in Missouri, and voted, stole, robbed and killed free-state white men in Kansas, yet all the time counted themselves citizens of Georgia. The field of their operations in Kansas was between Lawrence and Fort Scott. Their plan was to vote and shoot in Kansas, but for safety to sleep in Missouri. The Hameltons came to Kansas in 1855. After the Wakarusa war, the sacking of Lawrence, the battle of Black Jack, where John Brown and Captain Shore defeated the invading army under Pate, the Hameltons operated farther south from the border of Missouri and entered into Kansas. They came into the Little Osage valley and stole cattle and horses and murdered free-state men, and fought battles against the boys in arms under the leadership of Colonel Montgomery. When they were driven out and the day of brigandage was about done, the last dastardly act was committed.

These Hameltons were the leaders of the Georgia, South Carolina and Alabama ruffians; the counsellors, the brain and the dash of that whole gang. On the border between Missouri and Kansas they scouted, riding the finest horses in the country, of the best Kentucky stock. After their scouts, they rendezvoused at known and appointed places and times. There they reported and plotted. They gathered from their friends in Kansas the names of all free-state men, and kept a list of them, with side-light remarks attached to each name, as "good," "bad" or "indifferent," estimated from the opinions of their proslavery neighbors. It was thus that they prepared themselves for selecting the men they wanted to slay. It must be recorded here that some slaveholders came into Kansas and brought their slaves with them, but generally disposed of them before this time. With this list in their possession, the gallant chivalry of Rome, Ga., went forth into Kansas, and at last near the banks of the Marais des Cygnes were fully prepared to commit the crime on the memorable 19th of May, 1858.

They issued forth from their local quarters at Jerry Jackson's house, situated three and a half miles east of the state line and a little south-

ward of the place of massacre. In the winter following this house was raided by Colonel Jennison and his Jayhawkers, at which time a well-directed shot from one of "Beecher's bibles" clipped off the end of the nose of Jackson and left him well marked for future identification. But he escaped from the flames of his house and left Missouri soon after. Let me say right here that this was one of the "horrid" acts which modern sentimental gush is poured out so lavishly against. They cry out, "If it had not been for those horrid men, Jennison and Jim Lane and Old John Brown, poor Lawrence would not have suffered." This is the wail of the thoughtless and the selfish. It comes from a sympathy which would deny and rewrite every page of history. War is the watchword of nature. And Lawrence, in her cry of "Peace, peace, with the enemy," and in her first councils, worked her own destruction. All after events prove it. In those memorable four years, May 30, 1854, to May 19, 1858, the battle in Kansas for freedom against slavery had been fought hand to hand and with life for life except in Lawrence. Four of her noble young sons, at her very door, were ruthlessly shot down without any cause except as friends to Lawrence, and without any return of retribution until John Brown struck the blow on the Pottawatomie. But it was too late for Lawrence. The white feather ruined her. Hell must be fought with fire to win her fear and respect.

At last there came a lull in the war—a calm and serene moment. The honest settlers went forth to their fields to plow and to plant. The sound of the anvil was heard in the shop, the busy wheels of industry began to turn, and joy was on the lips and in the heart of men and women. It was a lull before the storm. The Hameltons and the Quantrills and the Buford clans had been plotting in the house of Jackson. And thus it was that on the morning of May 19, 1858, when the cause of the free-state people had been clearly won by the brave men in arms, the cowards turned to the quiet and peaceful fields of industry where there was no armed resistance and they feared no opposition of war. The peaceful and quiet hour was struck, and the Hameltons heard it. It was the hour of no resistance in Kansas.

I submit here a map of Valley township, in Linn county,[2] on which is indicated the route of the Hamelton band, and which also shows the places where these victims were picked up and the places where they were shot.

The murderous band crossed the Marais des Cygnes river at a point one mile due south of the Trading Post, and where the Big Sugar creek from the west empties into it. This was at the old military crossing, and a good ford. The band had come in from Missouri south of the river, and passing westward through the timber, which was heavy along the river, they struck the military road west of Missouri three and a half miles, and a mile and a half south of the Trading Post. They deceived the people at the Post, and kept far out to the south of, and hidden from, the portion of the township which they expected to harvest in blood.

At this busy little village they took some prisoners, inquired their

2. Mr. Moody left no map with the Society, simply a memorandum from which the map printed herewith has been drawn.

names, and compared these names with the list they had been supplied with. They took Tom Brocket, Joe Allen, and at the mill near there they took Sam Cady, Matt Ellis, a man named Wing and some others. A Mr. John F. Campbell they took out of Seth Belch's store. Belch was a lawyer from Kansas City, Mo. When they got down at the Post they examined the list and liberated all but Campbell. Then there came a man in from Mound City by the name Thomas Stillwell, driving a team and on his way to Kansas City. When he saw this armed band of ruffians he put his wallet containing his money under some hay in the bottom of his wagon. They took him and left his wagon and horses, not having stopped long enough to hunt for money. In all this haul at the Post they kept only two, Campbell and Stillwell. This last man was from the hated town of Mound City, or Sugar Mound as it was earlier known. That was all the evidence against him, and that was sufficient to take him under guard. They then proceeded along the road northeastward about three-fourths of a mile to the house of Sam Nichols; here they arrested Rev. B. L. Reed and Patrick Ross. They also arrested a man by the name of W. H. Stillwell, but let him go. He was not a relative of the Stillwell from Mound City, whom they already had in custody. They now had four prisoners, and proceeded with them due east on the road one and three-fourths miles to Austin Hall's house, where they arrested Austin's brother, Amos Hall. Austin was not at home. From Hall's they went southeastward across the prairie half a mile and arrested William Colpetzer. Then they turned due north and went about a mile to the house of Asa and William Hairgrove, situated on the southeast quarter of section 33, and arrested both of them. From the Hairgrove cabin they proceeded northeastward across the prairie about half a mile to the house of William Robertson, and found him and Charles Snyder, and arrested them both. They next moved across an open field, still in a northeast direction, a little over half a mile, and captured Austin Hall on the prairie. This gave them eleven prisoners. The point where Austin Hall was taken was near the southeast corner of the southwest quarter of section 27. The spot for the focus of their revenge and final shot at the heresy of free-state sentiment must have been determined, and the *modus operandi* decided on before they reached this point of their campaign, because they proceeded in a direct course to it, moving about a mile further northeastward to the fractional northwest quarter of section 26, and about a half a mile from the Missouri state line. The spot selected was in a deep ravine which would hide the mob and the prisoners from the public eye till one was close onto it. No one could see them from the open upland surrounding it, and from it escape could be made into Missouri without obstruction, and there the whole murdering band would be safe at home. But the Hameltons and all the border-ruffian chivalry had got done with the North anyway, and were on the point of going home to help work up the rebellion.

In this deep ravine the martyrs were drawn up in a line single file north and south, facing the east, their murderers in front of them and close up. They stood in this order, beginning at the north:

1. Charles Snyder, wounded.
2. Thomas Stillwell, killed.

3. Patrick Ross, killed.
4. B. L. Reed, unhurt.
5. Asa Hairgrove, wounded.
6. Amos Hall, wounded.
7. Wm. Hairgrove, wounded.
8. Wm. Robertson, killed
9. Austin Hall, unhurt.
10. Wm. Colpetzer, killed.
11. John Campbell, killed.

The guard on horseback was ordered into line by Capt. Charles A. Hamelton. There was some little tumult in the ranks of the ruffians, and much cursing and swearing was done as they looked down into the eyes of those innocent and unarmed men. Some quailed before the quiet faces and the calm demeanor of those young men who were robbed of the honorable privilege of a fair fight, and only about half of the band responded to the command, "Into line battalion." One man who had been careless thus far, Brocket by name, as he sat on his horse looking down into the pale faces of those awaiting death, refused with an oath, saying, "I will fight, but I'll not shoot the defenseless." At last, however, Captain Hamelton quieted the greater part of the band and brought them up to the scratch, and the command was given, "Make ready." Then brave young John Campbell, standing at the foot of the line, spoke up and said, "Now if you will shoot, take good aim." Instantly Hamelton cried out "Fire!" and John Campbell was the first to fall dead in his tracks. Then all went down.

"A blush as of roses where rose never grew!
Great drops on the bunch grass, but not of the dew!
A taint in the sweet air for wild bees to shun!
A stain that shall never bleach out in the sun!"

The murderers turned and galloped off a little way. Then some few of them went back to examine the fallen, and Patrick Ross, who was taken for preacher Reed lying close by him, was shot with a pistol, the ball passing through his brain, but Reed was not hurt. Austin Hall, from whom I obtained this account, was also unhurt.

Thomas Stillwell was taken to his home at Mound City and buried in its cemetery. The other killed were buried in the beautiful burying ground at Trading Post, where now a monument is erected to their memory. Of the survivors, Asa Hairgrove was elected to the office of state auditor in 1862, Rev. B. L. Reed lived for many years in Osawatomie, and Austin Hall was a merchant at Trading Post for many years, and died there. From him I obtained the full particulars herein related. He was of high and spotless character and reliable as a man of truth and good memory.

And who were these victims licked up from the virgin soil of Linn county by this murderous band? They were the plowboys, the blacksmith and storekeeper, the preacher. What crime had they committed? Only the crime of an opinion, and the overt act of desiring to become a citizen of a state without slavery. Nor can we escape the fact that these desperadoes had no personal grudge or quarrel with any of their victims.

They in fact did not know all of them, and some they had never seen. It was the abstract idea, the principle of slavery, which they considered and believed to be good. And to be thwarted in the United States by abolitionists or free-state men was a crime against the South and its cherished institution. This is the unbiased judgment of history. It was the conflict of ideas, not the conflict of personal animosities. As in the Civil War, the boys in blue had no grudge against the boys in gray—nor vice versa.

The real fight in Kansas from 1855 to 1858 was not for the negro in person. The great majority of free-state immigrants did not want to see a negro in Kansas. But the Southerner did. The negro's presence under his master was the culmination of his hopes and desires. It was the local emblem of the institution which was held by the constitution and the court to be national. So that these eleven men in Linn county who were picked up by the Hamelton band were in truth against the negro being brought into Kansas and in favor of keeping him where slavery was established by law. This was their only crime. And in the Southern idea it was a crime, and the Hameltons came into Kansas to punish that crime. But under the Douglas bill slavery was left to a vote of the people, and because of the Douglas law the Hamelton freebooters became murderers of the basest order.

At this time John Brown, who had a scheme on hand of attacking slavery on its own ground, was promulgating his provisional constitution at Chatham, in Canada. He had the patronage of many of the New England agitators, both in money and counsel. Few, however, were let into the secret of his intention to attack by force of arms Virginia. These few kept the secret well under cover, but the project was left entirely to Brown and his little band. As soon as he heard of the Marais des Cygnes massacre he planned to come back to Kansas. This had been his old field of operations. Here he had come early and fought the invading army of the Bufords and McGees and Hameltons by the side of Jim Lane and Montgomery and other brave men who knew that peace and right had to come through war.

Before we proceed further it is necessary for a clear conception of the situation at this time in Kansas, and to set the great actors in their true light, to briefly recount the events around Lawrence in their order of time and circumstance, and bring the story forward to this point. Remember in this I follow the Hameltons and John Brown.

First, the murder of Charles W. Dow, on his claim, November 21, 1855, by F. M. Coleman, at or near a place called Hickory Point, south of the Wakarusa creek. Coleman after shooting Dow fled at once to the Shawnee mission, the headquarters of the Territorial government, and reported to Sheriff Jones, who instead of arresting him for murder protected him and enrolled him in his posse for further work. Then the next thing was to get out a peace warrant from a justice of the peace, appointed by Sheriff Jones, for the arrest of Jacob Branson, with whom Dow boarded laying the murder at his door. Major Abbott and Sam Wood got word of Branson's arrest, and at once raised a posse to rescue him. The night was light with a beautiful moon, and the two squads met

in the road on the prairie. The number on both sides was about equal. Major Abbott's squad had eight or ten Sharp's rifles, but some of his men were unarmed, so hurriedly had they been called to the rescue. Jones tried to evade the encounter and turned out of the road, but Abbott headed him off and he came back to the road again, and Abbott's force closed in on both sides. After some parley, Branson came over to his friends and Jones and his posse rode off.[3] Branson was then taken to Lawrence a free man.

A full account of this affair I got from Major Abbott himself in 1869, at his home at De Soto. Sheriff Jones made a report to Governor Shannon, which said he had met a mob of forty abolitionists with Sharp's rifles, who under threat of death rescued a prisoner from the hands of the law, and he asked the Governor for 3,000 of the territorial militia to enforce his orders. Then there was trouble in Lawrence in the council of war and peace. The militia of the territory was composed of the Georgia, South Carolina and Alabama contingents and the Missouri regulars. It at once mobilized and marched from its headquarters in Missouri up to Franklin, five miles from Lawrence. There it went into camp in the woods along the Wakarusa and reconnoitered Lawrence.

In the meantime the rescuers of Branson had been given their orders to leave Lawrence. They had done a thing that Lawrence condemned, and because thereof Lawrence was in peril. It was December. The drums beat and the soldiers drilled and marched and countermarched with the thermometer at zero and on the down grade. The ground was white with snow. Lawrence had elected a "committee of safety," the famous ten, and resolved that "Lawrence must not assume anything for which it is not responsible." People in peril have short memories. Governor Robinson ruled this committee. He was also an active member in the Big Springs convention only three months before. The bogus laws which the rescuers had set at naught for the sake of justice and fair play were boldly attacked in that convention, as follows:

"*Resolved*, That we owe no allegiance or obedience to the tyrannical enactments of this spurious legislature; that their laws have no validity or binding force upon the people of Kansas, and that every freeman amongst us is at full liberty, consistently with all his obligations as a citizen and a man to defy and resist them if he chooses so to do. . . . and will resist them to a bloody issue as soon as we ascertain that peaceful remedies shall fail. . . ."

Short memories, indeed, of the Robinson committee. While this safety committee was considering what best to do in Lawrence, and having voted that nonresistance was the true gospel to save everybody and everything, young Thomas W. Barber's dead body was brought in to rebuke them. He had been foully murdered in the road while peaceably going to his home, to his wife and little family. A peaceable, quiet man, who had resisted no bogus statute and had not even been a member of the Big Springs convention, where Lawrence had so boldly resolved with big speech and much bluster, to resist in blood the bogus laws. This young dead man's wounds, though they spoke so eloquently, received no reply

3. For an extended account of the Branson rescue see "Kansas Historical Collections," vol. 13, p. 280.

but a cold shake of the head from the committee of safety. He was murdered by some territorial officials in their special method of enforcing bogus laws. But Lawrence saw no reason yet to object. This was December 6, 1855.

The day before young Barber was murdered, Hon. J. C. Anderson, ex-speaker *pro tem.* of the bogus legislature, wrote to Major Gen. W. P. Richardson, commander of the bogus militia, as follows: "I have reason to believe . . . that before to-morrow morning the *black flag* will be hoisted, when nine out of ten will rally around it, and march without orders upon Lawrence. The forces at Lecompton camp fully understand the plot, and will fight under the same banner." The forces of the Lecompton camp rallied under the black flag and shot down young Barber that very day when they were on their way to Franklin to meet Governor Shannon, where his troops had gone into camp, under Richardson.

The citizens of Lawrence, on the evening of the 6th, sent a delegation to Shawnee mission to ask the governor to come up to Lawrence, which he did the next day. Here he was assured by Robinson and the committee of safety that they would put no obstacles in the way of the execution of all legal processes under the bogus territorial laws, and pledged to aid the governor in the arrest of all persons charged with their violation, and get from both parties a full settlement of all misunderstanding. These assurances were signed, sealed and delivered. The parties whom Jones wanted and had writs for had all left Lawrence. The document was signed on December 8, 1855, by Wilson Shannon, Chas. Robinson and J. H. Lane.[4] and peace was declared the next day.

After the negotiations were concluded came the festivities and the ball in the Eldridge Hotel on the 10th. Here Governor Shannon was royal guest. It was to this "grand peace party" that Sheriff Jones was invited by Gov. Robinson of the committee of safety. It is told that when the discussion provoked by the invitation subsided, General Lane arose, his eyes shone, his hair fairly stood on end, and his long arms began to gyrate. What he said was called inflammable, but it was to the point. He vociferously recounted the devilish actions of the border-ruffian Jones. He pointed with long, bony finger to the room where lay the "murdered Barber, whose pale face is yet wet with the tears of his mourning wife." He declared that the men of the Lawrence companies which he commanded would not be present if Jones was permitted to become a guest, and he ended his fiery speech with the threat that if Jones did come he would have to be carried out feet first! The end of the affair was that Jones, hearing of the altercation, wisely remained away from the "peace party." But feeling, long engendered, culminated on that evening, and out of it grew hatreds and wounds never healed. They went into every campaign and entered every household in Kansas, and the bitterness between Robinson and Lane and John Brown was marked from that time!

On the evening preceding the peace party a love feast was held, and it was there that Governor Shannon, through a false alarm of Missouri invaders, was prevailed upon by Doctor Robinson to give a *carte blanche* commission to Robinson and Lane. The celebrated paper ran thus:

4. See "Treaty of Peace," Andreas' "History of Kansas," 1883, p. 119.

*"To C. Robinson and J. H. Lane, Commanders of the Enrolled Citizens of Kansas:*

"You are hereby authorized and directed to take such measures, and use the enrolled forces under your command in such manner, for the preservation of peace and the protection of the persons and property of the people in Lawrence and its vicinity, as in your judgment will best secure that end.

"LAWRENCE, December 9, 1855. WILSON SHANNON."

Now it is history, but at the time it became the joke of the season. Sam Wood told Brewerton that it was a cute Yankee trick. But like all such tricks it proved to be a boomerang. It made old Governor Shannon sore, and he never got over it. He gave this in explanation: "That amid an excited throng in a small crowded apartment, and without any critical examination of the paper which Doctor Robinson had just written, I signed it, but it was distinctly understood that it had no application to anything but the threatened attack on Lawrence that night. It did not for a moment occur to me that this pretended attack upon the town was but a device to obtain from me a paper which might be used to my prejudice. I supposed at the time that I was surrounded by gentlemen and by grateful hearts and not by tricksters. I was the last man on the globe who deserved such treatment from the citizens of Lawrence."

The fruit of the trick soon ripened, and from that night everything pointed to May 21, 1856.

This account of the history of the times in Lawrence I gather from the reporters of the New York *Herald* and the New York *Tribune*—Brewerton for the *Herald*, and Phillips for the *Tribune*. I find Brewerton always impartial. I find Phillips partial to Robinson. Web Wilder says of Brewerton, in his "Annals of Kansas": "He was not a partisan, and his book is now valuable because he wrote down the Northern and Southern versions of our affairs in the very words of the living actors. . . . Mr. Brewerton . . . trusted his pen instead of his imagination."

Up to this time John Brown had objected with General Lane before the "council of ten," and at the final treaty of peace on December 8, 1855, had said that to fight was the only salvation of Lawrence.

I now quote W. A. Phillips, the reporter for the New York *Tribune*, who was present at the time when the terms of the treaty were made known, December 8, 1855: "Captain Brown got up to address the people, but a desire was manifested to prevent his speaking. Amidst some little disturbance, he demanded to know what the terms were. [At this time they had thought to keep the terms secret.] If he understood Governor Shannon's speech, something had been conceded, and he conveyed the idea that the territorial laws were to be observed. These laws they denounced and spit upon and would never obey—no! Here the speaker was interrupted by the almost universal cry, 'No! No! Down with the bogus laws! Lead us down to fight first!' Seeing a young revolution on the tapis, the influential men assured the people that there had been no concession." Thus was Brown's voice smothered, along with the truth that they had conceded the bogus laws and agreed to help Jones to execute his writs.

From this time to the sacking of Lawrence, May 21, 1856, things went on from bad to worse. About May 13 the forces were gathering fast.

The committee disagreed. Dietzler and other members wanted to fight, as did Brown and Lane; others were against any violence. W. Y. Roberts said he did not intend to go out of the territory, but would stay and be arrested. Several of those who advocated warlike measures left in disgust. A new committee was created as a "safety valve," which declared to Marshal Donalson a week before the assault on Lawrence, in these most remarkable words: "We desire to state, most truthfully and earnestly, that no opposition whatever will now, or at any future time, be offered to the execution of any legal process by yourself, or any person acting for you. We also pledge ourselves to assist you . . ."

On the 19th of May a young man by the name of Jones was at Blanton's bridge on the Wakarusa. He had been to the store to get a sack of flour to take home. Near the end of the bridge a couple of Georgians, and most likely the Hameltons, attacked him. The Georgia band of the ruffian soldiers were then stationed near Lawrence and were doing duty stealing horses and collecting cattle by force of arms as commissary scouters to supply the army at Franklin. They shot young Jones in the back. The murder was reported in Lawrence and excited great indignation. A few young men, among whom was a Mr. Stewart, who had been a clerk for the congressional investigating committee, determined to avenge the murder of Jones. They set out from Lawrence, found the scoundrels, and had some altercation with them. Young Stewart was shot dead by the ruffians. The murder was reported to the committee by bringing the dead body into Lawrence. It was refused lying space in the Eldridge House. Deputy Marshal Fain, of Georgia, a companion of the Hameltons, was in the hotel at the time, and it might offend him; so the body was put in a building which had been used as a guardhouse. These two murdered boys were sacrificed to the committee of safety and their surrender to the bogus laws.

Shortly after, border ruffians under Atchison and Stringfellow laid the fair village of Lawrence low. The hotel was burned, the printing presses destroyed, and the red flag of South Carolina with its lone white star floated in triumph over the councils of peace. By the decree of the committee that there should be no resistance, the free-state fighters had been forced to leave the breastworks and fort and go home to their farms. And it was there that they organized to fight the battles of Kansas outside of Lawrence. They were attacked by the southern gangs of Hamelton and Buford and Pate. The first battle of note was Pate's attack on the settlers at Black Jack and Palmyra. Captain Pate undertook to capture John Brown, but was himself captured with twenty-six of his men. They were taken to Brown's camp and fed, and the wounded cared for. And when Colonel Sumner arrived with Sheriff Jones to arrest Brown, Jones played the coward and said, looking squarely at Brown, "I don't see anybody here against whom I have any writ."

But now to return to Linn county. When the old warrior, John Brown, heard in his quiet retreat in Canada of the Hamelton raid on the Marais des Cygnes, he at once set out for his former field of operations in Kansas. He reached here June 25, 1858. Soon after he visited Osawatomie, his old place of rendezvous, then passed down to Linn county and stayed some time with Colonel Montgomery at his home west of Mound City, and

also with Augustus Wattles, about two miles north of Mound City. He had long known Mr. Wattles and frequently communicated with him by letter. He then visited Valley township and the place of the massacre and soon made up his mind what to do. It was to stay and protect the citizens there who lived in dread and nightly expected to be murdered or driven off. He made a contract with one of the Snyders for the possession of the quarter section of land on which the massacre took place, which was about a half mile from the Missouri state line, and settled there close at the door of the ruffians. Here he erected what is known in history as John Brown's fort, but which he named Fort Snyder, after one of the Marais des Cygnes victims, Asa Snyder. It was the spot where the blacksmith Eli Snyder lived and worked. A high stone wall erected by Mother Nature made the back of the fort, and from underneath this stone wall gushed forth a clear rivulet of water, and he built his fort over it. This was afterward known as John Brown's spring. It is there yet.[5] The timbers for the fort he took from large oak trees which grew in the ravine some distance away. I visited this place in the summer of 1888, when I was canvassing for the state senate, and took a part of one of the wall timbers away with me, which was identified as a part of the fort by the owner of the place. I had made from a piece of it a small gavel, which I presented to the Kansas Historical Society.

It was at this time that John Brown enrolled his company to defend the border. The names, with date of enlistment, follow:

| | |
|---|---|
| Shubel Morgan (John Brown), | July 12, 1858. |
| C. P. Tidd | July 12, 1858. |
| J. H. Kagi | July 12, 1858. |
| A. Wattles | July 12, 1858. |
| Samuel Stevenson | July 12, 1858. |
| J. Montgomery | July 12, 1858. |
| L. Wiener | July 12, 1858. |
| Simon Snyder | July 14, 1858. |
| E. W. Snyder | July 15, 1858. |
| Elias J. Snyder | July 15, 1858. |
| John H. Snyder | July 15, 1858. |
| Adam Bishop | July 15, 1858. |
| Wm. Hairgrove | July 15, 1858. |
| John Mikel | July 15, 1858. |
| Wm. Partridge | July 15, 1858. |

By no means all of these men were with him at any one time to guard the border. But it gave great relief to the citizens of Valley township to know he was there. One of the Marais des Cygnes victims, Wm. Hairgrove, was part of the time an occupant, with him, of the fort. When quiet was restored Brown organized two companies of his small military force to go into the adjoining county of Missouri and make reprisals. Here is how he tells it, under what is known as "John Brown's Parallels":

"Not One year ago Eleven quiet citizens of this neighborhood, viz., Wm. Robertson, Wm. Colpetzer, Amos Hall, Austin Hall, John Campbell, Asa Snyder, Thos. Stillwell, Wm. Hairgrove, Asa Hairgrove, Patrick Ross and B. L. Reed, were gathered up from their work, & their homes by an armed force (under one Hamilton), & without trial; or opportunity to

5. There has been much controversy as to whether Brown ever really owned land in Kansas. It has been proven that he did not, and that his claim to the Snyder land was but a squatter's claim. See Villard's "John Brown," 1910, p. 356.

speak in their own defence were formed into a line & all but one shot, Five killed & Five wounded. One fell unharmed, pretending to be dead. All were left for dead. The only crime charged against them was that of being Free-State men. Now, I inquire what action has ever, since the occurrence in May last, been taken by either the President of the United States; the Governor of Missouri, or the Governor of Kansas, or any of their tools; or by any proslavery or *administration man?* to ferret out and punish the perpetrators of this crime?

"Now for the other parallel. On Sunday the 19th of December, a negro called Jim came over to the Osage settlement from Missouri & stated that he together with his Wife, Two Children & another Negro man were to be sold within a day or Two & beged for help to get away. On Monday (the following) night, Two small companies were made up to go to Missouri & forcibly liberate the Five slaves *together with other slaves.* One of these companies I assumed to direct. We proceeded to the place surrounded the buildings liberated the slaves & also took certain property supposed to belong to the estate. We however learned before leaveing that a portion of the articles we had taken belonged to a man living on the plantation as a tenant, & who was supposed to have no interest in the estate. We promptly returned to him *all we had taken* so far I believe. We then went to another plantation, where we freed Five more slaves, took some property; & Two *white* men. We moved all slowly away into the Territory for some distance, & then sent the White men back, telling them to follow us as soon as they chose to do so. The other company freed One female slave, took some property, & I am informed, killed One White man (the master), who fought against the liberation. Now for a comparison. Eleven persons are forcibly restored to their natural; and *inalienable rights,* with but one man killed; & all 'Hell is stirred from beneath.' It is currently reported that the Governor of Missouri has made a requisition upon the Governor of Kansas for the delivery of all such as were concerned in the last named 'dreadful outrage.' The Marshal of Kansas is said to be collecting a *possee* of Missouri (not Kansas) men at West Point in Missouri a little town about Ten miles distant, to 'enforce the laws,' & all proslavery conservative Free-State, and dough-faced men & Administration tools are filled with holy horror.

"Consider the two cases, and the action of the Administration party.

Respectfully yours, JOHN BROWN."

Gerrit Smith, one of the friends of Lawrence, as soon as he heard of Brown in Missouri, wrote to Sanborn, and said: "I am happy to learn that the Underground Railroad is so prosperous in Kansas. . . . I send you twenty-five dollars, which I wish you to send to our noble friend, John Brown. Perhaps you can get some other contributions to send along with it. He is doubtless in great need of all he can get. The topography of Missouri is unfavorable. *Would that a spur of the Alleghany extended from the east to the west borders of the state!*"

The work in Missouri was done with care and leisure. Brown passed quietly to Osawatomie, his old home, fed and cared for the negroes; thence to the Pottawatomie, and then to his old friend Major Abbott, on the Wakarusa. From there he went on to Lawrence, Topeka and Holton and northward into Nebraska, and through Iowa, Illinois, Michigan and into Canada, where he landed twelve negroes, one being born on the road. He ended the campaign on the 12th day of March, 1859; and when he parted from them on that day he said: "Lord permit thy servant to die in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation."[6]

6. A statement made by Mr. Moody is of interest here: "The first negro I ever saw in my life was uncovered at night from a wagon box at my father's house, and kept for several days until he could be put on board a vessel at Chicago for safe delivery in

By this time the Hameltons were safe at Rome in the mountains of Georgia. Kansas was safe evermore from the curse of slavery. But the cry from the South was, "Dissolve the Union. Let us give New England a dose of her own medicine." However, John Brown had one more blow to strike which he had long been planning. This raid of his against the Hamelton raid was but a side issue. The New England abolitionists had use yet for John Brown. They prepared him for his work. And he struck at Harper's Ferry. He knew that he was to die for it, but it would begin the great work to which he had offered his life. He struck the blow on October 18, 1859, and died on the scaffold December 2.

John Brown was the last of the Puritans, and he left the world better than he found it. His death gave to the Union army a little song:

"John Brown's body lies moldering in the grave
But his soul goes marching on."

And the war carried his soul on the wings of that refrain through all the southland, and it floated with the flag on stream and ocean, over hill and valley, and from mountain top, even into the home of the Hameltons in Georgia. It cheered the camp and gave a quicker step to the march, and the great soul went marching on till it passed to the paths of peace at Appomattox.[7]

Eugene Ware, the poet of Kansas, has immortalized himself in his poem on John Brown:

States are not great except as men may make them;
Men are not great except they do and dare.
But states, like men, have destinies that take them—
That bear them on, not knowing why or where.

All merit comes from braving the unequal;
All glory comes from daring to begin.
Fame loves the state that, reckless of the sequel
Fights long and well, whether it lose or win.

And there is one whose faith, whose fight, whose failing,
Fame shall placard upon the walls of time.
He dared begin—despite the unavailing,
He dared begin when failure was a crime.

There, future orators to cultured freemen
Shall tell of valor, and recount with praise
Stories of Kansas, and of Lacedæmon—
Cradles of freedom, then of ancient days.

The statued bronze shall glitter in the sun,
With rugged lettering:
"John Brown of Kansas:
He dared begin;
He lost,
But, losing, won."

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Canada. A lad of ten years, I stood at his knee and examined his pistol. When I asked if he was not afraid of being caught and taken back, he said, 'No, I will not go back alive.' He was not very black; just brown, with kinky hair. It was then I heard his and my father's prayers—they prayed like John Brown—for the strength of the Lord and for the liberation of the slaves."

7. This article is not published precisely in every instance as written by Mr. Moody. It was edited to eliminate the severe condemnation of the course of Governor Robinson

# EARLY DAYS IN KANSAS.

## THE MARAIS DES CYGNES MASSACRE AND THE RESCUE OF BEN RICE.

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society, by A. H. TANNAR,[1] Mapleton.

THE writer of these sketches was born in Ruggles, Ashland county Ohio, in July, 1836. Living on the farm with my parents till 1855, I left home to seek my fortune in the West. Going to Fayette county Iowa, I remained there until the spring of 1857.

A. H. TANNAR.

In March of that year I left Fayette county and joined the great rush of emigration to Kansas. Political strife over slavery had precedence over all other activities. Joining the side of the antislavery movement, I enlisted, with so many young men from the northern states, and in the

1. Alpheus Hiram Tanner was born in Ruggles, Ohio, July 28, 1836, the son of Hiram Tanner and his wife Amanda Dunn. He came to Kansas in 1857 and has remained a resident of the state ever since. He now lives on his farm in Bourbon county, on the Osage river, near Mapleton.

early spring of 1857 arrived at Leavenworth, Kan., from St. Louis, by the old steamer *Emigrant*, afterwards sunk and abandoned on a sand bar in the Missouri river, below Boonville. In company with two other young men I started on foot for Lawrence, where we arrived the first day (thirty-five miles) a little footsore. We first made the acquaintance of Jim Lane, afterwards general, and senator from Kansas. He sent us to Wakarusa, to join a colony under the leadership of Augustus Wattles, and destined for Linn county, with the intention of building a town at Moneka, in the center of the county, and making it the county seat. We put our knapsacks in the wagons and walked the first day, when we fell in with J. C. Anderson and two of his brothers-in-law by the name of Smith. They were headed for the Neosho, but we persuaded them to turn south with us, and a few days later we took claims in the valley two miles west of where Pleasanton now is.

We claimed each a quarter section in a square shape, and at once began to improve forty acres in the center, so as to join fences, and give us ten acres each. This was perhaps the first real improvement on the open prairie in Linn or Bourbon counties, except where the places adjoined the timber.

Our party came with horse teams and hauled feed along the road before the grass was up. In the latter part of May and from that on during the summer a steady stream of immigration came into Linn and covered all the prairie in the eastern part of the county and much of Bourbon county. Prior to that time the settlements were confined to the creeks in these counties, and consisted largely of Missourians from western Missouri, except a colony of about three hundred Southerners from Alabama, Georgia and the Carolinas, sent there by an appropriation from Alabama. They were young men under the command of Colonel Buford, and had pulled in at Fort Scott. Most of them secured claims in Bourbon county, after the few free-state men that had settled there had been driven out or had abandoned their places, in 1856, by reason of the strife between the opposing sides on the slave question.

But it is necessary for me to recall briefly the history of Kansas in order to make things a little more comprehensive. I shall be obliged to repeat history well written by others, but it will be brief, and after this I shall confine myself to what I was personally familiar with in Linn and Bourbon counties.

Immediately after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, which recognized slavery in Kansas, many emigrants from the South came to Kansas, and perhaps were in a majority during 1854 and 1855.

Slaves were brought in, but in very small numbers. The administration at Washington was always friendly to slavery, and in fact we all thought President Pierce's term of office was dictated by Jefferson Davis, and Buchanan's term shared the same influence. The territorial elections were always computed to give proslavery majorities until the fall of 1857. The governors were appointed from Washington, but after remaining in Kansas a few months they always resigned rather than do the dirty work required of them.

The northern states, with a population at that time of about twenty

millions, as against four or five million whites in the South, naturally furnished most of the emigrants to Kansas, and the balance of power soon gravitated to the side of freedom. But the South had complete control of the administration at Washington, and used that power to help prolong the struggle which otherwise would have ended very shortly. But they had trouble to keep their appointees in line, and their governors resigned one after another. The troops kept at Leavenworth became disaffected, and their officers and men were unwilling, after the summer of 1857, to help enforce the bogus laws and subjugate the majority to the will of the minority.

The free-state men, by reason of the heavy immigration during the spring and summer, were in a large majority, and proslavery leaders had publicly acknowledged that the cause was lost in Kansas, that they were outnumbered three to one. Montgomery, in company with others, had organized a squatters' court in Linn county. The reason for this court can be seen when it is remembered that all the laws passed by the bogus legislature had been repudiated, and there was no recognized law in Kansas. Montgomery, with a small force of men, had driven out settlers who were occupying claims from which free-state men had been evicted the year before. It has been said that they were robbed and plundered by Montgomery's men. I was with him on some of these occasions, and I never saw anything taken or destroyed.

Things had quieted down, and the people were at work as only pioneers can work to make new homes for themselves. But the ends sought by certain parties at Washington had not been accomplished, and by these the fight was kept up and urged upon the few that were here. The marshals and deputies and camp followers at Fort Scott and a United States court presided over by Judge Williams were still there. These patriots were mostly without visible means of support unless they managed to keep up strife through the federal court. They tried hard to keep troops from Fort Leavenworth, but only a handful could be got, and they were mostly in sympathy with the settlers.

Before this the "Wide-awakes," a secret antislavery order, had been organized and spread to Kansas, and absorbed about every free-state man in the territory. The army officers, including Captain Lyon (afterwards general), Colonel Sumner and many others, as well as many of the rank and file, were initiated into the order. I have been present when many of them took the oath. If warrants were placed in their hands for the arrest of free-state men it always happened that they arrived at a man's cabin just after he was gone.

But let us get back to Fort Scott and see what the faithful band of deserted heroes is doing. They needed money and whisky, for they were a convivial lot. Warrants were continually issued from Judge Williams' court for different settlers, and the marshals were always trying to make arrests, and often tried to get the soldiers to help. This was slow business, for the reasons mentioned above. The favorite charge was cutting timber on Indian lands; and about every man in Linn county was guilty, for they had anticipated the opening of the land office and settled before the Indian title was extinguished. Only the

wealthier classes were arrested, for money was what these men wanted, and a man too poor to pay a fine was exempt. So, contrary to the rule of the present day, the little fellows escaped and the "higher-ups" were obliged to come across.

This thing went on in a small way until the winter of 1857-'58, when the marshals and their deputies summoned large parties and organized a good-sized army, with the avowed purpose of capturing Montgomery and his "outlaws." These posses kept up their work during the entire winter, but accomplished little. A few skirmishes with small armed bodies occurred, but few prisoners were ever taken; and finally, towards spring, the new legislature passed an amnesty act, and all was peace once more. But the marshals continued to harass the people and seek to make arrests.

On one occasion in the summer of 1858, a marshal, Campbell, and his deputy, Dimon, came up into Linn county to make arrests. They stopped at the hotel in Mound City to feed and get dinner. Their mission leaked out, and Montgomery was in town, whether by design or not I do not know. He was informed on the subject, and went at once to the mill to confer with the proprietors, who were good old Pennsylvania Quakers and were prominent in free-state counsels. The writer, then twenty-one, was there with another young man, hauling logs. We were asked to take part and help capture the marshals, which we did, upon being supplied with ponies to ride.

Like many others in those days, we had our own revolvers. We were sent north to the house of Henry Seaman, about four miles out. We found him at home, and his brother Ben was also there.

We soon arranged to start back towards Mound City, intending to intercept the marshals in the open prairie, where there could be little chance of escape. Myself and one of the Seamans were personally known to one of the marshals, and we fell back far to the rear, but near enough to assist if necessary.

Riding leisurely along they soon met the marshals, and after saluting and passing, they dropped to the ground and called from behind their horses and ordered the marshals to halt. Marshal Campbell informed the boys he was a United States marshal, and it was treason to arrest him, and a very grave crime, punishable by death. But his dignity counted for nothing, and both were ordered to shut up and dismount and come forward one at a time and deliver their arms. By this time the two of us in the rear were approaching with revolvers in our hands. The marshals did as they were told, and came up and handed over two nice new navy revolvers. I don't think those men ever saw those guns any more. They were just what the boys needed, and were very hard to obtain. Their warrants, about sixty, were also taken, together with a memorandum that directed them where to stop overnight and be with friends. These things were kept for future use; but their money, over a hundred dollars, was returned when they were finally released. The prisoners were then taken back to Mound City. Their horses, tied together, were led by one of the boys, and the others rode behind.

I don't believe the boys were unduly rude to those dignified officials, but

the way they gave command left little room for parley or doubt as to their intentions. It has been said they made the prisoners remove their boots, and tied them to their own saddles to guard against escape. I don't remember to have noticed this feature. Upon arriving at Mound City we met a crowd of perhaps two hundred which had gathered and which was constantly augmented by fresh arrivals. Our ponies were the only telephones we had; but the people were easily awakened, and it is surprising how quick they came to a call of that kind.

A meeting was held in the street, and Montgomery made a speech, others talked, and Doc Jennison got off a little of his bravado. I never liked him over well, for he deserted a crowd of us youngsters once on the eve of what we supposed to be a conflict of arms. He could do the talking for a company, and the rest might do the fighting; at least that was what we thought he intended for us to do. After talking matters over, Montgomery compromised with those two marshals and gave them back their money and horses and all that belonged to them except their guns and papers. On their part they signed an agreement to keep out of Linn county and arrest no more free-state men. They insisted on an escort, as they had been disarmed, but Montgomery told them they were safer without arms than with them, and finally gave them a passport, and himself accompanied them a few miles, as far as his road home followed them south. Thus ended another of the "outrages" of Montgomery and his outlaws.

But I must turn back to the early spring to speak of the Marais des Cygnes murders, which occurred near the Trading Post, on May 19, 1858. Prior to this, during the spring, myself and Ira Bronson had been acting as deputies under C. H. Stilwell, the treasurer of Linn county.

We were instructed to assess any property that had been overlooked by the assessor, as some had been absent the fall before and had returned in the spring. In this class were the three Hamelton brothers, who had claims on the state line east of the Trading Post. They had wintered over the line in Missouri, and came back to plant a crop, with a view of selling their claims later. Our lands could not be entered, for the titles of the Indians were not extinguished.

I called upon Captain Hamelton, but he refused to submit to taxation, and told me if I were older I would know better than to make a man pay tax on property he didn't have and could not have or keep in the territory.

They had their slaves, and public opinion and the risk of losing their chattels had driven them to send them back to Georgia. His argument, at this distance, looks to be sound enough; but we concluded to exact the money, perhaps ten or twelve dollars, and Mr. Bronson and myself went together and succeeded in persuading him to dig up an old tin box and produce the gold coin necessary to get his receipt. This was perhaps a month prior to the murder.

Some have thought that this urged them to commit the foulest murder in the history of all time. But I do not believe it had any influence. The truth is, they were bitterly disappointed all around. They came here from Georgia two years before with the Buford gang that came to Fort

Scott. They supposed the slavery question had been settled in their favor and they would obtain large tracts of lands and make slave plantations here. They were from wealthy families, and when they found their friends leaving and themselves could stay no longer, and had to go without even selling their improvements, they became desperate.

A large colony, estimated at over one hundred, had started to leave the territory, and headed down the Marais des Cygnes towards Jefferson City. They went into camp near Papinsville, near where Rich Hill now is, and after holding counsel a party headed by Captain Hamelton came back and proceeded to do the job. It was for revenge alone, as all hope of their cause had been abandoned and they were then on the road to their old homes in the South. It is my opinion that they made their way back to the extreme South, and two or three years later engaged in the War of the Rebellion.

The Hameltons abandoned their claims shortly after the tax trouble, and it was reported that they had marked several men for revenge, but we all carried arms and kept a lookout and continued to work as we had before.

The morning of May 19, 1858, they appeared in squads along the border and proceeded to pick up a few prisoners, and met about noon at the Trading Post. I think their plans mostly miscarried and only two or three of the parties intended for victims were apprehended. As I remember it, twelve prisoners were taken, but most writers have it eleven. Of these, six were killed or mortally wounded, five were wounded and recovered, and one was not hit at all. Wm. A. Stilwell was shot in the breast as he lay on the ground, and was killed. He lived near me on the Little Sugar, and had been in the territory less than a month. He was on his way to Kansas City or Westport to bring in his household goods, shipped from Indiana, and was an entire stranger to everybody. His wagon and one horse—the posse took the other—were brought back, and he was buried at Mound City, and was perhaps the first white person buried there. Mr. Stilwell was a Mason. His wife had one small child, and another was born soon after. She caused the grave to be marked, and soon returned to New Albany, Ind. After her sons became men they came back, and again marked the grave with a wooden picket fence.

In May, 1914, a subscription was raised and a nice monument now marks the grave. I was with the various parties who tried to apprehend and arrest the murderers, but they had many hours' start, and few were of the mind to invade Missouri in the attempt to overtake them. Only one was ever taken—a man named Mattox. He was executed according to law, and hung at Mound City.

From this time on things warmed up and trouble of much portent seemed imminent. Sheriff Walker came down from Lawrence with a good force of men. Montgomery accompanied him to Fort Scott, believing that the murders had their origin there and some of her prominent citizens were responsible for them. They made several arrests and left the prisoners in the hands of the authorities there, but had scarcely left the fort when the prisoners were released on their own recognizance and nothing more ever came of it. This shows the one-sidedness of things at

Fort Scott, where the proslavery party, with the help of the federal officers, had managed to retain legal power up to this time.

In June, Governor Denver came down to Fort Scott and made an arrangement with the free-state people to withdraw the troops under Captain Lyon if they would keep the peace. He came back through Linn county and held a conference with Montgomery, which resulted in placing Captain Weaver on the Linn county border, the Missouri line, with a force of sixty militia, where I think he remained during the entire summer of 1858.

Geo. W. Clark, receiver of the land office at Fort Scott, was the worst border ruffian of these parts, and now became alarmed for his own safety. Wishing to get away from Kansas, he was appointed by Buchanan as a purser in the United States navy, and Kansas was well rid of him. But peace was not yet. Judge Williams' court was still there with its quota of marshals and deputies and official idlers who infested Fort Scott. They also had a proslavery sheriff, for Bourbon county was one of the very few places in Kansas that had a majority of that party at the 1858 election. However, since the election free-state men had come in by the hundreds, and so the settlers were antislavery by a very large majority.

Warrants continued to issue from Judge Williams' court, and the officers, still in need of something to do for a living, continued to make arrests and stir up trouble. Ben Rice, of Bourbon, and John Hudlow, of Linn, were arrested in defiance of the compact made with the governor. They were confined in the old government building at the north corner of the square. This was in the fall. They were chained to the floor, with only old quilts sent in by their friends for bedding. Winter was coming on, and their friends demanded trial or bail. Both were denied.

Excitement grew, and it was the opinion among free-state men that they should be released by force if necessary. At a public meeting at Rayville, attended by both Linn and Bourbon county people, it was voted to proceed to Fort Scott and release them. So much opposition developed that the project was abandoned. As the prisoners were in the hands of the federal authorities, many declined to take the risk. But cold weather was near and the situation called for action, and secret meetings were held in both counties to determine the proper course. Montgomery finally decided to call for advice from other parts of the territory. Men were sent to Lawrence and Emporia for advice and assistance, and the leading men concluded to get together a sufficient force and go and do the job. Help came in a small squad from Lawrence, under S. N. Wood; one from Osawatomie, under S. S. Williams; and another from Emporia, which I afterwards learned was headed by P. B. Plumb. They met at Fort Bain, near the head of the Osage in Bourbon county, and were then joined by Montgomery and a band from Mound City. Capt. Sam Stevenson, from the head of the Osage, and Captain Barnes, from farther down towards the state line, joined them at a lone house on the prairie about eight miles northwest of Fort Scott. The whole force, now numbering seventy-five, was placed under the command of Montgomery, and I think, contrary to many others, that

this was by far the largest force ever placed under his command at any time previous to the war.

Of this force probably thirty lived along the Osage in the north part of Bourbon county. Just before leaving camp for the last start, John Brown came in with four or five men. He wished to take command, and some say a vote was taken to see if he should be chosen to lead. But he was not wanted at all, and he left and refused to take part unless he could command. He wanted to burn Fort Scott, but Montgomery was of a different mind. He promised us that no damage should be done and that it would be a bloodless affair.

I believed then, and still believe, that he had a secret understanding with the guard. I don't know if they were United States soldiers or a militia posse, but I still think they were our friends and were expecting the raid.

The start from this camp was made to bring the party to Fort Scott at daylight. The Marmaton was crossed at the old military crossing, two or three hundred yards above where the National avenue bridge now is. The horses were left near the river, and six or eight men were left there, which may explain the difference in the accounts of the numbers, Most writers give it as sixty-eight, but at the last camp there were just seventy-five. From here the advance was made in three columns and was very rapid, almost a trot.

The prisoners were kept in the old government building, afterwards occupied by Judge Margrave as a residence, and though built about 1844, it is still standing in very good repair. A man named Cleveland was in the lead and forced the door in with a single push, and there was no resistance from the guards. Their arms were conveniently stacked and were taken possession of at once, and every man in sight was taken prisoner. No one would have been hurt except for the foolhardiness of Deputy Marshal John Little. He kept the old sutler's store, and was staying there with George A. Crawford. As the posse passed by his store he opened the door and fired at short range into the crowd with No. 2 buckshot, wounding Ben Seaman and J. H. Kagi, a German military officer, afterwards hung at Harper's Ferry with John Brown. After the shot Little went to a side door and looked out through a transom, and being noticed by a member of the posse, received a bullet from a Sharp's rifle and was instantly killed.

This episode spoiled the arrangement for a bloodless affair as had been promised, but the rest of the program went through without a hitch. The killing of Little was called murder by the proslavery folks, but the other side called it self-defense, which is nearer the truth, for armed men seldom fail to return a shot when fired upon. Some paragraphers have stated that Little used duck shot, as he had been out duck hunting the day before. This is a mistake; he had been up on the Osage hunting men with a posse, and had been in a skirmish at Fort Bain, where they were repulsed, and he had returned, probably in a bad humor.

I helped to remove some of the shot from the wounded men, and I know what they were. I have been told that the intended raid had leaked out through some one, and that the Fort Scott men expected it and had agreed

that each man should fire from his house and do what they could in that way, thinking to drive the posse off, but they had made a bad guess and failed.

The two prisoners were soon released. Their chains were cut by a member of the party, a blacksmith named Dorey, the father of Charlie Dorey, now in Fort Scott. They were armed and were soon in the ranks, standing guard over the men who had been guarding them. There were also many others under guard—Judge Williams of the federal court, old Judge Ransom, and, in short, about all the marshals and deputies and court lackeys in Fort Scott, with many of the citizens. They were hustled out into the square and a Sharp's rifle pen was formed around them, and as it was frosty (December 16) a fire was built for the comfort of the prisoners. The furniture of Judge Williams' office and all his books were used for fuel. Judge Ransom and Marshal Campbell complained bitterly, and protested that it would go hard with us for handling United States officers in such a manner, but the boys ridiculed them, and one little insignificant fellow, Avia Flint, ordered them to keep still, and pushed them around with his little old squirrel rifle. He was a very small, cadaverous-looking fellow, weighing not over one hundred pounds, and ex-Governor Ransom was far above six feet, and portly, and he made a ludicrous spectacle, marching at the command of such a very inferior guard. Judge Williams was jolly and good-natured, and asked the boys to spare his fiddle and wardrobe, which they did; but his court and all the belongings were literally destroyed, and he was compelled to witness it. He ran away down through Missouri, and I don't know when he came back, but I think he was there a year later.

The accounts written in regard to the looting of Little's store are quite absurd. Some say $7,000 worth of goods were destroyed, but I think $700 would have covered all there was in that little shack. It contained whisky, tobacco and a few groceries. As soon as possible Montgomery ordered the store nailed up, and the looting ceased. Some of the fellows were helping themselves to whisky and tobacco, and perhaps other things. No doubt there were men there that would steal; but for the most part that crowd was composed of the best men in Kansas, and nearly all of them afterwards joined the Union army and many held offices all the way from lieutenant to brigadier general. And later the state of Kansas as well as Linn and Bourbon counties, elected them to the best offices in the gift of the people. One member of the company became treasurer of Bourbon county, and another was United States Senator for a long time, and if I am not mistaken, one was sent to Congress from this district. I was only twenty-two at the time and the leaders of that force were nearly all men of mature years, but I had a speaking acquaintance with a good many of them, including the Bains, two of them, the Thomas brothers, Maynes, Stevensons, Stewarts, Steel brothers, Barnes, Dentons, Haslets, Seamans and many others. Only three or four of that party ever went wrong that I know of. In fact they were just the rank and file of a good citizenship, and led by a man that historians have failed to do justice to.

Some may wonder why an account of this has not been written before by those who took part. I will own that it was not a very popular

move; more than half of the free-state men disapproved, and many denounced it outright. It was a very serious crime against Uncle Sam, and to-day would probably be punished relentlessly. It was conceived in secret, and secrecy was enjoined at the time, and I am not sure that I ever heard any one brag about it unless in the company of some of the participants. To-day there are living, of those whom I knew, only four or five, and of course they were very young at that time. The leaders have long since passed over. But I think they did just right, and that they lived and died with a clear conscience. We kept still a long time. We had to; the administration was against us. Jefferson Davis was in the cabinet and the South had control of everything, and the only reason we were not punished was because the army would not help, and they had no other way to bring us into court. Two years later Lincoln was elected, the war came on, and we were in the hands of our friends; and I don't believe any one of that company was ever tried for the offense.

Ben rice served through the Rebellion in the Union army, and after the war went to California, married and raised a family, and died at a ripe old age, after carrying an ounce ball in his hip fifty years. His partner in misery remained in Kansas for twenty years, but is now a resident of San Francisco, Cal. I am in correspondence with him still, and he tells me his wife still lives, that they are both well and hale, that they have six children and about twenty-six grandchildren and great-grandchildren, and that he still works at his trade, although eighty-one years old. He has been a steadfast member of the church all his life.

James Montgomery lived on his little farm after serving as a colonel through the war. He lived the life of a consistent and honest Christian and died at a good old age, and I am only too glad to speak a word in his praise after a lapse of over a half century. He was universally liked, a man of strong intellect, and a clear perception that marked him as far above the average. He was a fine scholar, a pleasing and convincing speaker, and almost a prophet in his own country. It was my privilege to hear him address a very large outdoor meeting on the occasion of the hunt for the Marais des Cygnes murderers. He said that the disunionists, if they ever developed, would be in the South and not among the free-soilers of the North. At that time all antislavery men were branded as disunionists by the proslavery party. He said that it was such crimes as this that would free the slaves, and holding one hand above his head he added: "You can count on the fingers of one hand all the years that slavery has to live. At that time there will be no slaves in Kansas, nor South Carolina either. These men are digging a grave for slavery."

What man among us ever made so good a guess? It was just five years from that time that the emancipation proclamation was sent out by Abraham Lincoln.

Those southern slaveholders were the disunionists. They were digging a grave for slavery, and five years was the life of their pet institution. All of these predictions came true; but I heard Horace Greeley at Osawatomie a lear later say that Kansas must not be too sanguine, but keep up the fight and victory would come. He said Lincoln would be

nominated, but probably defeated, as Fremont had been; but the time would come when we would be victorious. Horace Greeley at that time was the vicegerent, the spokesman and the counsel of the whole anti-slavery party in the North, and by many rated as the wisest man in America; but his foresight, trained in New York city, was not to be compared to our man of Linn county, Kansas. It is to be regretted that Colonel Montgomery did not live to complete his own memoirs, which I am told he was engaged in writing at the time of his death. At this time of life I have no ambition to win fame as a writer; but it seems to me that Linn and Bourbon counties, that had so much to do with the early history of Kansas, are being sadly neglected, and that the history of this locality is dying with the men and women of those early days, as they pass one by one down the valley.

These sketches are my contribution to the history of that pioneer time, and if any mistakes appear, after a lapse of a half century, I would gladly be corrected by any of the old-timers still living. I know several that are quite as competent as myself, and I would welcome their contributions, even if they should criticize what I have written.

I am willing to be judged, after saying that I was a very pronounced partisan of the conservative type rather than the radical wing. I was young and impressive, and followed the lead of older men, and I write from the viewpoint of one who formed his politics when the party of his choice first came into power. The free-state men held all shades of opinion, from John Brown radicalism to the very conservative "free white state" democrat. They wanted no negroes in Kansas, but preferred the slave to the free negro. That was the attitude of nearly all those coming from slave states that owned no slaves.

# THE FIRST KANSAS BATTERY.[1]

## AN HISTORICAL SKETCH, WITH PERSONAL REMINISCENCES OF ARMY LIFE, 1861-'65.

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society by THEODORE GARDNER,[2] of Lawrence.

THE Third and Fourth regiments of Kansas volunteers,[3] raised for the War of the Rebellion, were organized and mustered into the service of the United States in the summer of 1861. The Third Kansas, under command of Col. James Montgomery, was mustered at Mound City, Linn county, on July 24. These regiments served during the fall and winter of 1861 and 1862 in Lane's brigade on the border between Kansas and Missouri. They were each composed of companies of infantry, cavalry and artillery.

The artillery company[4] of the Third regiment was under the command of Capt. Thomas Bickerton, while that of the Fourth regiment was commanded by Capt. Thomas Moonlight. Each company was armed with one brass six-pounder and one Howitzer.

On February 15, 1862, Captain Bickerton was mustered out of the service by order of the War Department on account of advanced age.

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1. The officers of the First Kansas battery in the War of the Rebellion, 1861-'65, neglected to make any reports of the part taken by that organization in the great struggle; hence the student of history would be utterly at a loss should he attempt to trace its meanderings through ten states, extending from the wilds of the Ozarks and Boston mountains, in Missouri and Arkansas, to the classic shades of old Lookout mountain at Chattanooga, Tenn. At the instance of the secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society, the writer has attempted to give a brief historical sketch of the battery, interspersed with numerous incidents of army life in the sixties as they affected him in his line of duty as a private soldier. Should the historical part prove of sufficient value to counterbalance the reminiscent portion of the work, the writer will feel amply repaid for the time expended in the necessary research involved in its preparation.—THEODORE GARDNER, Lawrence, Kan., 1917.

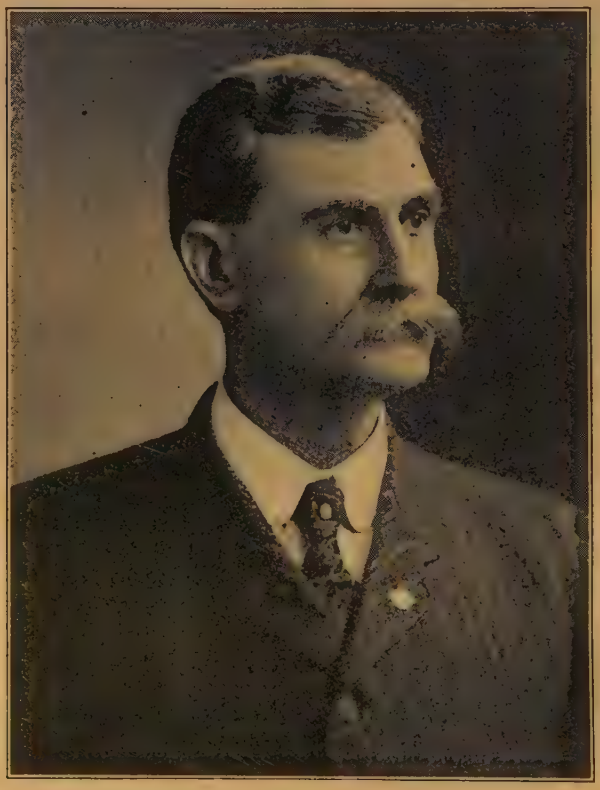
2. Theodore Gardner was born November 13, 1844, at Economy, Ind. He was the son of Joseph Gardner, born in July, 1820, in Union county, Indiana, and his wife, Eliza (Weaver) Gardner, a native of Warren county, Ohio. Mrs. Gardner died in 1848, and Mr. Gardner married for his second wife Sarah Maxwell. In May, 1855, Joseph Gardner came to Kansas, taking a claim in Douglas county, on Washington creek, near Lone Star. Here he moved his family early in 1857, arriving in Lawrence on March 6 from Leavenworth, whither they had come by the steamboat *Silver Heels*. Mr. Gardner was identified with the free-state movement and was a member of the John Doy rescue party. He was an ardent abolitionist and kept a station on the "underground road." After his military service Theodore Gardner returned to Lawrence. He followed many lines of business, until in February, 1887, he became state agent for Kansas of the National Fire Insurance Company, of Hartford, Conn., and this position he holds to-day. On March 28, 1872, he married Wilhelmina Selig, daughter of Henry W. Selig, who was a member of the Second Kansas cavalry. Two children have been born to Mr. and Mrs. Gardner, William L. and May E.

3. The Third and Fourth Kansas regiments were recruited under authority of James H. Lane, who had been commissioned brigadier general of volunteers with authority to raise troops. He raised these regiments, in a great measure, independent of the state government, and from the beginning no systematic records were kept. The Third and Fourth were regiments of mixed arms and were never at any time complete organizations. In the spring of 1862 the War Department ordered their reorganization and consolidation. This was done by forming of the infantry companies a new regiment and designating it the Tenth Kansas. The cavalry companies were transferred to the Fifth, Sixth and Ninth Kansas cavalry regiments, and the artillery companies were consolidated into the First Kansas battery. It was not until 1902, when a transcript of all records relating to these regiments and filed in the War Department had been secured, that an attempt was made to complete, as nearly as possible, the very meager records in the office of the adjutant general of this state. At that time rosters of both the Third and Fourth were published, together with a brief account of the regiments. The Third and Fourth Kansas regiments with the Fifth Kansas cavalry constituted what was known as "Lane's brigade."

4. This artillery company was originally "company G (artillery), Third Kansas volunteers," but after January 1, 1862, it was known as "artillery company, Third Kansas volunteers."

Captain Moonlight was promoted to be assistant adjutant general, department of Kansas, under General Blunt, April 14, 1862, and the two artillery companies were consolidated as the First Kansas battery,[5] under command of Captain Norman Allen, of Lawrence, with Marcus D. Tenney as senior first lieutenant.[6]

In the early summer of 1862 the battery was ordered to Fort Leavenworth, where it was armed with six ten-pounder Parrott rifled guns of



THEODORE GARDNER.

three-inch caliber, and six caissons, a portable forge, a battery wagon containing carpenter and harness makers' tools, with a stock of leather and other findings for repairing harness, and a water wagon of several barrels capacity.

For transportation it had twelve army wagons, each drawn by six

5. The consolidation of the two companies as the First Kansas battery was done under Special Order No. 42, district of Kansas, April 24, 1862.

6. Tenney, on account of the absence of Captain Allen, was in command until relieved by Allen for a brief period at Rolla, Mo., in 1863. Leaving the battery at Rolla, Allen went to St. Louis, where he died of pneumonia, July 10. Tenney was commissioned captain July 20, 1863, which position he held until the battery was mustered out at Fort Leavenworth, July 17, 1865.

mules, and one ambulance. Six of the wagons were devoted to the transporting of camp and garrison equipment, commissary stores and forage, the remaining six being loaded with ammunition. Thus equipped, the battery left Fort Leavenworth early in June, 1862, bound south on the Indian campaign.

About June 4, the battery arrived at Lawrence and went into camp something like a mile south of Mount Oread, where the State University now stands. Three of my boyhood chums, Michael Kearney, Eberly Q. Macy and Thomas M. Helm, had enlisted in the battery in the fall of 1861, and being camped so near, were given a couple of days' leave of absence. Having met them and heard the most astonishing stories of army life, I determined to cast my lot with them. On Saturday, the 6th, I harrowed corn all day with a yoke of oxen. When the eventide came I unyoked them, and buckling the old cow bell on "Buck," turned them out to graze upon the exuberant herbage of Washington creek valley. After a frugal meal (the settlers of Douglas county in those days had no other variety) I bathed my tired feet in the old half barrel which stood by the well curb, and stretching my weary bones on the straw tick, that for the want of a bedstead lay in one corner of the attic, I was soon lost to the world and dreaming of future valiant deeds on the field of battle.

With the first peep of dawn I was up preparing for my journey. Mother had fitted me out with a wardrobe consisting of one pair of blue overalls and one blue hickory shirt tied in an old pillow slip. Fishing around under her pillow she pulled out her purse and gave me eighty-five cents, all she had, and I sallied forth. Having no high-power motor car, not even a Ford, no, nor an Indian pony, I hit the trail at a good swinging gait and arrived at camp just as the larks were announcing the arrival of a beautiful Sunday morning, the 7th of June, 1862.

A huge camp kettle of coffee was simmering over the camp fire, beside which was a Dutch oven of fried bacon, and near by set a box of hard-tack. I was handed a tin cup and plate and told to "dive in" and help myself. This was my initiation into camp life. Little did I dream that I should spend the succeeding ten months without eating a meal at a table or sleeping under a roof. But it was the buoyancy and optimism of youth that enabled the boys of this nation to put down the rebellion which threatened the destruction of the Union, thereby banishing forever from its soil the institution of human slavery. Having finished the coffee and hard-tack, I held up my hand while Orderly Sergeant John B. Cook administered the prescribed oath, pledging me to serve Uncle Sam for three years or during the war.

In my boyish imagination I had pictured myself as an orderly, riding a prancing steed just at the heels of the captain at the head of the column, or something of that sort. Judge of my surprise, therefore, at being told, after I had taken the oath and it was folded away under lock and key in the desk of the orderly sergeant, that their complement of soldiers was full, but that they were short on mule drivers. I was shown a half dozen of Uncle Sam's long-eared servants, quietly grazing at the end of their lariat ropes, and was instructed to bring them in and "string

them out," which was the current phrase of the wagon boss for harnessing and hitching up.

The driver of a six-mule team in those days rode the near or left-hand wheel mule, and guided the leaders by means of a single line, called a jerk line. Having driven a horse for some years by the same means, I was more at home on the job than boys of this generation would be. In due time I had them "strung out." The bugler sounded "boots and saddles," the drivers threw the harness on their teams, hooked them up in a jiffy, and away we marched.

We forded the Wakarusa at the Blanton ford, where now stands the Sutton bridge, and when the last team was safely up the steep bank the train was halted and genial old Tom Keating, our Irish wagon boss, ordered us to water the mules. The government water bucket held a half bushel, and the water had to be carried up the steep creek bank, through a thick growth of weeds and brambles, under the brilliant rays of a June day sun. You have no idea how much water a thirsty mule can drink, especially under such circumstances. Before I had them filled up I began to wonder if I had n't made a mistake, and whether I would n't rather be out on the old farm harrowing corn with Buck and Bury—but it was too late.

Our first camp was on Ottawa creek; thence by way of old Ohio City,[7] in Franklin county, we marched over the divide to Le Roy, on the Neosho river, where we arrived June 12, and joined the Osage Indians, then being organized into regiments.[8]

On the 13th, Colonel Weer ordered the battery out for drill, meantime also ordering the Indians out to see the performance. Using a log cabin a half mile away for a target, we fired a few rounds, I think as much for the benefit of the cannoneers as for the Indians. The Osages were in high feather at the sound of the big guns. You never heard such yelling. Their big medicine man made special medicine for them, so they would be bullet-proof.

Marching down the Neosho by way of Iola and Humboldt, we moved east to old Osage Mission, now St. Paul, thence south to Baxter Springs. *En route* we were joined by three companies from the Ninth and the Tenth Kansas and one company from the Second Kansas. At Spring river we joined Col. F. Salomon, with the Ninth Wisconsin infantry. Thus organized, the Army of the Frontier started down Grand river on the Indian campaign.

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7. Ohio City was organized as Bowling Green, and was a post office in 1855. In 1857 the name was changed to Ohio City, the town company being organized in April of that year. It was the county seat of Franklin county from 1861 to August, 1864. The present town of Princeton covers part of the old Ohio City site.

8. The First Indian home guard was organized at Le Roy, Kan., May 22, 1862, and joined the expedition into the Indian territory. Maj. William A. Phillips was its commanding officer until July 11, when, on the organization of the Third Indian regiment, he was made its colonel. This regiment was organized at Carthage, Mo. Major Phillips was succeeded in command of the First by Lieut. Col. Stephen H. Wattles. The Second Indian was organized on Big creek and Five Mile creek, and was commanded by Col. John Ritchie. Both the First and Second Indian regiments had among their recruits many refugee Indians. These Indians had been driven into Kansas from the Indian territory by the disloyal tribes, and were "scattered over a territory of 200 miles in extent on the bleak plains between the Verdigris and Fall rivers, Walnut creek and the Arkansas." The Osage Indians were still living at this time on their reservation in southern Kansas, and they furnished "400 stalwart warriors for the Second Indian regiment."

The Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw and Seminole tribes of Indians, which occupied the eastern portion of the Indian territory, now embraced in the state of Oklahoma, were known as the Five Civilized Tribes. They had a printed language, and resorted largely to agriculture and stock raising for a livelihood. Having been transferred to this territory from the southern states, many of them were slave owners. They were not, however, a unit upon the slavery question, but were divided up and took sides in the Civil War, as did the whites. Many of those owning slaves emigrated to Texas, taking their human chattels with them. Strenuous efforts were put forth by the Confederates to enlist the support of the Indians, but with indifferent success. A few companies were organized and commanded by white officers, notably Albert Pike, Douglas H. Cooper, Colonel Clarkson, Colonel Drew, Colonel Stand Watie,[9] and others.

Having received information that a force of the enemy was concentrating on Grand river, Colonel Weer moved south to investigate.

On July 2, 1862, we camped on what we were told was Cowskin prairie. Our scouts had succeeded in locating a camp about twenty miles below, at a place called Locust Grove. Colonel Weer immediately resolved to attack them, and the following troops were detailed for the expedition: Detachment of the First Indian, under Lieut. Col. Stephen H. Wattles; detachment of the Ninth Kansas, under Maj. E. P. Bancroft; detachment of the Tenth Kansas, under Capt. Matthew Quigg; one section First Kansas battery, under Lieutenant Baldwin, accompanied by Lieutenant Taylor, acting brigade chief of artillery.

This command was ordered to be ready to move early in the evening, in light marching order, leaving caissons, camp and garrison equipage behind.

The doughboys[10] and cannoneers were piled promiscuously into wagons, and away we went, no one excepting the commanding officer knowing or caring where.

There was no road; simply a trail leading over stretches of prairie and through dense woods, and so dark that it was impossible for me to distinguish my lead mules. Frequently some obstruction would cause a sudden halt, when my team would all be doubled up in a bunch. But "mules is mules," and they would stand quietly, though badly tangled up, and when the column moved off would straighten themselves out and away we would go again.

A number of Indian cabins were passed on the trip, in which men were found. They were immediately made prisoners and interned in our

9. Stand Watie was born near the present town of Rome, Ga., about 1806. He was a mixed-blood Cherokee. His father was Oo-wa-tie, a full-blood, and his mother, a half-blood, was the daughter of a white man named Reese and a Cherokee woman. Stand Watie's home in the Indian territory preceding the Civil War was on Honey creek in the northern part of what is now Delaware county, Okla. After the war he settled at Webber's Falls. He died September 2, 1871, while on a visit to his old home on Honey creek, and is buried in a near-by country graveyard. His given name, Stand, comes from his Indian name, Degataga, which means "standing together"; his surname is a contraction of his father's given name. Stand Watie was a southern sympathizer, and when the war came on aligned himself with the southern cause. He became an officer in the Confederate army and rose to the rank of brigadier general.

10. Doughboy: slang for infantryman.

wagons to prevent an alarm to the enemy. My wagon being in the lead, a number of the captives were placed in it.

With the first blush of dawn our cavalry took in the enemy's pickets—perhaps half a mile from their camp—and then rushed pell mell upon the unsuspecting "rebs," who were just starting camp fires for their morning meal. There were some three hundred of them, under the command of Colonel Clarkson,[11] who, with several of his officers and about one hundred of his troops, was made a prisoner. We also captured their entire wagon train, camp and garrison equipment and ordnance stores and a hundred head of horses and mules.

The camp being located in the timber, the rebels took to the woods, where they scattered in small bands, closely pursued by our cavalry. The battery boys were doomed to disappointment in this engagement, for while the guns of the First Kansas were run up in battery ready for action, it was impossible to use them because of the liability of injuring our own troops; hence we did not fire a shot.

The Union loss in this engagement was three killed—one trooper of the First Indian, one of the Ninth Kansas, and the assistant surgeon of the First Indian, who was shot by mistake by troops of the Ninth. The enemy suffered a loss variously estimated at from 30 to 100, but from the nature of the country over which the running fight was carried on—and it continued most of the day—it was impossible to make any reliable estimate.

When the cannoneers were ordered forward with the guns it left me in a rather unpleasant situation. I had in charge a half dozen of about the toughest looking citizens I had ever seen, who had been gathered up along the road as noted above. In order to forestall any move on their part, I threw my leg over the saddle horn, and drawing my Remington .45, I announced that the first move on their part would be the signal for active hostilities. However, they proved to be a tame bunch of pacifists, and when the boys returned from their bloodless campaign they found everything quiet, with the mule driver on the job.

This expedition had a salutary effect upon the Cherokee tribe of Indians. A rebel, Colonel Drew, had about completed the organization of a regiment of them. The day following the skirmish at Locust Grove four hundred of them came in and surrendered, took the oath of allegiance, joined the army, and did valiant service for the Union during the war.

At this point I will indulge in a slight digression from my narrative for the purpose of making a comparison between conditions as they existed in 1862 and as they were fifty-four years later.

On our march down Grand river in July the only running water available was in that stream. It being impracticable to camp directly on the river at all times, we had, on occasion, to depend for our water supply upon stagnant pools in the partially dry creeks, where roaming herds of Indian cattle were in the habit of standing to protect their legs from the attacks of the green-head flies.

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11. Records captured with Colonel Clarkson revealed the fact that he had orders from General Van Dorn to invade Kansas.

In many instances this water was so impregnated with foreign matter that it assumed the consistency of soup, but by boiling and skimming, and then spiking it with coffee until it was black, we managed to exist.

During the year 1916, owing to disturbances in the republic of Mexico, and forays on our citizens, there was a mobilization of several thousand United States troops on the Rio Grande. Among them was a young man from one of the Eastern states who sought to enliven the tedium of camp life and at the same time create a bit of sympathy for himself by writing long letters. He wrote his wife a great tale of woe regarding the shortcomings of the government in failing to provide him with all the comforts and conveniences to which he had been accustomed in his Fifth avenue home. His good wife, in her distress over the situation, turned the letters over to the public press. In due course a copy of the paper in which it was published reached the brigade commander under whom the young man's company was serving, and he was summoned to appear at headquarters and explain. The young man was forced to admit that most of his allegations were manufactured for the purpose of creating sympathy "back home," but there was one count in the indictment which he insisted should stand, viz., "the company to which he belonged had positively been without ice for twenty-four hours"!

From Locust Grove the Indian expedition moved on down Grand river to a point twelve miles north of old Fort Gibson, where it went into camp on Flat Rock creek.[12] At this point a serious difficulty arose between Colonel Weer and the other officers of the command, which culminated in his arrest, on July 19, by Colonel Salomon[13] of the Ninth Wisconsin. The charge against Colonel Weer was the continued and excessive use of intoxicating liquor, and upon his arrest Colonel Salomon assumed command.

The command had been held at Flat Rock until but three days' rations remained, and no move had been made towards replenishing our fast-disappearing supply.

Upon assuming command Colonel Salomon moved the troops north by easy stages until we arrived at Fort Scott early in August.

On August 13, 1862, the rebel general, John T. Coffee, succeeded in eluding the Federal forces at Springfield, Mo., under General Brown, and made a dash north as far as Lone Jack, a small hamlet in the southeast corner of Jackson county, Missouri, where he formed a junction with Hughes and Quantrill. On the 16th he met the Federal troops under Major Emory S. Foster. Coffee having 1,500 men and Foster but 800, Foster was compelled, after a very hotly contested fight, to withdraw, leaving the field in the hands of the rebels.

On August 16 the First Kansas battery was lying quietly in camp at Fort Scott on the banks of the Marmaton river, since embalmed in song by the immortal Ironquill. Along about eight o'clock in the evening a very dapper-appearing young orderly came dashing into camp. Riding up to the tent of the commanding officer, he touched his cap and handed

12. Adjutant General's Report, Kansas, 1861-1865 (reprint 1896), part 2, p. 180, gives the distance between Flat Rock creek and Fort Gibson as eighteen miles.

13. For correspondence touching the arrest of Colonel Weer by Colonel Salomon, see "War of Rebellion Records," Series 1, vol. 13, p. 484.

him a bit of paper. I never saw the contents of that paper, and only guess at it by subsequent events.

Lieutenant Tenny was possessed of a voice. Whether his being a preacher had anything to do with the cultivation of it I am not prepared to say; but at any rate he called out in tones which awoke the entire camp, "Bugler Matthews!" Al responded in a jiffy, and was ordered to sound "boots and saddles." In less time than it requires to write it down, the camp was in an apparent uproar, or would have so seemed to any outsider. Yet everything was proceeding with clocklike precision. Tents were down, rolled up, and with mess boxes, camp kettles and other camp equipment, hustled into the mess wagons. Mule teams were harnessed and strung out. The gun drivers had their teams hitched and were standing at attention ready to mount at the word, which was soon given, and we pulled out. No one knew what might be our destination, nor the occasion for all this unseemly haste. By the never-failing North Star we could see that we were headed north by east, indicating that we were going into Missouri, always the scene of trouble. All night long we rattled over the prairies of the western part of the state, across the Osage, over hills and hollows and through deep gullies. In one of these last the writer, who was still engineering his six-mule team, came to grief through breaking the coupling pole of his wagon, and was temporarily stranded, until through the good offices of the rear guard the break was patched up.

When breakfast time came the command was halted and orders were given to feed the stock and resume the line of march in fifteen minutes. While the teamsters were caring for the stock, connoneers were thinking somewhat of their own troubles. Camp kettles were hastily resurrected from the heaps of camp impedimenta under which they had been buried, and in five minutes Missouri rails were doing valiant service in the Union cause. Coffee and hard-tack were soon disposed of, and with the first blast of the bugle all hands were in the saddle and off again.

Before the day was finished we had learned definitely that we were headed for Lone Jack to run Colonel Coffee out of Missouri, and although we kept up the pace indicated in the foregoing for three days and four nights, the wily Confederate gave us the slip and retreated to the Ozarks.

This forced march from Fort Scott to Lone Jack and return was the severest physical test to which the battery was subjected during its existence. We were eighty-four hours on the trip, with fifteen minutes' halt three times daily to water and feed the stock. There comes a time when human endurance touches the limit, and a man will simply fall asleep whether he will or not. Men will ride for miles on horseback sound asleep. I was wakened many times falling from my saddle, and barely saved myself from the heavy wheels of the big wagon by grasping the saddle horn as I started overboard. It was a trying experience, but we accomplished our purpose of ridding Missouri, for the time being, of Colonel Coffee and his cohorts.

The Army of the Frontier was organized in three brigades, under General Order No. 4, dated August 24, 1862. The First brigade, commanded by Brig. Gen. F. Salomon, consisted of the Ninth Wisconsin

infantry, Second Ohio cavalry, Ninth Kansas cavalry, Second Indian regiment, Second Kansas battery, and Captain Stockton's battery.

The Second brigade, under the command of Col. William Weer of the Tenth Kansas, consisted of the Tenth Kansas infantry, the Sixth Kansas cavalry, the Third Indian regiment, and the First Kansas battery.

The Third brigade was commanded by Col. W. F. Cloud of the Second Kansas, and consisted of the Second Kansas infantry, the Frist Indian regiment, and the Second Indian battery.

The Frontier Division, having been duly organized, moved southeast into Missouri, prepared to meet the rebel hosts organized under Shelby, Marmaduke, Frost and others, all under the command of Gen. T. C. Hindman, who was preparing for what proved to be the last considerable effort put forth by the Southern Confederacy to gain control of Missouri, and incidentally to invade Kansas.

After considerable scouting and skirmishing with straggling bands of guerillas, the enemy was located in sufficient numbers to warrant a concentration of the army at Sarcoxie, in Jasper county, on September 26, 1862.

Here I digress to relate an incident which for quick wit and cool bravery appealed to me as worthy of note. A member of Rabb's Second Indiana battery straggled off a mile or more from the command as it approached Sarcoxie, with a view to forage. Discovering a woman in a truck patch digging sweet potatoes, he approached her and began negotiations for a mess, when two Confederates arose from a weed patch a few yards away and called upon the battery boy to surrender. Under the circumstances he decided to yield unconditionally, beginning, however, a stiff tirade against the "D—d Yanks," into whose service he claimed to have been drafted against his will. Meantime taking out his old French pin-fire revolver and dangling it on his finger, he walked directly up to the two Confederates, assuring them of his sincerity of purpose by offering to surrender his gun; also indicating to them that he had deserted, and with their assistance and his knowledge of the Federal troops, they could make a successful raid, gaining some good horses and arms.

Having, with his glib talk, succeeded in throwing them completely off their guard, he suddenly, when within a few feet of them, righted his pistol and shot one of them through the body. The other one, being thoroughly disconcerted by the sudden turn of affairs, fired and missed, and then sought safety in flight; he had taken but a pace or two, however, when a second bullet from the battery boy's pistol laid him low. Taking their arms, the young man marched into camp and reported. An ambulance was sent out and the wounded men were brought in and placed on cots in a vacant store building on Main street, where they were left to the tender care of the women of the town.

In starting to write some account of the battle of Newtonia I find it necessary to correct history a trifle.

Governor Crawford, in his charming volume, "Kansas in the Sixties," page 54, makes this short reference to the engagement at Newtonia:

"General Blunt moved with his division from Fort Scott on the first day of October, 1862, and on the fourth at Newtonia, in southwest Mis-

souri, struck Marmaduke and Shelby [neither Marmaduke nor Shelby[14] were on the field at Newtonia, the Confederates being under command of Douglas H. Cooper], who, after an artillery duel of an hour, retreated in hot haste southward, with my battalion of the Second Kansas and a section of Captain Rabb's Second Indiana battery hanging heavily on their flank and rear."

The careful student of history will find that there was quite a bit more to this engagement than is indicated in this paragraph by Governor Crawford.

It is true that Blunt did not leave Fort Scott until October 1, having been detained because of delay in obtaining arms for the Eleventh, Twelfth and Thirteenth Kansas regiments. Therefore he did not reach Newtonia until after the engagement, which was begun on the 29th and concluded on the 30th of September. (See series 1, vol. 23, "Official Records of the Rebellion.")

General Frederick Salomon was in command of the division and the First brigade of the Federal army, while Colonel Weer commanded the Second brigade.[15]

Reference to correspondence between General Salomon and Colonel Weer and between Schofield and Blunt, discloses the fact that the First and Second brigades of Blunt's army were in the immediate neighborhood of Sarcoxie,[16] 12 miles north of Newtonia, on September 26, four days before Blunt left Fort Scott.

Turning again to the report of General Salomon, dated Sarcoxie, October 1, it will be seen that that officer sent scouting parties from Sarcoxie on September 29 to three different points, Newtonia, Granby and Neosho. The one to Newtonia was under the command of Colonel Lynde of the Ninth Kansas cavalry, and consisted of a squadron of 150 men of the Ninth, and two mountain howitzers. Colonel Lynde was instructed to find out enemy, but to refrain from bringing on an engagement. He found the enemy and was attacked in such vigorous fashion that he was compelled to use his artillery in self-defense. General Salomon, on hearing the firing, sent forward two companies of the Ninth Wisconsin infantry and three guns of Stockton's battery to Lynde's relief. The enemy pressed this force so closely that Lynde sent a courier for further reinforcements, when two additional companies of the Ninth Wisconsin were sent. These fresh troops fell back into some timber, where they bivouacked for the night, while Lynde returned to Sarcoxie and reported to General Salomon, thus ending the action of September 29th.

At seven o'clock on the morning of the 30th, Salomon ordered forward both the First and Second brigades, taking personal charge, and forming his line of battle by ordering the Sixth Kansas with two howitzers to the right and the Third Indian regiment to the left; the First Kansas

14. Shelby was in command of the two camps under orders from Colonel Cooper, and was holding everything in readiness either to retreat or advance. When he sent his regiment forward it went under command of Lieut. Col. Gordon.—Edwards' "Shelby and His Men," p. 87.

15. See "War Rebellion Records," series 1, vol. 13, p. 18, Report of Brig. Gen. J. M. Schofield, and p. 286, Report of Brig. Gen. F. Salomon.

16. Ibid., pp. 672 and 675.

battery and three guns of Stockton's battery in the center, supported on the right by the first battalion of the Tenth Kansas infantry and on the left by the Ninth Wisconsin infantry; with the Second battalion of the Tenth Kansas infantry and three guns of Stockton's battery in reserve.

Through a misunderstanding between General Salomon and Colonel George H. Hall, commanding a brigade of Missouri state militia, the troops which Salomon had counted upon to attack Cooper's left flank took the wrong road and did not reach the field in time to be of service. It was a case similar to that of Gen. Lew Wallace's division at the battle of Shiloh.

The fight at Newtonia was continued all day with no perceptible advantage on either side, and appears to have been a sort of drawn game, although it is history that the Confederates withdrew and left the Federal troops in possession of the field.

The Confederates sustained a loss of seventy-eight killed, wounded and missing. The loss on the Union side seems to have been too small to mention, since none of the official reports make note of it. The First Kansas battery sustained no loss or damage. That there was confusion regarding date of action at Newtonia is shown by reference to Special Field Orders No. 12, issued by General Schofield, dated Camp Curtis, six miles east of Sarcoxie, October 3, 1862, instructing brigade commanders regarding the order of attack to be made the following morning, October 4.[17] However, the entire field and line officers, both Union and Confederate, in their reports place the action as of September 29th and 30th.

Following the action at Newtonia the Army of the Frontier spent several days scouting in an endeavor to ascertain what further move was contemplated by the enemy.

On October 21 reports reached General Blunt that General Cooper and Col. Stand Watie had assembled a force of from 4,000 to 7,000 troops at Old Fort Wayne. Blunt determined to attack them at once. He therefore organized a flying squadron of cavalry and howitzers, and by making a night march of thirty miles attacked the enemy's camp at seven o'clock a. m. October 22.

Making a bold dash with the Second Kansas cavalry, he succeeded in capturing Howell's battery with its entire equipment. This battery was afterward manned by a detail from the Second Kansas, under Captain Hopkins, and did valiant service for the Union during the remainder of the war. The enemy fled in disorder.

The First Kansas battery with its ponderous ten-pounders was entirely too heavy to keep pace with a flying column of cavalry, so remained in the rear with the "doughboys." However, we came in with flying colors along in the afternoon, having sustained no casualties. The rebels reported a loss of sixty-three men killed, wounded and missing. The Union loss was very small.

The following pages contain personal observations from the viewpoint of a private soldier, as well as copious quotations from reports of various

17. "War of Rebellion Records," series 1, vol. 13, p. 706.

officers, both Union and Confederate, who helped to make history at the battles of Cane Hill and Prairie Grove.

Very few people of this generation, except students of history, are aware of the fact that the state of Missouri was admitted into the Union in 1820 as an independent republic, with power to collect customs, prosecute war, receive ambassadors from foreign countries, and do such other things as appertain to an independent nation. She continued in this anomalous condition for forty years, or until 1861, when the "Gamble convention" declared the offices of governor, lieutenant governor and secretary of state vacant, and took over the government of the state. This convention was called into being through the inaugural address of Gov. Claiborne F. Jackson, who recommended that an election be called to elect delegates to sit in a convention which should consider the "existing relations between the government of the United States, the people and the governments of the different states, and the government and people of the state of Missouri; and to adopt such measures for vindicating the sovereignty of the state and the protection of its institutions as shall appear to them to be demanded." This convention met on February 28, 1861, and Sterling Price was made its president. In April President Lincoln called for troops, and Missouri's quota was four regiments. Governor Jackson replied with a scornful refusal: "Not one man will the state of Missouri furnish to carry on such an unholy crusade."

The imminence of the crisis induced Governor Jackson to call a session of the general assembly to meet on May 2. The happenings at Camp Jackson in St. Louis raised the already excited feelings of the secession sympathizers to an extraordinary pitch. Acts were rushed through the assembly providing for the raising of a "Missouri State Guard"; money was appropriated right and left, and great authority was delegated to the governor. The Missouri State Guard bill was before the assembly when the news was received of the "attack on Camp Jackson." This camp was named in honor of the governor. An officer of the United States army, Capt. Nathaniel Lyon, stationed at St. Louis, considered that the farce of the state of Missouri playing the independent-nation rôle had gone far enough, so he took some regular troops and marched out to camp Jackson, where he proceeded to make prisoners of the assembled state militia. Whereupon the governor, on June 12, considering this an act of war on the part of the United States against the independent republic of Missouri, called for fifty thousand volunteers to repel the invaders, and ordered them to assemble at Boonville. Lyon embarked such troops as were available on boats and steamed up to Jefferson City, from which point the governor and other state officers precipitately fled. Passing on up the river to Boonville, a short engagement put to flight the state troops, who were armed only with shotguns and squirrel rifles.

Thus began the struggle for supremacy in the state of Missouri, which continued in the "twilight zone" until the close of the war, it being the scene of constant turmoil until the last.

There were three engagements which assumed the dimensions of

battles, and innumerable skirmishes, fought for supremacy in Missouri, At Wilson's creek, August 10, 1861, the Confederates held the field, the Union forces retiring to Springfield, twelve miles in the rear. At Pea Ridge or Elkhorn Tavern, March 10, 1862, the Confederates were defeated, and at Prairie Grove, December 7, 1862, they were so severely handled that they never succeeded in assembling an army of sufficient numbers or standing to conduct anything but a raid.

It is the purpose of this article to recite some incidents in connection with the battle of Prairie Grove and the part played in that affair by the First Kansas battery. In order to get the proper light on them, I have taken a glance backward, and as a sort of preface have included some incidents in connection with the skirmish at Cane Hill.

After defeating the rebel army under Shelby, Cooper and Marmaduke at Old Fort Wayne, the Army of the Frontier loafed leisurely along south until intelligence was received that Hindman contemplated moving up from Van Buren in an attempt to arouse it from its state of semi-somnolence. Learning that Marmaduke had already advanced north as far as Cane Hill, Blunt decided to attack him and attempt his destruction before Hindman could reach him with his main army. Accordingly orders were issued, and we moved south from camp at Lindsay's Prairie, thirty-five miles the first day, and the following morning sailed into Marmaduke, pell-mell. Rabb's Second Indiana battery of twelve-pounders and Stover's howitzers, being lighter guns than our ponderous ten-pound Parrotts, were placed in advance with the cavalry, while the First Kansas battery was sandwiched in with the infantry. From the fact that the cavalry and lighter guns kept the enemy on the jump from the very start, our guns did nothing in particular except to demonstrate the advantages derived from preparedness. The rebels had a small rifled cannon of about two-inch caliber, which shot a lead projectile about the size and shape of an old-fashioned clock weight. The gunner who was handling this piece got the range on Rabb's battery, and while the drivers were dismounted, standing beside their teams, sent a ball which hit one of the drivers and passed on through both his horses, instantly killing all three. The fight at Cane Hill resolved itself largely into a foot race, extending well up into the foothills of the Boston mountains. And when our troops had the rebel artillery in jeopardy and were just ready to pounce upon it at its last stand, there came Emmet McDonald posthaste with a white flag, begging an armistice for the purpose of burying their dead and caring for their wounded. Just what General Blunt and his staff said has not been recorded, but from the writer's general knowledge of them he feels justified in making the assertion that it would not look appropriate in print. Later on Blunt had occasion to call General Hindman sharply to book for the unwarranted use of flags of truce. Once when his troops captured a couple of Union officers he sent them in charge of one of his aides, under a flag of truce, through the entire Union camp, simply for the purpose of making personal observation of the location, character and number of our troops; and again at the battle of Prairie Grove he used a flag of truce stratagem to cover the retreat of his army.

As heretofore stated, the part played by the First Kansas battery at

the battle of Cane Hill was insignificant, consisting only in sending a few shells after a retreating column of Confederates a mile distant as they clambered up the rocky slopes of the Boston mountains. After the armistice had been granted, and as darkness closed in upon the running fight, which had extended over a twelve-mile course, the Army of the Frontier retraced its weary way to the quiet precincts of the little mountain hamlet of Cane Hill. There, after a bounteous repast of hard-tack, bacon and coffee, it was soon wrapt in the arms of old Morpheus, happy in the consciousness of having successfully concluded a good day's work.

The action of the Army of the Frontier in routing Marmaduke and Shelby from Cane Hill in such an unceremonious manner seemed greatly to displease General Hindman, who decided to come up and try it himself. He dispatched a body of troops with orders to engage the attention of Blunt's division on the mountains south of Cane Hill. Their activities became so persistent and threatening that Blunt wired General Curtis, asking that Herron, in command of the Second and Third divisions of the Army of the Frontier, encamped at Wilson's creek, 135 miles north, be sent at once by forced marches to his assistance. Hindman, believing he could reach Blunt before Herron arrived, put his whole army, generally estimated at from twelve thousand to fourteen thousand effective men, in motion.

It was always puzzling to me to understand why Blunt held his division at Cane Hill while Hindman coolly marched around him on the Cove creek road. For more than a week the rebels had been driving in our pickets on the mountains south of Cane Hill, and every morning for the entire time we had been up and out in line of battle before daylight on a cross road running east from Cane Hill to Hog Eye, which intersected the Cove creek road south of Prairie Grove church. On Sunday morning, December 7, our pickets south of town were driven in by such a furious onslaught that the enemy appeared to be preparing to attack in force. It proved later, however, to be simply a feint to hold Blunt until the main rebel army, which had completely outflanked us and was miles away to our left and rear, could dispatch General Herron and then turn upon us.[18]

A careful perusal of General Blunt's report[19] clears up the mystery. About ten o'clock p. m. of the 6th, Colonel Wickersham, who at Blunt's request had been sent ahead by General Herron, arrived at Cane Hill with

18. "General Hindman had, up to a late hour on the night of the 6th, made all his preparations to fight General Blunt in his position on Cane Hill. His infantry and artillery had moved up and were in position to make an attack on the Federal troops the next morning. He had heard of the arrival of Colonel Wickersham's cavalry brigade to reinforce General Blunt, but this information did not change his purpose to make the proposed attack. On the night of the 6th, however, after his generals had assembled to receive their final instructions in regard to carrying into effect the movements decided upon, he received information that General Herron would reach Fayetteville that night with large reinforcements of infantry and artillery for General Blunt. After some consideration he came to the conclusion that if he attacked General Blunt in front and forced him from his position he would fall back until he met his reinforcements, after which he would probably assume the offensive. General Hindman, therefore, decided to abandon the proposed attack on the Federal position at Cane Hill, to withdraw his troops from their several positions, and to push them forward on the Cove creek and Fayetteville road and attack the Federal column under General Herron, and if possible crush it before General Blunt could come to its assistance."—Britton, "The Civil War on the Border, 1861-'62," page 403.

19. "War of Rebellion Records," series 1, vol. 22, part 1, p. 71 *et seq.*

a brigade of cavalry, the Second Wisconsin, First Iowa, Tenth Illinois and Eighth Missouri. Blunt was very apprehensive that Hindman would attempt a flank movement, and in discussing the matter, determined to send a cavalry force east by the Hog Eye road to its intersection with the Cove creek and Fayetteville road. A certain Col. John M. Richardson, of the Fourteenth Missouri state militia, asked Blunt to be permitted to undertake that enterprise. Commanding 250 men, with instructions to take a position on the main road, and upon approach of the enemy to contest their advance to the last extremity, sending courier at once to notify Blunt, this blundering dunderhead went out on the Hog Eye road to within hearing distance of the Cove creek road, and there he stopped. Next morning about nine o'clock he came back to camp and reported to Blunt that the rebel army had been passing north since midnight, and from the noise he judged they had considerable artillery. The name of Col. J. M. Richardson, of the Fourteenth Missouri state militia, will stand for all time emblazoned upon the pages of history as either a d——d coward or a traitor.[20]

From my general knowledge of the situation I had always supposed that it was the advance guard of Herron's division which first encountered Hindman's troops at Prairie Grove, but a careful study of the reports shows that such was not the case. Col. M. LaRue Harrison, of the First Arkansas cavalry, who was stationed at Elkhorn Tavern, was ordered to join Blunt at Cane Hill at the same time Herron was ordered from Wilson's creek. At nine p. m. of the 6th, Blunt received a note from him saying that he had arrived at Illinois creek, and that his men and horses were so tired that he would be unable to proceed further until Monday, the 8th. From the tone of his note Blunt concluded that Harrison either had conscientious scruples against working on the Sabbath or had feared that by going on to Cane Hill he might get into the impending battle. At any rate Blunt decided to sidetrack him, and ordered him to proceed to Rhea's Mills and assist in guarding our train. Whether he intended to move Sunday morning or not will probably never be known, but the sequel will show that he moved Sunday morning all right, and that some of his com-

20. General Blunt first used Colonel Richardson and his command as a scouting party on the morning of December 6, sending him out on the Cane Hill - Hog Eye road to its intersection of the Cove creek road. Part of the command, Captain Julian and his company, scouted south on the Cove creek road and captured three southern soldiers. They then advanced to within sight of a rebel camp, which they thought held at least 2,000 men. From the prisoners they learned that they were within a mile of the main Confederate army, "which was then moving up the mountain on the direct road to Cane Hill." Whereupon the entire command fell back and sent messengers to report to General Blunt the presence of this Confederate force. "Shortly after midnight on the morning of the 7th, General Blunt again directed Colonel Richardson to proceed with his battalion and Captain Conkey's company, Third Wisconsin cavalry, east on the Hog Eye road to the crossing of the Fayetteville and Cove creek road, to ascertain if the southern forces were moving in the direction of Fayetteville, and if they were, to resist them to the last extremity and to promptly notify him of their movements. The colonel moved forward with his detachment, but before reaching the intersection of the roads met Captain Coleman, of the Ninth Kansas cavalry, with thirty men, who had just been driven from the junction of the roads by the enemy, and who had reported that the Confederates were advancing up the Cove creek road in strong force. Thinking that the southern forces were advancing on Cane Hill, Colonel Richardson fell back about a mile and took up a strong position to resist them, and sent a messenger to report to General Blunt. Waiting for a short time, and finding that the enemy were not advancing, the Colonel sent Captain Julian forward again with a small detachment to ascertain their movements. The captain soon discovered that the Confederate forces were marching in the direction of Fayetteville, and then hastily returned and reported, and General Blunt was promptly notified."—Britton's "Civil War on the Border, 1861-'62," p. 400 *et seq.*

mand did not stop moving until they landed at Fort Tyler, Tex. Lieutenant Colonel Crump, of the First Texas cavalry, reports that he routed Colonel Harrison's command, killing about forty, capturing two hundred prisoners, forty wagons (all loaded with quartermaster and commissary stores), two hundred stand of arms and other property. The official casualty list shows, however, that there were four killed, four wounded and forty-seven missing.

This is a fair example of the exaggeration indulged in by officers of both armies. It also serves to illustrate the necessity for obeying orders promptly. Had Harrison saddled up and proceeded to Rhea's Mills upon receipt of orders he would not have been bumped by the Texas rangers.

Very shortly after this disposal of Colonel Harrison's command the advance guard of General Herron's division appeared upon the scene, and the battle of Prairie Grove was on in earnest.

How well I remember the scene on that beautiful Sunday morning! Blunt's whole division drawn up in battle array on a grassy plateau on the mountain, expecting every minute to be called into action. General Blunt and his staff with their glasses scanning the landscape in every direction for some hostile demonstration, when, like the traditional clap of thunder from a clear sky, came the sound of Herron's guns thundering away at Prairie Grove.

Then came the order to move. The cavalry was ordered away in advance and we saw no more of them, but the artillery had to keep pace with the "dough-boys." The route we took via Rhea's Mills, eight miles north and then six miles east, made a fourteen-mile tramp, and we did not arrive until about two o'clock p. m.

The lines of battle were drawn up extending from east to west, the Confederates occupying a heavily timbered ridge, while the Federal troops were stationed in open fields to the north of the rebels and facing south. Blunt's division, coming from the west, joined Herron on his right, and comprised the Sixth Kansas cavalry, Ninth Kansas cavalry, Third Wisconsin cavalry, Ninth Wisconsin infantry, Third Indian Home Guard infantry, Tenth Kansas infantry, Thirteenth Kansas infantry, First Indian Home Guard infantry, Second Kansas cavalry, Eleventh Kansas infantry, First Kansas battery, Hopkins' battery (afterwards the Third Kansas battery), and Second Indiana battery.

It is an old story how our infantry advanced into the timber, the artillery elevating their guns, using two-second fuses, and firing over their heads. Then came the move of General Frost's division of Confederates, who had completely turned the right flank of our infantry and had advanced to the edge of the timber. They were in the act of throwing down a rail fence to make an assault on the battery, and were pouring a fierce fire upon us. Our battery being on the extreme right when General Blunt discovered this maneuver, was ordered to move by the right flank until we were opposite Frost's front. Having executed this order, we received the command, "In battery action left; load with canister!" The charge of canister for the old muzzle-loading ten-pound Parrott consisted of a tin can charged with eighty-five round lead balls, each weighing an ounce. You can imagine the havoc which a charge of shot

of that character would create when fired at point-blank range into a column of men standing shoulder to shoulder and seven regiments deep.

The First Kansas battery had never before been under fire, hence did not know enough to cut and run, so we kept on shooting until ordered to cease firing and fall back. We were shooting the old-fashioned black powder, and after the first two or three shots were entirely enveloped in a cloud of smoke. Through the cloud the writer saw a young officer, sword in hand, urging his men on; but the canister was too deadly, and they were driven back to the cover of the friendly jack oaks.

General Blunt in his report refers to his ordering the First Kansas battery to the right to meet the charge of Frost's entire division, and states that before we were in position the enemy opened fire on us with Enfield rifles. He states, also, that the battery had no support other than his personal staff and body guard. For this reason I have always maintained that the First Kansas battery held the winning card at the battle of Prairie Grove, and played it just at the opportune moment.

It was currently reported by prisoners captured that Hindman's orders to General Frost were to "Take that d——d long black gun battery or go to h——l in the attempt." Had he succeeded we should all have gone to Tyler, Tex., in a bunch—that is, the infantry and artillery. The cavalry could have cut its way out and made its escape; but the history of the war west of the Mississippi would have been written differently.

In this charge the battery had two killed and ten wounded. John Deshane, a Wyandot Indian,[21] wheel driver of No. 2 gun of the left section, was struck in the region of the heart by a buckshot or a bullet from a small rifle. The drivers were dismounted, and when John was hit he turned and looked at the swing driver, Geo. Storrs, and without saying a word he reached out behind, and placing his hand upon the ground, laid down as quietly as though he had been lying down to rest. Seeing that something had happened, one of the boys went to him and found him dead, without a word or a struggle, true to his race's tradition for stoicism.

The other victim was Dewitt C. Huff, a native of Ohio, and his was a remarkable case of premonition of death. During our march from Cane Hill, Huff arranged all his earthly affairs, asserting that the day he went into battle he would be killed. His duty was to carry ammunition from the limber chest to the man who inserted it in the muzzle of the gun. A number of times during the engagement Huff would stop stock still as though in a dazed condition, when one of the boys would give him a shove and start him off again. It was during one of these periods of inactivity that a rifle bullet passed through his body.

The Confederates, having failed in their attempt to capture the battery, massed their artillery on their extreme left and opened fire on us. It took but a half dozen shells from our guns to convince them that it was decidedly unhealthy in that neck of the woods, and soon we could distinctly hear the rattle of their gun carriages over the rocky ridge. This last little brush with the artillery ended the battle and night closed the scene.

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21. It is more than likely that this Indian was a Shawnee, since the name Deshane was a common one in that tribe and unheard of among the Wyandots.

The casualties sustained by the Federal forces at the battle of Prairie Grove were: killed, 8 officers and 167 enlisted men; wounded, 41 officers and 772 enlisted men; missing, eleven officers and 252 enlisted men; making a total of 1,251.

There is no detailed record of the casualties on the Confederate side. Hindman in his report to Major General Holmes, commanding the department, says that his loss was about 350 killed, wounded and missing, while Blunt places the figures at near three thousand, one thousand of whom were killed and left on the field and were buried by the Federal troops.

Hindman told Blunt, in their parley under the flag of truce, that he had twenty-eight thousand men. Blunt places it at twenty-five thousand. Major Hubbard, who was captured in the attack upon Colonel Harrison's command in the early morning, and was a prisoner during the day, says he counted twenty regiments of infantry and twenty pieces of artillery. The morning reports of both Blunt and Herron indicate that the total Union force engaged was eight thousand. And the fact that Herron, with four thousand men, held the enemy from early morning until two o'clock in the afternoon gives evidence of the superiority of generalship, equipment and morale of the Federal army.

As an indication of the character of the Confederate commanders whom we confronted at Prairie Grove, I quote from a circular issued by General Hindman to his forces on December 4, copies of which were found upon the persons of prisoners captured. After laying down five separate rules to govern the action of the soldier, cautioning him not to fire at random, to make a special target of mounted officers, to keep cool and obey orders, etc., he winds up with this peroration:

"Remember that the enemy you engage has no feeling of mercy or kindness toward you. His ranks are made up of Pin Indians, free negroes, southern tories, Kansas Jayhawkers, and hired Dutch cutthroats. These bloody ruffians have invaded your country, stolen and destroyed your property, murdered your neighbors, outraged your women, driven your children from their homes, and defiled the graves of your kindred. If each man of you will do what I have here urged upon you, we will entirely destroy them. We can do this; we must do it; our country will be ruined if we fail. A just God will strengthen our arms and give us a glorious victory."[22]

This was cold, calculating prose, intended for the average private soldier, but it was poetry which came from the facile pen of Gen. Joe Shelby. In his report he says:

"Upon the eventful morning of the 7th, long before the full round moon had died in the lap of dawn, long before the watching stars had grown dim with age, my brigade was saddled, formed, and their steeds champing frosted bits in the cold, keen air of a December morning, ready and eager for the march. . . . I struck their trail, hot with the passage of many feet, reeking with the footprints of the invader. It needed no command now to close up. There was no lagging, no break in serried ranks. . . . Each man grasped his gun with the strong, firm grasp and the strange, wild looks of heroes and born invincibles. After riding hard for about an hour, my advance came full upon the foe,

22. "War of Rebellion Records," series 1, vol. 22, part 1, p. 83.

and with the mad, fierce whoop of men who have wrongs to right and blood to avenge, they dashed on and away at the *pas de charge.*

. . . . . .

"Tramp, tramp, along the land they ride,
Splash, splash, along the lea.
The scourge is red, the spur drops blood,
The flashing pebbles flee!

"The fight grows intensely interesting, and my men, feeling the inspiration of the scene, dash on and on, taking prisoners, capturing guns, colors, horses. mules and every form and variety of clothing left in the desperate flight of the terror [stricken] enemy."[23]

All this transpired in the first blush of the keen December morn, but when the pale silver moon began shedding her soft luster through the gathering shades of the evening twilight, "Gen. Joseph" sang a different song. It ran thus:

"The bugles sang truce and the night cloud had lowered,
And the sentinel stars kept their watch in the sky;
When thousands had sunk to the earth overpowered,
The weary to sleep and the wounded to die."

It is true that "Gen. Jo" left his wounded to die all right, but his command, although desperately weary and doubtless wanting sleep, passed the night wending their way back over the Cove creek road to the sunny side of the Boston mountains, while the tired soldiers of the Army of the Frontier bivouacked on the field, without food or camp equipment of any kind. Your narrator burrowed into a straw stack near the field hospital, and although very cold, managed to snatch a few winks of sleep. About ten o'clock next morning our wagon train pulled in, when we proceeded to replenish the inner man, having been thirty hours without food. After a hasty meal we refilled our ammunition chests, expecting that when the armistice expired we should be called upon to resume the battle; but when the time arrived no rebels appeared, and our cavalry soon developed the fact that they had departed and were miles away.

Five days after the battle of Prairie Grove, on December 12, General Hindman addressed a note to General Blunt, which he sent by an officer of his engineer corps, Lieutenant Lawrence, requesting the privilege of making a plat of the battlefield and the approaches to it. General Blunt endorsed upon this note the following memorandum:

HEADQUARTERS, ARMY OF THE FRONTIER,
RHEA'S MILLS, ARK.,
December 14, 1862.

[General Hindman] Your request, contained within, is a very modest one, and will be granted, provided you allow me to send an artist to your present camp to sketch it and the approaches leading thereto. Such little courtesies must be reciprocated.

Respectfully, your obedient servant,
JAMES G. BLUNT, *Brigadier-General, Commanding.*[24]

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23. "War of Rebellion Records," series 1, vol. 22, part 1, p. 149 *et seq.* Some years prior to his death, Gen. Joseph Shelby, in an interview with W. E. Connelley, made the statement that his adjutant, John N. Edwards, wrote all his military reports. The truth of General Shelby's assertion is borne out by the similarity in style of the reports and Edwards' "Shelby and His Men," an interesting volume, but written in a highly romantic vein.

24. "War of Rebellion Records," series 1, vol. 22, part 1, p. 82.

With this parting shot the battle of Prairie Grove was considered a closed incident.

Following its disastrous defeat at the battle of Prairie Grove, the Confederate army under General Hindman retreated across the Boston mountains to its base of supplies at Van Buren, Ark., on the Arkansas river, fifty miles south. Blunt's division of the Union army returned to its old camp at Cane Hill, General Herron's division remained at Prairie Grove, and the Army of the Frontier spent three weeks of comparative inaction, enjoying a much-needed rest after the strenuous exercise experienced in the Cane Hill - Prairie Grove campaign.

Towards the end of December information reached headquarters that Hindman, having received some reinforcements and replenished his depleted commissary, quartermaster and ordnance stores, was contemplating another effort to gain a foothold in Missouri. Blunt and Herron determined to forestall any such movement by driving the rebels out. On the 27th of December General Herron moved south via the telegraph road with about four thousand picked men, while Blunt moved with an equal number of his division via the Cove creek road. The junction point of the two commands was to be Oliver's store, eighteen miles north of Van Buren.

The march over the mountains at this season of the year was attended with great difficulties, the roads being almost impassable for artillery, frequently requiring double teams and men with ropes to draw the heavy gun carriages up the rugged mountainsides. However, after over twenty hours of almost superhuman effort, with only an occasional halt for refreshment, the two wings of the army were reunited at the appointed meeting place at daylight on the 28th.

Hindman's pickets were encountered three miles south of Oliver's, and after firing upon the advance guard fled. Then the chase was on! At Dripping Springs, nine miles north of Van Buren, Herron's cavalry encountered the First Texas cavalry under Lieutenant Colonel Crump. This was the same organization which had so severely handled Colonel M. LaRue Harrison at Prairie Grove, and the Federals immediately proceeded to square accounts, collecting not only the full amount of the original claim, but also exacting what Colonel Crump considered usurious interest and attorney's fees—capturing 40 wagons with six-mule teams, camp and garrison equipage, 100 prisoners, and a large amount of ammunition. The stampede continued into the streets of Van Buren, where the Confederates boarded a steam ferry in an attempt to escape their pursuers. A few well-directed shots from Herron's howitzers soon disabled the boat, and those who were not killed or drowned escaped by jumping overboard and swimming ashore.

Early in the afternoon Hindman's batteries began to shell Van Buren from across the river, in an attempt to rout the Federals, and it was at this juncture that the First Kansas battery, two guns of which had accompanied the expedition, came into play. Blunt in his report does not specifically mention the First Kansas, but Herron says that he and Blunt had a narrow escape from the shell fire of Hindman's guns, and that they immediately ordered up their long-range guns, and a few shots

silenced the Confederate battery. From the fact that the two ten-pounder Parrott rifled guns of the First Kansas were the only long-range guns with the expedition, and from comrades who operated them, I know whereof I speak, although not with them.

General Hindman in his report notes the fact that his force was sadly depleted by reason of sickness and desertions, which assumed such proportions that he decided to break up entirely General Roane's brigade of Texas infantry, distributing the remnants, which still sought shelter under the waning fortunes of the stars and bars, among the Missouri and Arkansas troops.

Having succeeded in driving the Confederate army south of the Arkansas river, capturing and destroying its land and river transportation, including four steamboats loaded with army supplies, the Army of the Frontier quietly retraced its steps to its camps north of the mountains.

There is no report of the Confederate casualties on this expedition. Those on the Union side consisted of one man killed and four or five slightly wounded.

Early in 1863 Blunt's division of the Army of the Frontier made a reconnoisance to the neighborhood of Forsyth, Taney county, Missouri. The writer, if he ever knew, has forgotten the object of this expedition, and finds no reference to it in the records of the Rebellion. One incident, however, which occurred on the trip he will always remember.

On the return, White river was found so swollen from spring rains that fording was impossible; hence a ferry had to be constructed. This was done by felling some of the large trees which abounded in that region, and hewing out the timbers necessary to build a boat of sufficient capacity to carry a six-mule team and wagon. The job required several days. Meanwhile General Salomon, of the First brigade, conceived the idea of constructing a raft of sufficient capacity to cross the infantry. Being camped in close proximity to the battery, he interested some of our boys in the scheme, since we had in our battery wagon the necessary tools. Dismantling an old log cabin which stood near by, the sixteen-foot logs were laid side by side and pinned together with hickory saplings. The bed of the raft was made about four feet wide, hickory posts being set up after the fashion of a wood rack, such as are in use in the countryside for hauling cord wood. Broad boards were fastened on either side to keep the "doughboys" from spilling out. Then a small skiff was built, by means of which a one-inch rope was stretched across the river. This being accomplished after several hours of strenuous effort, owing to the swift current, everything seemed in readiness for the maiden trip, which was destined to abound in genuine thrills.

The scheme was to stand on the raft, and by holding onto the rope, pull it across the turbulent mountain stream. General Salomon was on board, rigged out in his high-topped boots and spurs, and red flannel-lined army overcoat, looking every inch the gallant soldier that he was. Several members of the Ninth Wisconsin were also on deck, as well as some of the battery boys, including your narrator. The small painter,

which was secured by a couple of half hitches to the upper corner standard and fastened to an elm root on shore to hold the craft in leash, was cast off, and a couple of sturdy young fellows grasping the main rope, we were off!

As we approached the middle of the stream, where we got the full force of the current, the pull was so great that the front end of the craft was submerged and the icy-cold water came rushing through the raft with tremendous force, breaking the hold of the pilots and sending all the passengers pell-mell to the downstream end. Thus relieved of its burden, the upstream end bobbed up like a fish cork, and as it came up caught the upper corner standard above the main rope, where the small painter prevented it from slipping off—and there we hung. The current would carry the raft down until the rope was stretched the limit, and then it would dive two or three feet into the icy water, and the passengers would receive another baptism. When this situation had continued for a few minutes your narrator realized that the removal of the small rope on the top of the standard would release the craft, so grasping his sheath knife he started for the upstream end. Amid the shouts and anathemas of a thousand comrades on shore, who believed he was bent upon cutting the main rope, he reached around and severed the small rope, and hitting the big rope a stiff blow, knocked it off the standard, and up it came.

The passengers, including the general, had all congregated at the downstream end, and with the relief of the upper end their combined weight sunk the raft until they were submerged to their waist line. We soon "trimmed ship" by spreading out, and away we went down White river without oar, rudder or compass. By dint of hard paddling with our hands we brought the craft near enough to shore so the boys threw us a pole, with which we poled ashore and wended our way back to camp, wiser and wetter men.

Following this fiasco we waited our turn and crossed on the ferry. While we were busily engaged with the ferrying there came riding up a dashing young orderly, who was in a breathless haste to cross. The wagon train was holding the right of way, and when a six-mule team and wagon were on board there was a vacant space in the rear of the wagon of about three feet. The orderly was informed that he would have to wait his turn, as they could not delay the crossing of the train for his accommodation. He insisted that it was most important that he be permitted to cross. The manager of the ferry therefore gave him permission to stand his horse on the three-foot space in the rear of a wagon, which he did. There was no railing across the end of the boat, and when it was in midstream the horse turned around and immediately his hind legs dropped overboard. The young man held on manfully until he had the saddle and bridle off the horse, when he let go the halter and the animal disappeared beneath the waves in the wake of the boat. He came up a few rods downstream, puffing like a porpoise, and struck out for shore. But unfortunately for his rider he landed upon the same side of the stream from which he had started. What became of the stranded dispatch I am unable to say, as my command moved off, leaving the young man standing on the bank in a brown study.

The day following our crossing of White river our line of march led through the rolling wooded foothills of the Boston mountains. The spring rains had rendered the ground so soft that the passage of the troops left the wagon trains to wallow through rivers of mud. It fell to my lot to drive one of the six-mule teams, and it was no unusual thing to get stuck in the mud and there to remain until rescued by the rear guard. Having had one day's experience depending upon the rather scant courtesy accorded the muleteer by the cavalry rear guard, I applied to Sergeant Bill Golder for a detail of cannoneers to stay with the wagon and help out. A detail was accordingly furnished, and we made such progress that the boys considered it unnecessary for them to remain by me longer than the middle of the afternoon, when they all disappeared, going forward and joining their comrades on the gun carriage.

Late in the evening the roads grew rapidly worse, and a little before nightfall the wagon became hopelessly mired, the jaded mules positively refusing to make another trial. In vain I applied the blacksnake and hurled at them my large and carefully selected vocabulary of high-sounding cuss words; they would not pull out. Then it occurred to me that this was the opportunity to teach the boys a little lesson which they could understand without lexicon or interpreter. Unhitching the mules, I turned them around to the feed box and gave them a bite of grain, and secured for myself a piece of bacon and some hardtack from the mess box. I then pulled out my roll of blankets, and, spreading them on the soft earth, was soon sleeping the sleep of the just. The battery went into camp three or four miles further on, in an open field where there was no shelter. During the night there came up a "norther," blowing cold from the north and spitting snow. When morning came everything was frozen hard. The boys put in the night carrying rails to feed their fires from a fence which enclosed a forty-acre field, and before morning the entire fence was consumed. With the early dawn they sent out a search party to see what had become of the mess wagon. They found it, and they stayed by it until it was safely landed in camp. And after that I had no more trouble in securing a detail that would stick by me and the wagon.

Following the Forsyth expedition, the army went back to Elm Springs, Washington county, Arkansas, where we were camped for some weeks. At this point we were ordered to overhaul our ammunition, turning in to the ordnance department such as was unfit for use. Finding some powder which was badly caked, some of the boys thought to have a little sport by digging a hole, burying a cartridge, and attaching a lighted fuse. Then all hands stood around at a respectful distance to see the explosion. It was at this juncture that old Bill Baldwin appeared upon the scene. Bill was in the habit of imbiding pretty freely of sutler store whisky, and upon this occasion happened to be about "three sheets in the wind," as the sailor boys put it. Seeing the crowd lined up, he knew that something unusual was going on, so inquired the cause. Upon being informed he flew into a rage, and being on duty as corporal of the guard, declared he would stop the proceedings. He therefore approached the

sputtering fuse, and notwithstanding the shouts and entreaties of the boys, began trying to smother it by stamping it into the ground. In much less time than it takes to write it down, the cartridge exploded and Bill was blown ten feet in the air. He lived but a few hours, and we buried him among the pine-clad hills of the Ozarks with military honors.

From Elm Springs we moved north to Springfield via the Wire road, as it was called, because along it ran the telegraph line from St. Louis via Rolla and Springfield to Fort Smith, Ark.

It was on this march that Rabb's Second Indiana battery boys played a trick on the First Kansas for which they were never fully forgiven. We camped one night in the hills among the jack oaks, which were thick enough to prevent our sentry from getting a clear view from one wing of the battery to the other. Rabb's boys watched their chance, and while big Jim Wallace was at the further end of his beat rammed a blank cartridge into one of our guns, and a moment after taps, when the moon was just peeping over the eastern hills and everything had quieted down, they fired the gun. The whole camp was up in an uproar in a jiffy. The drummer boys sounded the long roll, and everyone grabbed his shooting irons prepared to do battle to the death. But no enemy appeared, and gradually it dawned upon us that we had been victims of a pretty serious practical joke. A corporal's guard came rushing up from brigade headquarters, and big Jim Wallace was hustled off to the guardhouse under arrest. But upon our captain making proper explanation of conditions, he was released. The night following, our boys spent most of the night trying to return the compliment; but Rabb's boys were too smart. Although we succeeded in getting a cartridge into one of their guns, they had taken the precaution to put a big tow wad in the breach so it wouldn't fire.

We arrived at Springfield in the midst of a violent February snowstorm, the roads being so heavy that the cannoneers were compelled to walk. The snow fell to the depth of a foot or more, through which we trudged along all afternoon, wet to the knees. We were assigned a camp ground upon a piece of level, open woodland. The snow had melted at the beginning of the storm, making the ground very wet. Sweeping away the snow over a sufficient area to accommodate our tent, we cut sumac brush for beds, laying it thick enough to keep us out of water. Sumac brush covered with a rubber blanket makes an excellent bed when one is really and truly tired.

One evening an old native drove into camp with a yoke of oxen drawing an ordinary farm wagon, in which he had some half dozen two-bushel sacks filled with big Ben Davis apples. Not a man in the battery had seen an apple for a whole year, so one can easily imagine how good even a Ben Davis looked. The old man stopped his team at the edge of camp, and standing a sack on end, untied it and began selling them. The wagon was instantly surrounded by the boys, each one sticking up his "shin-plaster" currency and clamoring to be waited upon first. The process of waiting upon each individual in turn and stopping to make change was entirely too slow to suit Nat Atkinson; so climbing into the hind end of the wagon, he cut a sack string and began helping the boys

right and left. The old man objected to this, and leaving his post at the front of the wagon, he went over and boosted Nat out and retied the sack. Meanwhile the sack from which he had been dispensing at the front end disappeared entirely. At this juncture some one batted the steers over the back with a brush and they set off on the run, the boys surging around the wagon and the whole bunch yelling like a band of Comanche Indians. A half dozen of the boys climbed into the wagon, and while one or two engaged in a rough and tumble bout with the old man, the others threw the apples overboard. The tragedy was ended by the old man calling out in stentorian tones, "Captain! Captain!" But no captain appeared, and the old man was obliged to drive away minus his apples, but with a valuable lesson in psychology.

A few days later our scouts located a crib of corn up country some thirty miles, and as we needed corn in our business, a foraging expedition was sent out to bring it in. On our return trip we bivouacked in the neighborhood of a pretentious-looking farmhouse. After supper some of the boys suggested a reconnoitering expedition; so away we went. Upon emerging from the darkness of the smokehouse Tim Murphy discovered one of his boots covered with a white substance, which upon careful investigation proved to be lard. He had stepped squarely into a big rendering kettle full of lard. We often speculated on what the good old lady of the house would say when she found a whole hog missing and the footprints of a detested "Yank" in her lard kettle.

The battery moved by easy stages from Springfield via Fort Scott to Lawrence, where it arrived some time in April, 1863. The only incident worthy of note on the trip occurred as we approached Lawrence.

A deputation of prominent citizens met us at the Wakarusa, four miles from town, and suggested that we camp on the creek instead of in town, as they did not like to have their peace and quiet disturbed by the presence of boisterous soldiers in their midst. Four months later, when Quantrill was burning and sacking Lawrence and murdering its citizens, they would have welcomed us with open arms. However, such are the fortunes of war, and all go to make up the sum of war's experience.

The battery remained in Lawrence about three weeks, during which time such of the boys as lived in the vicinity were given a two weeks' leave of absence, and were permitted to ride the battery horses to their homes and care for them during their stay.

From Lawrence we moved to Fort Leavenworth in May. When the order came to move we crossed the river on the ferry in the evening, and without pitching tents bivouacked in the big timber on the river bank. Having been at home for a couple of weeks, the first night in the open I took a cold which settled in my throat, so affecting my vocal cords that I could not speak above a whisper for six weeks. One day while on the march my team did not act to suit me, and my desire to use some strong language was so great that suddenly I blurted out a tremendous oath. Low and behold, my voice had returned in full force!

While undergoing treatment at the post hospital at Fort Leavenworth I heard the following story from an old Scotch sergeant of my company who had spent five years in the regular army before the war. A private

soldier of the Tenth regular infantry, tired of the service, after trying several methods with a view to obtaining his discharge, finally hit upon the plan of pretending total blindness.

The surgeons could detect no defect whatever in his eyes, and resorted to some rigorous measures to bring him to terms, applying blisters and other severe treatments. They also attempted to startle him by displaying huge artificial spiders and reptiles in an unexpected manner before and in close proximity to his eyes. But to no purpose; the fellow had evidently counted the cost and had steeled his nerves until they were prepared for the unexpected at all times. He had been in the hospital for several months, and was accustomed each morning after sick call to take exercise by promenading along the graveled walks through the grounds, feeling his way around with a walking stick. As a final test, the post surgeon one morning before daybreak placed his large and costly gold watch in the middle of the graveled walk where the blind soldier would pass on his daily round, and then kept watch to see what would happen. The blind man saw the watch some yards ahead, and instantly realized the fact that it was a bait; so, timing his steps accurately, he planted the heel of his army shoe squarely on the watch, and marched right along the same as though it had been a pebble. Following this episode, as soon as the necessary formalities could be complied with, he was discharged. His comrades, none of whom were in his confidence, assisted him on board a boat bound for St. Louis, and as the boat swung away from the landing the fellow got up, and walking to the rail called to his friends, "Say, boys, you ask that post surgeon if he thought I was a d——d fool, to be caught with a gold watch."

From Leavenworth the battery moved south, crossing the Kansas river at De Soto, passing east through old Shawnee Mission to Kansas City, where we camped in the neighborhood of what is now Twelfth street and Broadway, at that time the public range for the town cows. There was n't a house in sight. Remaining there but a day or two, we struck off southeast through Missouri. We crossed the Osage river at Warsaw and moved down to the town of Salem, in Dent county, where we remained a few days, and then on to Rolla, at that time the terminus of the St. Louis & San Francisco railroad, 110 miles from St. Louis.

We were in camp at Rolla when Vicksburg fell, July 4, 1863. In order to properly celebrate Grant's great victory, the battery officers took a wagon, and visiting a near-by brewery purchased a half dozen kegs of beer. Securing some old-fashioned cedar spigots, they tapped the kegs and installed them on cracker boxes at convenient points about camp. It is fair to presume that General Pemberton's men thought it was hell to be compelled to spend the national holiday surrendering to the enemy, but it was n't a marker to the manner in which the First Kansas battery surrendered to old King Gambrinus. It was hell and repeat.

At Rolla we received news of the death of Capt. Norman Allen at St. Louis, following which Lieutenant Tenney was commissioned captain. It was at Rolla that I saw the first train of cars I had seen in seven years; and believe me, it was some sight. To pass the years from a child of twelve to that of a man of nineteen in the wilds without hearing the

whistle of a locomotive is an experience which would be difficult to attain at the present time, but in my young days it was common to many.

On the 9th day of July, 1863, we boarded a train for St. Louis, where we arrived in due season and without incident worthy of note. Did I possess the genius of Lewis Carroll I could write a story concerning the arrival in St. Louis of the First Kansas battery, beside which the juvenile tale of Alice in Wonderland would pale into insignificance. There were men in the battery who, like the writer, had emigrated to Kansas in their tender years, traveling on steamboats, stage coaches and in covered wagons, and who had grown to manhood in innocent ignorance of the bright lights, horse cars and other accessories pertaining to life in a great city. It would therefore be impossible for any one of the present day to experience the sensations produced upon us upon being dropped from the wilderness, so to speak, into the midst of the bustle of a big city. But perhaps there may be those who can appreciate the following incident.

Batteries of artillery were great sticklers regarding the rules of the road—that is, they took it all—and woe unto the luckless teamster who undertook to argue the case. If he escaped having a smashed wheel or a broken axle he was in great luck. Having arrived in St. Louis after dark, by the time we had detrained and hitched up it was ten o'clock. The streets were thronged with gay crowds enjoying the cool, refreshing air of a July night. As we marched along a brilliantly lighted street, every man staring in wide-eyed astonishment at the sights to be seen upon every hand, there came a sudden halt. Lieutenant Nolan, who was a native of St. Louis, came galloping up to inquire the cause of the delay, when he found the lead driver of No. 1 gun engaged in a wordy war with a teamster bound in the opposite direction. Their teams had met head on, and each was swearing by the seven saints that the other fellow must get out of the road. Lieutenant Nolan took in the situation at a glance and told the battery driver to pull out, as we could not compel the street cars to take to the curb.

No provision had been made for camp grounds for us, and the only available space obtainable at that hour was an old empty stockyard. It was miserably dirty, and I resolved I would not spread down my blankets in any such place. So taking my roll upon my shoulder, I climbed over a high board fence adjoining the yard, where I found a luxuriant growth of blue grass beneath the overhanging boughs of some splendid evergreens. Selecting an eligible location near the fence so I could beat a hasty retreat when the family bulldog appeared on the scene, I was soon embraced in the fatherly arms of old Morpheus. When I awoke at the sound of reveille, pulling the blanket down from over my head, where I had placed it to shield myself from the attack of a Missouri mosquito, the first thing to meet my astonished gaze was a huge white marble shaft erected to the memory of "Isabel, relict of Rufus Squire, who departed this life March 26, 1846." I was in the old Wesleyan cemetery, and never enjoyed a more quiet and peaceful night in my life.

As stated above, the first Kansas battery arrived at St. Louis July 9.

On July 2, the Confederate General John H. Morgan started on his great raid through Indiana and Ohio. At that time General Rosecrans was at Stone river, and contemplating a campaign against General Bragg at Tullahoma, while General Burnside, at Cincinnati, was organizing an expedition against Buckner in East Tennessee. In order to prevent Burnside from sending reinforcements to Rosecrans, or *vice versa*, Bragg decided to make a demonstration through Kentucky, with Louisville as a possible point of attack, and General Morgan was selected for the enterprise, with instructions to go anywhere in Kentucky, but not to cross the Ohio river.

Morgan, however, being ambitious, disobeyed orders, and with a force of 2,400[25] cavalry captured a couple of Ohio river steamboats sixty miles below Louisville, and crossed into southern Indiana. Taking a northeasterly course, he passed through a region which was notorious as a stronghold of the Knights of the Golden Circle, an organization among northern people maintained for the purpose of aiding the cause of secession in the South.[26] Morgan may have conceived the idea that these disloyal people would flock to his standard and assist him in carrying the war into the North. But in this he was sadly mistaken, for as soon as they saw their horses, forage and other property disappearing without any hope of compensation, they set up a great howl, joined the militia and helped repel the invaders.

Passing rapidly east, Morgan threatened Cincinnati, but finding Burnside too well prepared for him to chance an engagement, by making a circuitous night drive he passed around and struck the Ohio river twenty-five or thirty miles above Cincinnati, with the intention and expectation of crossing into West Virginia. But an unusual high stage of water frustrated his plans in two ways, first by rendering the river unfordable, and second by enabling steamboats to bring troops up the river, who effectually prevented his crossing. He was therefore compelled to keep on up the river. By this time there were in the neighborhood of 50,000 men on his trail, comprising regulars, volunteers and state militia. He was continually harassed, fighting minor engagements, and losing men who were so worn out with continuous marching at a furious rate of speed that they would fall asleep by the roadside, to be gathered up by their relentless pursuers. Morgan was finally surrounded and forced to surrender, near New Lisbon, in Columbiana county, Ohio. Out of his gallant band of 2,400 men who crossed the Ohio river, full of life and the spirit of adventure, but 336 answered to roll call on the evening of July 26, when they were finally rounded up by Major Rue, of the Ninth Kentucky cavalry.

General Morgan was confined in the Ohio state penitentiary at Columbus, but it did n't prove sufficiently well constructed to keep him. Purloining an occasional table knife from his food tray, he succeeded, within

25. "War of Rebellion Records," series 1, vol. 23, part 1, p. 817, gives the number of men with Morgan as 2,000. This is printed in "Special Orders, No. 44," dated "Headquarters Cavalry Corps, near Shelbyville, June 18, 1863," and was issued by order of Major General Wheeler.

26. Conrad Baker, provost marshal general of Indiana, believed that there was an understanding between General Morgan and the Knights of the Golden Circle, and that Morgan expected material assistance from them on this raid.

four months, in boring a hole through two feet of solid concrete large enough to permit the passage of his body, when he and a fellow officer—who had been sagacious enough to provide himself with a small supply of greenbacks, through the good offices of a lady friend, who pasted them under a book cover—made their escape on the 27th of November, 1863.[27] Purchasing tickets to Cincinnati, they jumped off the train in the suburbs, and making their way to the river, were ferried across by a boy in a skiff, and landed safely on Kentucky soil.

On September 4, 1864, Morgan was killed by a Union soldier while attempting to escape from a farmhouse near Greenville, Tenn.

Four days after the arrival of the First Kansas battery at St. Louis we received orders to move by rail to Cincinnati. Crossing the Mississippi, we boarded a train on the Ohio & Mississippi railroad, and were off on the trail of John Morgan. By this time he had passed Cincinnati, and the danger of his capturing and looting that city had gone by; so after proceeding as far as Seymour, Ind., we were ordered to unload and go into camp. It had become apparent to General Burnside that Morgan could make no serious stand, and the pace at which he was kept moving precluded the possibility of pursuit by heavy field guns. Therefore, after a night's rest, we were shipped on board a train on the Indianapolis & Jeffersonville railroad and sent to Indianapolis, where we were received royally by the Hoosier maidens in a huge barracks provided by the state. In this building meals were served to troops passing through; it made no difference from what state they came, so long as they wore the blue and had "Old Glory" floating at the head of the column. The morning following our arrival in Indianapolis we again boarded a train, this time on the Vandalia line, and in due season were landed safely back to Camp Jackson, St. Louis.

A few days after our return from the Morgan raid the battery was ordered to Columbus, Ky., and an old ferryboat was provided for our transportation down the Mississippi. There seems to have been some sort of rivalry between General Schofield, who was in command of the department at St. Louis, and the commanding officer of the department embracing Kentucky, since each seemed to want the battery.

Upon our arrival at Cairo, Ill., we were disembarked and went into camp. The boat captain had been grouchy all day because he did not want to go down the river; hence the moment the last hoof was off the boat he hauled in his gangplanks and pulled out for St. Louis. At that time the rivers were under martial law, and boats could not enter or clear ports without proper credentials. So when the old ferryboat was steaming along down the river to round Bird Point, without having secured clearance papers, the officer on duty fired a blank cartridge across her bow, to which the captain paid no attention, but kept the boat on her course at full speed. The port officer, seeing that the boat did not propose to recognize the signal to halt, fired a 64-pound shot just a few feet in front of the old tub. Well, you should have heard that boat whistle. She blew off so much steam whistling that it was with difficulty that she rounded to and returned to the wharf.

27. With General Morgan there escaped six officers of his command who had been imprisoned with him.

Late that evening orders were received directing the battery to reembark and proceed down the river. For some unaccountable reason, not a commissioned officer could be found. The orderly sergeant had "boots and saddles" sounded, camp was struck, the teams hitched up, and everything gotten in readiness for our departure; and still not an officer appeared. Whether true or not we never knew, but it was supposed that our officers purposely absented themselves in order to give General Schofield time to communicate with the War Department, with a view to having the battery returned to his department. As a result of this delay we stood hitched up all night. The writer climbed up on a trestled sidewalk ten feet high, so constructed to avoid overflow from the river, where he roosted during the night on the soft side of a pine board. With the early dawn came our officers, and after feeding our horses and getting a bite of hard-tack and coffee, we boarded the old ferryboat, and in due time landed safely at Columbus, Ky.

On the main deck of the ferryboat were wooden seats ranged around the room for the accommodation of foot passengers. While I was sitting on the floor and using one of these seats for a writing table, Lieutenant Taylor came along. Stopping near me, and watching my writing for a moment, he remarked casually, "Gardner, write home to your folks that you have been appointed corporal." I had never dreamed of such promotion, and was so astounded that I could not say a word. It was about the middle of July, 1863, that I assumed the title and became gunner of a ten-pounder rifled field gun—quite a responsible position for a farmer boy. But I made good, and at the battle of Johnsonville, in 1864, had the privilege and the pleasure of sending my compliments to General Forrest.

In August, 1863, four guns of the battery were ordered back to St. Louis, and two guns under Lieut. John B. Cook were ordered to Cairo, Ill. There they remained three months, and then moved to Nashville, via the Ohio and Cumberland rivers, where they rejoined the battery.

On our arrival at St. Louis we were camped at Camp Jackson, Fourteenth and Olive streets—the camp made historic by reason of the arrest there, by Capt. Nathaniel Lyon, of the Missouri state militia, assembled by Gov. Claiborne F. Jackson to repel the invasion of the republic of Missouri by United States troops. At the sound of reveille on the morning of August 22 we were thrown into an uproar of excitement by newspaper boys rushing into our camp, shouting at the top of their voices, "Here's your morning papers; all about the burning of Lawrence!" The boys had no difficulty in disposing of their papers, and then for an hour the situation was a study. We stood around in groups, scanning the list of killed and wounded. Some one would be bewailing the loss of a friend or relative, while his neighbor was gloating over the death of an enemy. It was very exciting.

On September 22, 1863, Gen. Joseph O. Shelby, acting under orders from Gen. Sterling Price, started north from Arkadelphia, Ark., for the purpose of making another attempt to effect a lodgement in Missouri.

After hard marching and many skirmishes, he succeeded in striking the Missouri Pacific railway at Tipton, in Pettis county. From that point

he sent out scouting parties along the road, extending as far east as California station, where they destroyed a half mile of track by taking down rail fences on either side and piling them lengthwise between the rails, and then burning them. This effectually destroyed the ties, and so warped the iron as to render it worthless. By this time all the available troops in the Department of Missouri were put in motion in an attempt to capture the wily old raider.

The battery was still at St. Louis, and under the immediate command of Col. R. R. Livingston, of the First Nebraska infantry, commanding the district of St. Louis. On October 9 Colonel Livingston ordered Maj. R. H. Brown, of the Twelfth Missouri cavalry, to assemble all available troops then stationed at Benton and Schofield barracks, and with one section of the First Kansas battery proceed by train to Jefferson City.

For transportation we had board seats placed crosswise in ordinary freight cars, into which we were packed like sardines in a box, which was simply exasperating. Many of the boys climbed on top of the cars, where they lay down, using the running board for a pillow. They spooned up, a dozen in a row, to keep from being shaken off, and thus obtained a bit of rest. The train left the Fourteenth street station at 11:30 p. m., arriving at Jefferson City at 7 a. m., October 10.

With the early dawn, as the train slowly wound its way around the bluffs bordering the Missouri, one of the infantry boys who had bivouacked on top of a box car lost his balance and plunged headlong to the ground. Before leaving St. Louis he had taken the precaution to have his canteen filled at a near-by saloon, and the discomforts of the night had caused him to apply himself frequently to its contents. Becoming hilarious, he had attempted to demonstrate just how he proposed to wipe out Joe Shelby and his entire command, and it was while he was in the midst of this demonstration that he fell from the top of the car. There being no bell cord communicating with the engineer, it took some little time to pass word forward to stop the train, so it ran a mile or more before it was finally brought to a standstill. As it backed up the boys were watching anxiously, expecting to find the mangled remains of their comrade by the roadside. Judge of their surprise, then, upon rounding a curve giving quite an extended view of the track, to discover the young man walking up the road at a good swinging gait, shouting at the top of his voice. The train at the time of his fall happened to be on a heavy fill, the surface of which was covered with a dense growth of weeds and underbrush; so he struck a glancing blow and sustained no injury other than a few scratches, but a more sober individual you never saw.

After a halt of a few hours at Jefferson City, Lieutenant Colonel Cole, of the Second Missouri artillery, with his command of mounted infantry and one gun of the First Kansas battery, was ordered to move by train to California station on the Missouri Pacific railroad and repair the track destroyed by Shelby the day previous. Having arrived there safely and replaced the damaged track, Colonel Cole, on the afternoon of the 11th, was ordered to make a reconnoissance as far west as Tipton.

During the war there were many experiments tried, expedients of a

doubtful character resorted to, and fool stunts of one kind or another pulled off. But I venture to say that in a competitive exhibit, the one which Colonel Cole put up that afternoon would stand out in bold relief and come in on the home stretch so far ahead that there would be no second. The writer was detailed on Cole's command, and as gunner of the piece of artillery was ordered to load it on a flat car, with limber chests in the rear and cannoneers at their posts. This duty having been successfully performed, the flat car was coupled onto the front end of the engine, where it was expected to perform duty as a rebel catcher instead of cow catcher. Behind the engine were enough box cars to accommodate a squad of twenty-five picked men as sharpshooters, and our battery horses. A company of cavalry was deployed on either side of the railroad to protect our flanks, and in this manner we pulled out for Tipton. Long before we arrived at that point Shelby's raiders were at Boonville, thirty-five miles away, so we were in no more danger from the enemy than we would have been had we been going to camp meeting or a Fourth of July picnic. But I have often wondered what would have happened had we been ordered to fire our guns from that flat car. The rebound would have knocked the front end of the engine into a cocked hat, wrecking both the train and the gun, while the fate of the gunners would have been decidedly uncertain.

On arriving at Tipton and finding that Shelby had gone north to Boonville, on the Missouri river, we were ordered to disembark and follow. The autumnal equinox was in full swing and rain was the order of the day; hence the roads through the clay hills of north Missouri were rivers of mud, which made such hard work for the artillery horses that the cannoneers were ordered to walk. Now if there is anything more distasteful or humiliating to an artilleryman than walking, especially when trudging disconsolately along through a couple of inches of mud, it has entirely escaped my attention. Hence there was joy upon the discovery by the writer of an old broken-down pony that had been abandoned by Shelby's raiders and was quietly nibbling at a few straggling shoots of white clover in the fence corner by the roadside. Securing an extra halter, I captured the pony, and through the application of a little physical persuasion made him keep pace with the gun. For a time it was very comfortable to escape trudging through the mud, but riding bareback on a run-down pony is not an exercise which would appeal to the average person as pastime. Towards evening, as we approached Boonville, and as I was seriously debating in my mind which was preferable, the sharp backbone of a "secesh" pony or Missouri mud, the troops came to a halt. On one side of the road was a dense forest, on the other a rather pretentious farmhouse, with a large barn having open sheds on either side. A sharp shower of rain coming on, it occurred to me to ride in under the friendly shelter; meantime I could cast about for some sort of saddle, which would conduce considerably to my personal comfort. But I found none, all such property having been appropriated by Shelby's men the day before.

Our scouts had been in Boonville and learned that Shelby had passed on up the river; hence the command was turned directly west through the woods in an endeavor to intercept him on his return trip south. The

shower of which I spoke continued for some twenty minutes, and on emerging from the shelter of the barn I found the troops gone. The beating rain had so obliterated the tracks that I failed to discover their flank movement, hence I pushed on down the Boonville road. The road wound through the jack-oak timber, so one could not see farther ahead than the next turn. Urging my pony as much as I dared, I pushed on, expecting every minute to discover the rear guard. Finally, upon meeting an old farmer in his wagon, I inquired nonchalantly if I was on the right road to Boonville. He assured me that I was, and that it was four miles to the town. Then I inquired how far ahead the troops were. He looked at me with a surprised sort of stare and answered, "I ain't seed no troops to-day." I thought to myself, you are an infernal old secesh liar, but I owe the old man an apology, which I wish to record right here, for the sequel proved he was telling the truth.

Very shortly after this encounter I was overtaken by a lieutenant and corporal of the Missouri mounted troops with our command; they had stopped at a farmhouse for dinner, and had thus been separated from their comrades much as I had been; so we journeyed on into Boonville together, where we learned of the new route taken by our troops. Being splendidly mounted, those boys took the road leading southwest to the Lamine river bridge, leaving me to work out my own salvation. Seeking out the nearest livery stable, I walked in and boldly asked for the loan of a saddle, assuring the friendly darkey in charge that the big cannon coming out along with "Marse Linkum's troops" would be utterly useless unless I got back to them that night, as I had all the tools and gun sight in my pouch. I got the saddle, and strapping it proudly on the back of old Rosinante, all I required was a squire to be prepared to demolish a whole regiment of windmills. Fearing the return of the proprietor might countermand the loan of the saddle, I hurriedly mounted and rode gaily away, but notwithstanding my increased personal comfort, it did not seem to add correspondingly to the agility of my mount.

The road led up from the river bottom, over long clay hills, and while wending our weary way up an exceptionally steep grade the pony halted and seemed to be seriously considering the question of giving up the struggle. The sun had disappeared below the horizon, the shades of evening were rapidly gathering, and to add still further to the discomforts of the situation, the murky clouds which had been hanging overhead began a steady downpour of rain. No overcoat; nothing to eat since early breakfast; in the enemy's country, miles from my command, and no means of knowing how or where to reach them! "Gentle reader, what would you have done?" I frankly confess that I was in much the same situation as that described by a worthy old doctor of Burlingame when he went on a buffalo hunt in the foothills of the Rocky Mountains. He had succeeded in wounding an old bull, and venturing too near, the bull charged him. Putting spurs to his horse, he galloped over a slight rise of ground and ran full upon a herd of a couple of hundred, which immediately joined in the chase. In order to avoid the stampede the doctor headed up into a deep canyon in the mountains, the perpendicular walls of which loomed.

up a thousand feet. In a moment the mouth of the canyon was wedged full of snorting, infuriated buffalo. Driven by the danger behind him, the doctor rounded a corner of projecting rock, and there encountered a band of Apache Indians on the war path, their eagle-feather war bonnets fluttering in the breeze. When the good doctor arrived at this point in his story he always stopped and sat in a sort of reminiscent posture until some one of the boys allowed curiosity to get the better of judgment and asked, "Well, doctor, what the devil did you do?" The old man, with a mischievous twinkle in his eye, would quietly roll his quid over, and expectorating at a knothole in the floor, answer, "Well, boys, I just died right there."

Well I didn't die, but I felt as though it would be a relief to do so. As I sat there pondering the next move, my former companions, the lieutenant and the corporal, came riding down the hill in the fast-gathering gloom. Upon inquiring the cause of their return they replied that it was utterly impracticable to try to regain our command. Riding out into the enemy's country, not knowing where, one would be as liable to encounter foes as friends; so they had determined to return down the river to Jefferson City, fifty miles, where a portion of their regiment was still quartered. Knowing that one gun of the battery was still at that point, my mind was made up in an instant. I would join them. Turning about, I headed my pony down hill, and with the stimulus of company he perked up considerably. Riding down the river a mile or two, we quartered ourselves as uninvited guests on a very pronounced old secesh farmer. The next morning, after having obtained food and lodging for man and beast, we thanked the old rebel very kindly and rode away.

My old pony, feeling considerably refreshed from a night's rest and a bait of corn, jogged along at a pretty good gait until towards ten o'clock, when the reaction set in from his unusual feed, and he balked entirely. Discovering some horses grazing in a near-by meadow, we opened a gap in the fence and turned him out to pasture. In his place I saddled up a spanking good little sorrel horse and we rode away, I satisfying my conscience with the idea that it was a "military necessity," a phrase which in time of war covers a multitude of transactions of a questionable character. Late in the afternoon, as we were jogging quietly along a road skirted on either side by jack oaks, we came upon a country cross-roads store and blacksmith shop, known as Jamestown, or "Jimtown." As we approached we noted the presence of an unusual number of saddle horses hitched to trees. I counted them; there were sixteen. We immediately whispered "Bushwhackers," but we could not retreat, as that would reveal our weakness. So riding boldly up to the store we alighted, passing the time of day with the men standing around in front of the store. Our lieutenant went in and purchased a pint of whisky just for appearance sake. Meantime one of the loungers approached the Missouri corporal and asked how far back the rest of the command was, having jumped at the conclusion that we were the advance guard of a body of troops. To the quick wit of that corporal we were indebted for our lives. He replied carelessly, "Oh, just a little way." That inquiry con-

firmed our suspicion, and in less time than it takes to write it down those horses began to disappear among the jack oaks, each bearing a rider armed to the teeth with revolver and knife. Without further ceremony we mounted and rode on down the road, the man who had made the inquiry regarding the rest of the command mounting his horse and joining us, and making further inquiries regarding our destination—whether we intended going through that night, and so forth. Meantime we kept moving. Pretty soon we overtook a farmer in a wagon, when our uninvited traveling companion dropped behind to talk with him. Soon he turned and went galloping back towards town. At the first turn in the road which shielded us from view we put our horses on a dead run and kept them at top speed for a couple of miles, when we turned at right angles into the big timber on the river bottom. Keeping our course for another two miles, we decided to bivouac for the night, make no fire, and thus give them the slip. We had halted beside a small field, where we could get forage for our horses, and were congratulating ourselves on our escape, when we discovered a man and woman, each on horseback riding Indian file down the fence. Standing in the shadow of some large oaks until the man was within a few paces, we stepped out, and presenting the business end of a Remington .45, we demanded to know whether he was a rebel or a Unionist. It was a delicate position in which to place a fellow being, but we were up against a tough proposition ourselves, and were in no humor to be fooled with. The fellow rose manfully to the occasion and answered in a steady voice, "Men, I do not know who you are nor what may be your mission in these parts, but I am a Union man."

We then inquired about the party of riders with whom we had come in contact at "Jimtown," and he informed us that they were a notorious band of guerrillas and that the man who had interrogated us was the leader. He also assured us that the ruse we had used was all that saved us, since they were not in the habit of permitting such prizes as we were to slip through their clutches. Upon making inquiry where we might secure food and lodging, he immediately invited us to be his guests. So sandwiching them in between us, we rode another two miles through the big woods to his farm. After putting up our horses he led the way into a story-and-a-half hewed-log house, where we thought we could stand siege should it become necessary. The day previous to our arrival our host had felled a bee tree, and had secured a wash tub half full of wild honey. The good lady baked a batch of fine biscuit in the Dutch oven, and with biscuit and honey and a rasher of home-cured bacon, we had a feast for the gods. After supper our host brought forth his violin and regaled us with all the old-time tunes, such as the "Irish Washerwoman," "Devil's Dream," "Natchez Under the Hill," "Turkey in the Straw," "Virginia Reel" and "Fisher's Hornpipe."

We arose the following morning feeling much refreshed from our strenuous experience of the previous day; and after a hearty breakfast our host saddled a horse, and, piloting us through the timber on a by-road, landed us on the main road seven miles below "Jimtown." We went on our way rejoicing greatly at our good fortune at having

stumbled upon a Moses who led us out of the wilderness. To this man we offered money, which was kindly but firmly refused, and we then realized that there are some services rendered our fellow men in this life which cannot be compensated for in cold cash. Without further incident, and in a few hours, we rode into our respective camps at Jefferson City.

It is an old saying that "there is no great loss without some little gain." After reading the above account one would naturally conclude that, notwithstanding all the hardships and peril through which I had passed, I had escaped remarkably well—and so I had, as the following proves: On the arrival of our command at Otterville, they found there two merchants, one a rebel, the other a Union man. When Shelby's raiders were there, the day previous, they discovered that the Union merchant had a stock of children's shoes. Since they could not use them, they robbed him of the small shoes, and, taking them across the street, traded them to the rebel for sizes which they could wear.

Learning of this transaction, our boys proceeded to loot the rebel store of everything they could carry off. It transpired that this rebel had some powerful friends at Jefferson City, to whom he appealed for help, to such purpose that upon the arrival there of our boys, *en route* to St. Louis, the train was stopped and my poor, guilty comrades were lined up on the station platform, their blanket rolls searched, and where loot was found the owner was court-martialed and sent to Alton prison for several months. Had I been with them I probably should have had a prison sentence written across my otherwise clean record.

Shortly after the return of the battery from the Shelby raid in Missouri it was ordered into Benton barracks at St. Louis for winter quarters. During our stay of some three months at this place thieves within our own ranks made serious inroads on our quartermaster's stores. Mules were stolen and sold to other thieves in the big city, and money thus obtained was squandered in riotous living under the bright lights of Green street, the red-light district of St. Louis. One young man, who was the tool of older heads, was caught in the act of delivering a stolen mule. He was court-martialed, dishonorably dismissed from the service, and sentenced to serve two years in Alton military prison. Fifty-three years later he is importuning Congress to remove the blot from his military record in order that he may receive a pension, of which he stands in dire need in his old age. By reason of his dishonorable discharge he is also debarred from the Soldiers' Home. The men responsible for the downfall of this boy should have been court-martialed and shot.

The captain of a battery in the service of the United States is held responsible for government property entrusted to his care. From this responsibility he can be relieved only by returning the property and taking a receipt from the quartermaster, or by making a sworn statement that it has been lost or destroyed in battle. Among the rank and file of the battery it was supposed that the loss of two entire six-mule teams, which sooner or later would have to be accounted for, prompted Captain Tenney to make a personal request of General Schofield that the

battery be sent to the front, where there would be some show for getting into action, and thus afford an opportunity for clearing the record. General Schofield granted his request, and late in October we were ordered, by rail, to Louisville, Ky., where we were joined by the Eighth Iowa cavalry, 1,200 strong, under command of Colonel Dorr, and with this regiment we marched overland to Nashville, Tenn.

The great battles of Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge were fought on November 23 to 25, 1863. Without incident worthy of note, the battery arrived at Nashville a few days after those battles, and from that time until the close of the war was identified with the Army of the Cumberland. The sources of supply for the Army of the Cumberland at Chattanooga were the Louisville & Nashville railway and the Cumberland river. During low stages of water it was difficult, and at times impossible, for boats to pass over Harpeth shoals, while the pernicious activity of Greno's rebel cavalry in cutting the Louisville & Nashville railroad caused the subsistence of the army at Chattanooga to be rendered, oftentimes, exceedingly precarious.

Prior to the breaking out of the war a railroad had been projected from Nashville to Memphis, and a large portion of the grade had been completed when operations were stopped by the war. Perceiving the advantage to be gained by completing this road from Nashville to the Tennessee river, a distance of eighty miles, the government put a corps of engineers to work during the winter of 1863-'64, and by spring had it completed. The Tennessee river from its mouth at Paducah to the point of intersection by this road is navigable by the largest river steamboats, hence a new line of supply was opened. The transshipping station from river to rail was named Johnsonville, after Andrew Johnson, the military governor of Tennessee.

There was at this time no Confederate army in this section of Tennessee, but as soon as train service was established guerrillas made their appearance and began trouble by ditching trains, burning trestles and incidentally committing murder when necessary to accomplish their purpose. In order to stop these depredations the battery and Eighth Iowa were ordered out on this line of road, the Nashville & Northwestern. The battery was divided up, two guns in a place, one section being stationed at Sullivan's Branch, twenty-six miles from Nashville; another on Yellow creek, forty-nine miles out; and the third at Waverly, a small village ten miles from the river. Thus disposed, we kept the bushwhackers in check until the early summer of 1864, when the immense stores of government property accumulated at the transshipping point of Johnsonville required the concentration of the entire battery at that point.

During the winter of 1863-'64, while the battery was separated, mail and supplies delivered by rail from Nashville to section 26 were transferred down the line to section 49, and to Waverly by team and courier. At one time when a load of supplies was to be sent to Waverly, our company clerk, Fletcher A. Willey, of Lawrence, accompanied the team and helped form part of the escort. When within a couple of miles of Waverly, the road being very heavy and progress of the team correspond-

ingly slow, Willey suggested that he would ride on into camp and have some coffee ready for the boys upon their arrival. It was already dark as giving rein to the large dappled grey horse he was riding he headed off down the road, which was hedged in on either side by a dense growth of jack oaks. His comrades never saw him again, and the record in the adjutant general's office says he was "killed by guerrillas, Dec. 18, 1863, Waverly, Tenn." At the close of the war Lieutenant Nolan returned to Waverly, married a Southern girl and engaged in business, remaining there until his death. Twenty years after the war was over he learned definitely of the fate of Willey. He was captured by guerrillas, murdered, and his body hidden in the trunk of a fallen tree.

At another time when Captain Tenny was *en route* to Waverly the writer was detailed as noncommissioned officer in charge of an escort of twenty men. The road for the greater part of the way led through the primeval forest, affording excellent opportunity for guerrillas to operate. During the trip the captain had occasion to dismount for a few moments. The writer signified to the troops that they might move on at a slackened pace, while he stopped to keep company with the captain. Later we learned that a half dozen of the well-known guerrillas of that section were concealed behind a fallen tree, with their guns trained, and only refrained from firing because of the close proximity of the escort.

Again, when four of the battery boys were going down the line they were waylaid, and Jim Leonard was killed, January 27, 1864, and another wounded. Sergeant Sidney Herd was almost a victim of one of these outlaws, having been shot through the leg while on a scout on Yellow creek.

One day in August, 1864, word reached camp that a band of guerrillas was infesting a neighborhood on Duck river. A detail of twenty men was ordered and provided with three days' ration, and under command of a lieutenant, mounted the battery horses and rode towards the Duck river country. While riding along through the dense forest, the road skirted on either side by a heavy growth of underbrush, we came to a clear, rippling brook, at which the leading files stopped to permit their horses to drink. While thus engaged there came around a bend in the road, not fifty yards distant, two guerrillas, each with his old squirrel rifle lying across the pommel of his saddle. Upon discovering us each man drew his rifle to his shoulder to fire. Right then occurred one of those singular things which often happen in works of fiction, but which is of extremely rare occurrence in real life. Both the guns missed fire! The writer was near the rear end of the column, the enemy being hidden from view by a short turn in the road. Perceiving by the commotion which their unexpected appearance created that there were a number of us, they wheeled their horses and fled. For several hundred yards the road through the brush was barely wide enough to admit two horses abreast, but it opened into a country lane. Here the two guerrillas joined a bunch of their comrades and the entire party fled at our approach. The broad lane gave opportunity to spread out, and our speedy horses soon brought us within pistol range of the fleeing enemy. Before they had reached the far end of the lane, where it passed again into the forest,

we had squared accounts with these cowardly bushwhackers by getting four of them.

Taking now a retrospective view, I go back to a beautiful autumn day in September, 1863, while the battery was still at Camp Jackson, St. Louis. When the mail arrived at camp the orderly sergeant handed me a letter bearing the familiar postmark, "Lawrence, Kansas." Moving aside where I might enjoy perusing its contents undisturbed by the boisterous element always present in camp life, I gently broke the seal so lately pressed by the loving hand of my sister at home. The next moment I was to experience the greatest grief of my life, and one which from that day until the present is always with me. The first sentence read, "Father is dead." He had passed away at Fort Gibson, Indian territory, August 23, 1863, while in line of duty as first lieutenant of F company, First regiment, Kansas colored troops. At this time a number of members of the battery were being granted furloughs, and as usual in such cases, the boys with a "pull" were allowed to go. Notwithstanding the great bereavement which had befallen myself and family, my application was sidetracked in favor of some one with greater influence at headquarters. Therefore, when the battery moved to Nashville in the Department of the Cumberland, I settled down to the conviction I would not be permitted to visit my grief-stricken relatives until the expiration of my time of service. However, strange things will sometimes happen in ordinary everyday life. One morning at roll call the orderly sergeant read the following document:

SPECIAL ORDER NO.——.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE CUMBERLAND,
NASHVILLE, TENN. April—, 1864.

The captain of the First Kansas battery will make out a furlough, granting leave of absence for two weeks to Corporal Theodore Gardner, and forward the same to these headquarters for approval.

By order of MAJ. GEN. GEO. H. THOMAS, *Commanding.*
GEO. E. FLYNT, *Asst. Adjt. Genl.*

This was almost as great a shock to the boys with a "pull" as was the "accidental" discharge of one of our guns on our march down in the Ozarks. I did not stop to inquire why I had been thus singled out and made the subject of a special order from the department commander. It was explained later when my sister informed me, on my arrival home, that she had written General Thomas a personal letter, which had evidently escaped the eagle eye of the assistant adjutant general and reached the great commander. I never knew the contents of that letter. What would I not give at this late day for a copy of it to embody in this simple narrative?

The winter of 1863-'64 was noted as a cold one, breaking all records. The little creek known as Sullivan's Branch, twenty-six miles from Nashville, upon which we camped, was frozen almost solid. At this camp, although in daily communication by rail with the great depots of supplies at Nashville, we suffered the greatest hardship experienced during our entire army life, because of the villainous character of the rations furnished us. These rations consisted solely of barreled salt pork—the

lean streaks between the solid fat portions having in many instances turned green—hard-tack, sugar and coffee. In consequence of this meager diet I acquired a servere attack of scurvy, which was rapidly approaching a stage where I was likely to need treatment in hospital, an experience I had always striven to avoid and which was only averted by the timely arrival of my furlough.

Arriving home in a famished condition, having been unable to swallow a morsel of food for twenty-four hours, I was immediately placed under the care of old Doctor Thompson, our family physician. At the expiration of my two weeks furlough he informed my family that I was not only unable to travel, but totally unfit for duty, were I back at headquarters. Securing from the doctor a written statement to this effect, supplemented by a certificate from Alf Curtiss, justice of the peace in Clinton township, to the effect that Doctor Thompson was a practicing physician in regular standing, I sent these documents to the battery. Thirty days later, still being under the doctor's care, a second certificate was executed and sent to the company. Towards the end of July, having recovered sufficiently to be able for duty, I reported to the commanding officer at Fort Leavenworth and requested that I be sent to my company. This officer examined my expired furlough, and accepting my statement at its face value, gave me an order to report to the commanding officer at St. Louis, accompanied with transportation by boat.

Arriving at St. Louis I at once repaired to the office of the post commander, who took my Leavenworth order, and, placing it on file, gave me an order to report at the recruiting barracks in a distant part of the city. On my arrival at this place I found the officer in charge quartered in an abandoned lumber yard, the covered sheds of which had been fitted with bunks and furnished with straw for bedding. The clerk in charge took my order, and, placing it on file, told me to go out in the "bull pen" and make myself at home. Upon making inquiry as to the probable date of my departure I was informed that I might be held there a week. Here was a situation. I had neither blankets nor money. There was no provision for food, and I imagined I could hear the "greybacks" quarreling over a division of spoils. After standing around the office for a few minutes in a brown study, I stepped out as though going into the stockade, but passed on down street, repairing to the place of business of an acquaintance, where I borrowed some money. I then crossed the river and boarded a train for Louisville. Arriving at the New Albany ferry at seven o'clock next morning, I boarded the boat and passed swiftly across the Ohio.

Up to this time I had met with no opposition from any source, but the territory south of the Ohio river was under martial law, and the moment I left the ferry I was halted and asked for my pass. It dawned upon me in an instant that I had burned my bridges behind me. I had nothing to show for all the transactions I had had with various officers, hence I was in a dilemma. Pulling out my expired furlough, I exhibited it to the guard, but he pronounced it no good, and placing me under arrest said I could explain it all to the sergeant of the guard. When that official

arrived he suggested that I would be given an opportunity to explain to the provost marshal, whose office was a couple of miles up the river, at Jeffersonville. So, taking me in his wagon, we repaired to the marshal's office, where we found a dozen or more derelicts of one kind or another who had been rounded up by the provost guard during the course of the night. They ranged all the way from a plain drunk to a dapper young fellow with a flashy tie, known as a "bounty jumper."

Taking my seat in an obscure corner, I watched the proceedings until the last case had been disposed of, when the austere-looking old judge accosted me with, "Well, young man, what have you been doing?" I stood up before the bar and related my story practically as I have here written it down. Turning to the sergeant he asked, "Where was this young man when he was arrested?" The sergeant informed him. The judge softened up at once and said in a kindly tone, "Young man, you seem to be telling the truth. I am going to turn you loose on your own recognizance, with orders to report to the commanding officer in Louisville." Handing me a ticket across the ferry, he bade me good-bye, and I went on my way rejoicing. I lost no time in reporting to the Louisville officer as directed. There I was placed under lock and key in a big barracks along with a bunch of forty or fifty others who were drifting back to their commands at the front. The following morning we were hustled into a coach with a sentry at each door, and at eventide were landed at Nashville. After a very uncomfortable night on the bare floor of Zollicoffer barracks without blankets, I took train for Johnsonville, where at last, after nearly three months of sickness and adventure, I rejoined the battery.

In September, 1864, while stationed at Johnsonville, the battery recruited a number of men from the quartermaster's department. In order to secure a final settlement of their accounts with that department it was necessary for them to appear in person at the office of the quartermaster general at Nashville. I was detailed, as noncommissioned officer in charge, to conduct them to Nashville and return. Having concluded the business in hand we started for the depot on our return trip. Noting that our time was limited, we struck a double quick gait, which we kept up for several blocks, but to no purpose, since upon our arrival at the station the train had been gone several minutes. We were naturally much disappointed, and in a decidedly dejected frame of mind retraced our steps, wrapped in a cloud of gloom at the prospect of a night in the notorious Zollicoffer barracks. However, every cloud has its silver lining, and we survived a night in the barracks, while the unfortunate passengers on the train we tried to catch spent theirs on the other side of the great divide. The train ran out fifty miles, when it was ditched by guerrillas and burned, the passengers being murdered in cold blood.

The Tennessee river at Johnsonville is a noble stream some four or five hundred yards wide, with a channel of sufficient depth to admit the passage of the largest Mississippi river steamers. In 1864 the west bank, opposite Johnsonville, was covered by a dense forest extending up and down the river for several miles and back as far as the eye could reach. On the east bank rose a range of low hills shelving back and ter-

minating at the southern edge of the village in a round knob some seventy-five feet above the river and a few hundred feet east of it. Back of this knob about a thousand feet was a second ridge, perhaps a hundred feet higher. This second ridge was dubbed by the battery boys "Mt. Pisgah." On the lower knob was constructed an earthwork with embrasures in which were installed the six guns of the First Kansas battery, giving them a commanding position, covering the village and the great warehouses on the levee, which were filled with supplies for the Army of the Cumberland. Just south of this redoubt was our camp, a few yards away.

Late in October, 1864, rumors began filtering into camp, no one seemed to know from whence, that General Forrest with a large force of Confederates was in west Tennessee, threatening Johnsonville. These rumors crystallized on Sunday morning, October 30, when Lieut. Col. T. R. Weaver, commanding the post at Pine Bluff, wired Gen. J. L. Donaldson, chief quartermaster, Department of the Cumberland, at Nashville, that Forrest had captured and burned the steamer *Mazeppa,* laden with clothing and bound from Cincinnati to Johnsonville. On the same day, from the same source, came a second dispatch announcing the capture, by rebels, of the gunboat *Undine* and the transports *Cheeseman* and *Venus.* These incidents awoke the department to the fact that the immense stores of army supplies at Johnsonville were in jeopardy, since they were guarded by an insignificant force, which included, among others, the First Kansas battery, the Forty-third Wisconsin infantry (hundred-day men with no army experience), three companies of colored troops and a squad of twenty cavalrymen of the Eleventh Tennessee, while at the wharf lay the gunboats *Key West, Elfin* and *Tawah.*[28] These gunboats were ordinary river steamboats, from which the upper works had been removed and replaced with heavy wooden planks sheathed with quarter-inch boiler iron. While this afforded ample protection against rifle bullets, a shot from an ordinary ten-pound fieldpiece would pass through them as readily as through a piece of cardboard.

On Wednesday, November 2, Lieutenant King, taking a couple of gunboats, made a reconnoissance down the river, where he encountered the transport *Venus,* which had been supplied with two pieces of artillery and loaded with troops who were to land and attack us at Johnsonville. A few well-directed shots from the gunboat disabled her so the rebels ran her ashore and skedaddled. Lieutenant King then attached a hawser and towed her up to camp, where the two pieces of artillery were unloaded and placed in position to do duty for Uncle Sam.

On the night of November 3, Forrest moved his forces up opposite Johnsonville, and planting his batteries both above and below the town,

28. Lieut. Col. William Sinclair in his report says: "The military and naval force at Johnsonville on November 4 was as follows: Forty-third Wisconsin volunteers, 700 men; detachments of the Twelfth, Thirteenth, and One Hundredth U. S. colored infantry, —— men; armed quartermaster's employees, 800 men; detachment of the Eleventh Tennessee cavalry, 20 men; First Kansas battery, six 10-pounder Parrott guns; company A, Second U. S. Colored artillery, two 12-pounder Napoleon guns; one section quartermaster's battery from Nashville, two 12-pounder Napoleon guns; two 20-pounder Parrott guns captured on *Venus;* gunboats, *Key West* (32), *Elfin* (52), and *Tawah* (29)."—"War of Rebellion Records," series 1, vol. 39, p. 861.

Capt. S. J. McConnell says in his report (same volume as above, page 865): "None of the troops except the First Kansas battery had ever been under fire; the 400 colored troops were the only ones that were drilled."

on the afternoon of November 4, opened fire. The gunboats replied vigorously, but were no match for the land batteries. Meantime the First Kansas battery was busily engaged handing them its compliments in the shape of percussion shells. Owing to the heavy timber which skirted the river, the rebels were obliged to plant their guns within a few feet of the edge of the bank, which at that point was several feet high. Our infantry, which was deployed along the river bank as sharpshooters, observed one of our percussion shells explode immediately under the trail of one of the enemy's guns, dumping the piece end over into the river.

Finding it impossible to drive off the enemy, and fearing they might capture one of our boats and thus effect a crossing, when they would make short work of our garrison, the gunboats, transports and barges lying at the wharf were fired and burned. The heat from the burning boats and shells from the enemy's guns soon fired the warehouses and the stores of forage stacked upon the levee, and the government sustained a loss of nearly two millions of dollars. The small earthwork in which our battery was located, being within easy range of the enemy's guns, caused us, on the night of the 3d, to move them back to the higher ground of Mt. Pisgah, where we were out of their range and yet within effective range with our own. During the night, in replying to one of the occasional shots with which they favored us, something went wrong with the fuse, and our shell exploded in the piece, blowing off about three feet of the muzzle, but fortunately doing no damage otherwise.

The morning of the 5th was damp and a dense fog hung upon the river. We were up bright and early, having bivouacked on the high ground beside our guns. Repairing to our camp, we prepared breakfast, and then many of the boys, myself included, went down to the wharf to view the ruin. While rummaging around we heard the enemy's bugles across the river sounding "boots and saddles," when we started pell-mell for the battery, nearly half a mile away, and all the way up hill. Before we had made half the distance the enemy batteries opened fire from both above and below. The cannonade was something awe-inspiring, yet had no effect other than to accelerate our speed as we scrambled up the face of the hill. On reaching the battery we were soon at work, and directing our entire fire at first one and then the other of the enemy's batteries, soon silenced them, and they withdrew, thus ending the bloodless battle of Johnsonville. The only casualty noted was the death of one civilian, killed by a cannon ball in the village.

When it became apparent that Forrest was threatening the great supply depot at Johnsonville, urgent request was made upon General Thomas for reinforcements to assist in its defense. Owing to movements in other parts of the field, Thomas replied that no troops were available, and that the post would better be abandoned and the property removed to Nashville. Owing to the immense quantities of goods and the shortage of transportation, the quartermaster replied that such action was both impossible and inadvisable, and suggested arming the civilian employees of the quartermaster's department to assist in the defense of the post. To this General Thomas assented, and a force of five hundred men was armed and equipped and forwarded from Nashville under the command of Captain Montandon.

Capt. James F. Rusling, acting chief quartermaster, Department of the Cumberland, at Nashville, in his report to General Meigs, quartermaster general of the army at Washington, says: "I think it may be fairly claimed that the quartermaster's department, unaided, saved Johnsonville; at least that portion of it that was saved at all."[29]

It is now too late to enter into any controversy with Captain Rusling, as he has long since been gathered to his fathers. But from the fact that the employees of the quartermaster's department never got within gunshot of a rebel, it would seem that the boys on the gunboats who stood by their guns until the boats were riddled with shells—one of them having nineteen shell holes in her—and the First Kansas battery, which silenced the enemy's batteries after the gunboats were in the bottom of the river, had at least something to do with keeping Forrest out of Johnsonville.

An amusing incident which occurred in the afternoon of the first day's fight throws a little light on the character of the raw recruits, to whose wonderful efficiency Captain Rusling attributes the saving of Johnsonville. As has been heretofore noted, in September preceding the battle the battery had recruited a number of civilians from the quartermaster's department, several of whom were assigned to my gun squad. During the afternoon my section of the battery was ordered down the river half a mile in an endeavor to secure a position from which to direct a fire upon the enemy's battery. Moving cautiously up the river bank, we were halted while the officers were reconnoitering. Then came the order to load. I had assigned a long, cadaverous looking cigar maker from Pittsburg, Pa., to the position of No. 2 on the gun. Having received a shell from No. 5, he inserted it in the gun to be rammed home by No 1, and then scampered away ten or a dozen yards, where I discovered him with a finger stuck in each ear and his knees shaking, waiting for the gun to fire. He got back to his post in short order.

In volume 3, page 257, of "The Photographic History of the Civil War," published by the Review of Reviews Company, 1912, I find the following short note regarding the withdrawal of the Union forces from Johnsonville, accompanied by a photograph labeled, "Rushing a Federal battery out of Johnsonville." As an example of the inaccuracies of history written fifty years later, I copy this note in full:

"When Thomas began to draw together his forces to meet Hood at Nashville, he ordered the garrison at Johnsonville, on the Tennessee, eighty miles due west of Nashville, to leave that place and hasten north. It was the garrison at the same Johnsonville that a month earlier had been frightened into panic and flight when the bold Confederate raider, Forrest, appeared on the west bank of the river and began a noisy cannonade. New troops had been sent to the post. They appear well coated and equipped. The day after the photograph was taken (November 23) the encampment in the picture was broken."

The sympathies of the writer of that note were certainly with the "noisy cannonader," since there was no one among the officers or men comprising the little garrison at Johnsonville who ever thought for a moment of evacuating the place. While Forrest succeeded in destroying an im-

29. "War of Rebellion Records," series 1, vol. 52, p. 120.

mense depot of supplies, the First Kansas battery hammered him so effectively that he withdrew and left us on the field, where we remained until November 29, when we retired at the command of General Thomas, commanding the department.

Following the battle of Johnsonville, November 3 and 4, 1864, the rebel general, Forrest, pased on up the Tennessee river, and it was feared by the Federal authorities that he would effect a crossing and return to complete his work of destruction. In order to forestall any such move, General Thomas sent the first and second divisions of the Twenty-third army corps to our assistance. The small garrison at Johnsonville had been living in a state of suspense for several days, expecting Forrest's return. Judge of our surprise, then, when one morning before reveille, on hearing a commotion in camp, we sprang from our blankets, and throwing back the tent flies discovered the serried ranks of boys in blue striding along at a swinging gait, their rifles at right shoulder, and Old Glory waiving in the morning breeze at the head of the column. It was an inspiring sight, and owing to the suspense under which we had been laboring, one not soon to be forgotten. The battery bugler was relieved of the duty of sounding reveille that morning, for the whole camp broke out into prolonged cheers which awoke the echoes—"they looked good to us." Subsequent events proved that our fears were groundless, for Forrest moved rapidly to northern Alabama, where he joined Hood and marched upon Nashville.

This necessitated the abandonment of Johnsonville, and on November 29 Col. C. R. Thompson, commanding the post, was ordered by General Thomas to move the troops to Nashville, following the line of the Nashville & Northwestern railroad. The following day, November 30, 1864, Hood and Schofield, who had been racing towards Nashville, clashed at Franklin, and there fought a very hotly contested and bloody battle, Schofield retiring behind the fortifications at Nashville, while Hood, encouraged by his seeming success, closed his lines around the city. This action of Hood caused the Johnsonville troops to detour north via Clarksville, where they crossed the Cumberland river and moved into Nashville from the north side. When Thomas discovered that our commander could not reach Nashville before Hood had completed his investment of the city, he dispatched scouts, who eluded the vigilance of Hood's pickets, and met us forty miles out on the Charlotte pike just as we were going into camp for the night, bringing orders for our change of route. As soon as we had fed our stock and swallowed a hasty meal, we hitched up and started. At the same time a cold November rain set in, a steady downpour which continued the entire night.

Our road was a single-track, cross country road, leading through heavy timber over clay hills. Very soon pitch darkness enveloped us, while the rain soon rendered the road practically impassable. Soon a wagon stuck in the mud. As it was impossible to drive around, the whole command was halted, and there we stayed until daylight, not having made to exceed a couple of miles. The writer lay down with a beech tree root for a pillow, threw the cape of his overcoat over his head to prevent the raindrops from pattering in his face, and slept the sleep of the just, wet to the hide from head to foot. The following day we reached Clarksville, where we ferried the Cumberland river, stopping overnight, and then proceeded by

easy stages up the north side of the river to Edgefield, opposite Nashville, where we recrossed and moved out on our extreme left near Fort Negley, and were placed under the direct command of General Steedman. We were eight days on the march from Johnsonville, arriving on December 7, the anniversary of the battle of Prairie Grove, two years before. On December 8 came the great sleet storm, the like of which had never before been seen by the oldest inhabitant. The entire surface of the earth was a glare of ice. Neither man nor horse could move with any safety whatever.

Gen. George H. Thomas was a Virginian, and the authorities at Washington began to suspect that his sympathies for the South were preventing him from attacking Hood. This suspicion became so pronounced, when after the lapse of an entire week no move had been made, that General Grant ordered Gen John A. Logan to proceed at once to Nashville and take command. The records say that Logan did not arrive until the 17th, the day after the battle, but it was current talk that when he arrived at Louisville, Ky., and saw the conditions, he stopped and loafed around the Galt House a couple of days. Meantime, on the 14th, the thaw began, and on the morning of the 15th Thomas sailed into Hood and wiped out the last Confederate army ever gathered together in that section of the country.

The first day's fight was without decisive results. During the night of the 15th Hood concentrated his forces, shortening his lines, and on the morning of the 16th was prepared to renew the struggle; but to no purpose. The Union troops were everywhere victorious, and Hood's defeat was turned into a rout, the fleeing Confederates abandoning large quantities of arms and equipment of every description. Their commissary supplies were so scant that many of the prisoners taken had nothing in their haversacks but a little parched corn. Most of them were completely disheartened and ready to give up. I saw one Federal infantryman bringing in six Confederates, each with his rifle and equipment, which was an indication of their condition, both of body and mind.

The part taken by the First Kansas battery in the battle of Nashville was insignificant. There were a great number of detachments of troops guarding outposts in the vicinity of Nashville which were called in and placed under command of Gen. James B. Steedman. The evening of the 14th two sections of the battery were ordered to move inside the inner line of defense, between Fort Negley and the river, alongside the city waterworks, where our guns were placed in an earthwork, on top of which we sat and listened to the roar of battle three or four miles away. The other section, under command of Lieut. John B. Cook, went through the fight, but fortunately sustained no casualties.

Thirty-five years after our march from Johnsonville to Nashville, the writer was seated at the breakfast table in the Byram Hotel at Atchison. Across the table sat a grizzled old veteran wearing a bronze button, the insignia of the Grand Army of the Republic. Answering his inquiry regarding my connection with the army, I replied that I had served in the First Kansas battery.

"Why," he said, "I issued rations to the battery at Clarksville, Tenn., in 1864, when I was stationed there as commissary." It was Hon. E. N. Morrill, ex-governor of Kansas. It was in camp at Nashville that the writer was promoted to the rank of sergeant and placed in charge of a full gun detachment.

When night had drawn her sable folds over the scenes of strife and bloodshed upon the battlefield of Nashville on the 16th day of December, 1864, shielding the shattered hosts of Hood's defeated army from the continued assaults of its relentless pursuers, the First Kansas battery had fired its last gun in the war for the preservation of the Union. Henceforward, to the close, it was to perform only the perfunctory duties incident to camp life. Although one section followed the retreating enemy as far as Franklin, it was immediately ordered to return and rejoin the battery. The presence in Nashville of an army of over eighty thousand men induced an influx of such a hoard of cutthroats and highwaymen that murder, robbery and pillage were of nightly occurrence. To this condition the community became so accustomed that when there came a time, to use a current phrase of that day, "When we did not have a man for breakfast," it was the subject of special note in large type in the morning papers.

Finally with no feelings of regret, on the 31st day of January, 1865, we bade adieu to Nashville. When the morning sun peeped over the wooded crest of historic Missionary Ridge, on the morning of February 1, it found the battery bivouacked on the plaza in front of the depot at Chattanooga. How the mention of Chattanooga brings memories of bygone days! Fighting Joe Hooker, with his hosts of boys in blue, battling above the clouds for possession of the rugged cliffs of old Lookout. Sherman crossing his entire army in small boats, over the Tennessee from Moccasin Point, under the friendly cover of night, in order to strike Bragg's army in the flank on the morrow. Grant standing on Orchard Knob, eargerly watching Rosecrans' division ascending the slope of Missionary Ridge, and wondering who ordered them to keep on to the top. It all seems like some fantastic dream.

The railroad from Nashville to Chattanooga trends in a southeasterly direction until it crosses the Tennessee river at Stevenson, Ala., where in order to reach Chattanooga it curves abruptly to the northwest to avoid Lookout mountain, thus reversing its general direction. Our train having made this about-face after nightfall, the result was that the writer was turned halfway around, and when the sun made its appearance it was exactly in the west, took its course around to the north, and set in the east, and in spite of all the effort I could put forth this delusion continued during my sojourn at that place.

General Sherman having gone to the coast and Hood having been finally disposed of, there were seventeen batteries of light artillery in the Army of the Cumberland for which there seemed to be no immediate use; hence they were assembled at Chattanooga, it being a central point from which they could be forwarded in case of need. They were placed in charge of a regular army officer of artillery, and were known and designated as the "Reserve Artillery of the Army of the Cumberland." Thus

disposed, we settled down to routine camp life. In order to keep us busy, fatigue parties were sent into the pine forests of north Georgia, where trees were felled, logs hewn and hauled to camp, and cabins built for quarters. This kept the boys employed for several weeks and served to relieve the monotony of camp life. Our camp was situated about a mile from the river, to which our horses were taken morning and evening for water. While riding at the head of the column one morning, passing down through the town, word was brought to us of the assassination of President Lincoln. The feeling of intense sorrow which came over me at this news was almost as great as that I experienced upon learning of the death of my own father.

Then when the news reached us of the surrender of Lee and Johnston, we realized that the war was ended, and the boys began speculating upon what they would do when they returned to civil life. Some of them solved the problem easily, while to others it proved a lifelong problem, never to be successfully solved. When the 4th day of June arrived, and Andrew St. John, our orderly sergeant, handed me my last guard detail, he had noted on the bottom of the scrap of paper upon which it was written, the following:

"Sergeant Theodore Gardner,
This detail take, and remember well,
It's the last you'll get for a little spell."

On a bright summer morning, the 6th of June, 1865, I was handed an honorable discharge from the United States army, "by reason of expiration of term of service." Bidding what was to be a last good-bye to many of my comrades, whose joys, sorrows and privations I had shared around camp fires built in ten states, I departed for home, happy in the consciousness of having performed my full duty and of having been instrumental in securing the triumph of the cause for which we had fought.

The battery remained in camp at Chattanooga until early in July, when it was ordered to Fort Leavenworth, where it was mustered out on the 17th day of July, 1865.

# CAMPAIGNING IN THE ARMY OF THE FRONTIER.

By Albert Robinson Greene,[1] Company A, Ninth Kansas Cavalry.

THE CIVIL WAR had been in progress more than a year when I enlisted. Finally, when one of those calls for "three hundred thousand more" came, I got the consent of my parents to go. Also I reluctantly obtained my own consent, for I wasn't ready to die, and felt sure that I would be killed as soon as the Confederacy heard I was into the scrap. Having learned that Captain Earl had assured his men that they stood in more danger of being killed by lightning if they were at home than by the enemy if they would join his company, that decided me to join his outfit. I enlisted at Lawrence, but was given a furlough the same afternoon to go back home and put on the "orneriest" clothes I could scare up, for they were to be given or thrown away as soon as I donned the uniform of Uncle Sam. In two days I met the company at Big Springs, in Douglas county, where they had camped for the night on their way from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Riley. My first shock came when I saw the boys eating out of their hands and drinking black coffee without the use of cups and saucers, which I supposed to be the customary adjuncts of every well-regulated army table. Also, none of the mess appeared to be ready to "say grace," although, if my memory serves me, they were saying about everything else. That first supper in camp was an astonisher of the first magnitude. However, I was kindly told that "grub pile" had been called, and so I pitched in with the rest. Afterward and before long I acquired the habit, and in one respect at least ever afterward was a good soldier.

The next day we were on the road at what seemed to me an unearthly hour for a march of less than twenty miles. We forded the Kansas at Topeka and camped for the night at Indianola, alongside of the stage station. From Indianola to St. Mary's Mission there was not a white inhabitant in the valley. We made our noon camp at Silver Lake, just on the rim of the old river bed, that had received that designation from the Indians or some other poetically inclined people who had more regard for euphony than appropriateness. Manhattan did not appeal to us but Ashland, where several of the boys lived, we were assured was to be the metropolis of the upper valley. However, Ogden was the place that appealed to us still more, for the brewery was there, and quite a stop was made to enjoy the scenery! Also, Jim Lane was making a speech there that day, and had got to the place in his remarks where he was wont to shed his duds, or the most of them, just as we arrived. As our officers were all "agin" Lane and for Robinson, the brewery had the greater attraction for them.

When we struck the military reservation of Fort Riley we were admonished that we must brace up and make as good an appearance as possible. To this end the boys who had been riding side-saddle fashion, and

1. For biographical sketch of Albert Robinson Greene, see "Kansas Historical Collections," vol. 8, p. 1.

had stowed their carbines in the mess wagons along with their sabers, got those traps and "cast eyes to the front."

I have always thought, from that day to this, that Fort Riley is the show place of all Kansas. As soon as I could I went up to the Ogden monument and took a good look. It seemed as if the whole of the dear state was in view from that point. If ever the capital of the United States is relocated, the committee ought to be unanimous in favor of Fort Riley.

For a mount I had been given a superannuated old beast that had belonged to a soldier who had recently died (a natural death) named Lanterwasser. The boys nicknamed him (the horse) "Lots of Water," which I shortly learned to be most appropriate. If that horse could get lots of water he could get along swimmingly without other forage. However, I must not disparage that dear old horse, for he taught me more than any drill master ever did, and without swearing at me. He knew the difference between the bugle calls of "right about" and "left about," and that's saying a good deal for the intelligence of a dumb brute, and more than can be said for some veteran soldiers.

Of course I went sound asleep the first night I was placed on guard. That's the way all recruits do, and I preserved the tradition. It so happened that the corporal of the guard was a friend of mine, with whom I had hunted jack rabbits in the Wakarusa bottoms, and he rattled his saber to wake me in time to give the challenge. I shall remember him in my will. Many months afterwards, when I had become hardened to the thought of being shot at sunrise, I confided the secret to him and he laughed; but he never told me what at!

A volunteer soldier serving under volunteer officers has a lot to learn about army etiquette before he has been long in the army. Thus for thanking a commissioned officer for bringing me a letter from home, I was roundly cursed for my familiarity! I should have stood at "attention," saluted (which I did), and kept my eyes the regulation "ten paces to the front," and taken the letter in sulky silence. Two neighbors of yesterday, of equal social status, find themselves separated by an impassable gulf when two bits' worth of tinsel is tacked on the shoulders of one and the other is not thus arrayed.

After a few days of drilling and drilling and then more drilling, "boots and saddles" sounded and instantly there was a big bustle in the quarters. For a short time all was conjecture, but it was generally supposed that some stage station along the Pike's Peak route had been attacked by Indians. Then the captain told the first lieutenant, and he the second lieutenant, and he the first sergeant, and so on down the line until even the soldiers knew that we were ordered on a forced march to Fort Scott. The hardened and calloused men, who had been long enough in the army to pretend that they were aching for a fight, shouted and embraced each other and went on at a great rate. I did n't feel that way about it. Of course I supposed there would be a garrison left to care for the fort and property, and made an early application for the detail. Strange as it may seem to a private citizen, that application was disregarded. On the contrary I was told to pack my saddle and throw all extra belongings away.

Presently our little column of one hundred men and two mess wagons rolled out of the fort and wound down the hill to the river, which we forded, and, taking the trail up Clark's creek, continued in a direction to the southeast and towards Missouri. It was all open country then and to be had for the asking; but times have changed. We struck the head of the Neosho, where it is simply a ravine on a hillside, and followed the valley all the way to Iola.

In spite of the imminence of gory fields, the army is a perpetual "joke-fest." I soon found out that no service became so strenuous and exhausting that the average soldier was too tired to play a trick on a recruit. An illumination of this fact occurred the first night out of Fort Riley. We had camped in the edge of the Kaw reservation. I was "detailed" to accompany a hardened sinner, whose enlistment antedated mine by a few days, on "patrol duty." I afterwards learned that there was about as much need of a patrol there as there would be to a prayer meeting in the suburbs of Boston. At dark we were instructed by the orderly sergeant to proceed a mile from camp and remain "on alertness for the enemy until reveille in the morning." We took position on the prairie as directed, and began our vigil. For a while I was about scared to death at the thought of a night attack by a band of Indians with the nearest reinforcements a mile away. After a while my companion rode alongside and whispered in my ear that we were allowed to dismount and let the horses graze, but must hold them by the bridle rein. I dismounted and gave old Lanterwasser the length of the strap, lay down, and was soon fast asleep. I was dreaming of ghastly wounds made by glistening tomahawks, intermingled with farm chores and other stunts at home, when my partner waked me with a whispered command to "Get up quick." He said the horses were becoming restless and had waked him from a nap by their snuffing and uneasiness. I sprang up, and was in the act of mounting when I discovered that it was not my saddle. I reported the fact just as my trusted friend made the discovery that his horse had on my saddle! Without stopping to exchange, we mounted in hot haste, drew our pistols and prepared for action, for he assured me that this was a taunt of the Indians who had sneaked in while we were asleep and would soon be down upon us in great numbers. We sat there and awaited the onslaught until the joyful notes of the bugle called us back to camp. My friend generously allowed me to relate the adventures of the night, which furnished hilarity for the next day's march. At Council Grove we camped near a lot of Kaw Indians, and had a world of fun setting up hard-tacks for them to win by shooting them with their bows and arrows. The target was set twenty paces away, and they rarely missed the mark. Finally the commissary sergeant found it out and put a stop to the fun. I did n't speak to him afterward for a month.

Emporia was a forlorn hamlet then. The day before a stray buffalo had been killed in the suburbs and the town was talking about it so much they hardly had time to notice the arrival of an army! One of the men (our men) fell off his horse in a fit, and the boys just bundled him into a wagon, put a gag in his mouth to keep him from biting his tongue, and went on as if it was an ordinary occurrence.

I was in the rear guard the day we passed through the hamlet of Geneva, and of course our place was half a mile in the rear of the main column. The women and children of the place did n't know this, and offered us milk and doughnuts and pies and cake, just as they had given them to the troops ahead. Our commander was a crusty old German corporal who had seen service in the Fatherland, and he at first objected to this delay as a violation of regulations. Right there I learned how to manage an officer. One of the men, who knew the old man's failing, put a flask in his hand, and really I do believe the corporal forgot his troubles with that mutinous rear guard. His benefactor, to relieve the lonesomeness of the occasion, stayed with him. That treat at Geneva was about the best one I had during the war, and I wonder whether any of the little company of women and children who gave it are living now.

It was Sunday when we reached Iola, and I wondered which church we would attend. In the absence of a chaplain to go to, I approached one of the comrades who had been a class leader at home. He said we would have to be content with a little prayer meeting. So a bunch of us went to one side for the purpose, but the class leader got tangled up in a picket fence and let out an oath that sounded too deliberate to be a slip of the tongue, and it put a damper on my piety for the time being. By this time the boys had arranged a horse race in the one street of the village, and we went there and saw our own "Black Bess" win all the stakes, after which the column moved forward.

Arrived at Fort Scott we found the town alive with soldiers. I wondered what the Confederates would think when we all got there. Our company was sent to a camping place out on the brink of the Marmaton bluff, to the west of the town, near a large spring, where a regiment of regular army infantry was camped. I went over to them to ask a few questions as to how they liked it, and so forth, and instead of answering me they just stared and never said a word. I have never liked the regular army since.

Out on the open prairie to the south of town was the drill ground. At the sides, and on the crest of the hills beyond, regiments and batteries were encamped, but the open country for a mile or so was kept for the daily drilling of the troops. One day it was given out that our company was going out there to drill, and then we learned that it was to be a saber drill. Now I never have liked the saber particularly, and liked it less than ever at that time. It is an unhandy thing to walk with or alongside of, if a man has any respect for his legs, and on a horse it is positively dangerous. I got along quite well, however, in the "right cut against infantry" and the "left cut against infantry," but when it came to the "rear moulinet" I did n't do so well. At the first pass of the thing behind my back I ripped into my overcoat, which was rolled up there. The true soldier must always have his overcoat along, even in dog days, if he is only riding his horse to water. The next time old Lanterwasser nearly leaped out of his hide. I think I must have disturbed his hind quarters. When it came to "front moulinet" it was no better. I watched the officers do it, and they told us to do exactly as they

did. They could make that old cheese knife spin like a circular saw all around them, but it was no go with me. My first attempt came near cutting off the right ear of my esteemed traveling companion, who gave such a lurch to the rear that I was nearly unhorsed. The officers said it was for the purpose of limbering up our wrists. Maybe so. I never got that far. I was quite satisfied to quit when I had limbered up my horse. Also, the horse seemed to consider it sufficient. But every sacrifice in a good cause has its compensations, and we got ours when it came to a saber charge. To adequately comprehend the situation one should remember that the assembling of several thousand soldiers at a small town is an event for the whole community. I am satisfied that the farmers for miles around Fort Scott neglected their hauling and other farm work just to come to town and watch those soldiers drill. It was getting late in the season and they ought to have been at home getting ready for winter, but they put it off to see the fun. They came in wagons and buggies, on horseback and on foot, and brought their wives and children along. This drill ground was their favorite rendezvous, and any good day there were scores of them there from early till late. When our company went out and had gone through the saber practice there were our friends and their kindred to enjoy it and applaud. The company being in line, the order "Forward, march," was given, and the line started, the horses in a walk. Then the order came, "Trot," and a few of the nearer of the spectators began to turn their vehicles to widen the space between the oncoming soldiers and themselves. They had hardly done this when the order to "Gallop" came, and almost instantly thereafter the command "Charge." I need not describe what happened. Fortunately there were no casualties, but it is an old saying that one might as well be killed as scared to death. My, what a mix-up it was. Men flailing their plow horses with hickory gads, women screaming to beat the band, children spilling out of the rigs and running for dear life, brood mares calling frantically for their colts, sheepskin saddles flying in the air, end gates and cushions and store bundles scattered over the plain; and indifferent to all this wreckage and dismay, company A, Ninth Kansas cavalry, marching from the field in a column of fours!

Fort Scott had always been one of the show places in my memory, and especially the old barracks and officers' quarters, where many notables in American history had served, and I spent many an hour in wandering through the old halls and conjuring up the scenes of revelry that once made the rafters ring. Then, too, its rehabilitation and present activity appealed to a young soldier who dreamed of greater martial honors that should eclipse its former glory. Great undertakings were in progress. Immense siege guns, hauled from Leavenworth by teams of ten yoke of oxen, were being dragged up Wall street to their positions on the hill, and hundreds of men were tearing up the sod and piling up earthworks over which these same great guns were to hurl forth defiance to the foe. Already our company had taken an humble part in the moral uplift of the new order. A troupe of strolling players, the leading lady of which was a girl who was to become the mother of a variety actress of international

fame, set up their tent near our camp and nightly gave performances, which proved too wanton for even the morals of soldiers, whereupon the guy ropes were cut and the canvas came down on the heads of the gay caperers, just as "the villian still pursued her." Also, one of our men who had a strangely scattering and unreliable vision, in a laudable ambition to shoot the lights out of a nude figure in a saloon, wabbled over to the "barkeep" and killed him instead. At the trial, upon his solemn asseveration that he didn't go to do it, he was let off with three days in the guardhouse. Thus ever the right came uppermost and truth was "marching on."

After a week or so the troops had nearly all left for the front, only a few companies and the garrison remaining. One sultry afternoon our orders came; but, as it turned out, not to go to the front. I shied a little as they told us we were going on a scout after Indians; but as I saw the whole company was going, concluded it was no joke this time. We were told to take one day's rations and all the ammunition we could accommodate. The column struck out to the southwest across the prairie, and then it was passed along the line that Stand Waitie, with a regiment of Indians, was raiding the settlements along the Neosho valley. About sundown we came to a skirt of woods along a tributary of the Marmaton river, and then a black cloud which had been rising in the west shut down on us like a pot lid. It was impossible to see your hand before you. We became involved in the woods and lost our way. After a lot of aimless wandering about we came to a strip of prairie and bivouacked for the night. We had no sooner picketed our horses than the storm broke with tremendous fury. Torrents of rain, blinding flashes of lightning, peals of thunder that seemed to shake the earth, kept us dodging for an hour; and with it all about a hundred men blaspheming at the top of their voices. To make the demonstration complete, the horses stampeded in the thick of it, and with the air full of flying picket pins there was more to dodge. It was a fine experience for a boy just from the plow handles! I think the exhilaration lasted me for a week. Once or twice I thought I could detect the ribald laughter of Stand Waite amid the uproar, but I must have been mistaken. Finally the tumult subsided, the stars began to wink at us and the clouds were wringing out the remnants of the storm in desultory drops. Horses whinnied for their masters, and the reassuring voice of Captain Earl heard commanding us to fall in on him. One by one the horses were recovered and we began the formation of a line, which in the starlight could be seen to grow longer and longer, until at the count every man was found to be present. Then by the light of a match the compass was consulted, and setting his course (he had been a sailor all his adult life) the gallant captain led us on our way. At daylight we came to the Neosho timber, and soon after struck a long lane and arrived at Osage Mission. We halted in front of the administration building and Father Schoenmachers, of blessed memory, gave us a cordial greeting. Captain Earl told him that we had been wandering after Stand Waitie's guerrillas all night and were tremendously hungry. He pointed to a pasture where a number of fat cattle were lying, and said with a smile, "select a beef, with my compliments." While we were killing and

dressing the beef, other men built a big camp fire of rails, and our host presently appeared with a band of boys, bringing buckets of hot coffee and milk and stacks of delicious fresh bread. Father Schoenmachers displayed the ability of a general in his directions for our refreshment, and in the replenishing of the buckets and kettles—butter was not overlooked, nor cream for the coffee, and we were urged to eat all we could hold. When we had finished Captain Earl took out his order book and began preparing a voucher, asking the old priest for the amount of the bill, but the good old father replied that he was only too glad to contribute this little mite for the good of the cause, which he prayed God would be successful. Then the boys all shook hands with their benefactor, and when we were in line and ready to go he raised his hands in benediction and said, "May the blessing of a merciful God go with you and preserve you"—and we were off. By questioning every woman we saw—about all the men were in the army—no evidence could be found that any rebels were in that part of the country, and we made a forced march to Fort Scott.

At dark on the evening of October 1 orders came for our company to form the bodyguard for General Blunt in a forced march to the front. We marched all night rapidly and came to Lamar, Mo., early in the morning. Having distanced our two mess wagons, we took breakfast with the citizens. They seemed afraid to commit themselves to either side, but treated us with great kindness. After resting an hour we struck out again, the horses being kept in a trot, and marched all day over a dry, dusty, prairie in a southeasterly direction. Shortly after dark we reached Bower's Mills, a hamlet huddled around a grist mill on Spring river. Corporal Moore had been taken suddenly ill and could go no further. General Blunt and Captain Earl rode up to the principal residence, in front of which the command was halted, and when the lady of the house appeared in answer to their "hello," the following colloquy occurred:

Blunt: "Madam, where is your husband?"

Madam: "In the Confederate army, sir."

Blunt: "I am glad to hear you say that."

Madam: "Why, I thought you-all were Federals."

Blunt: "So we are, but I am glad to find an honest woman—so many lie about their men folks."

Madam: "Well, I'm no liar—what do you-all want?"

Blunt: "I have a sick soldier here and am obliged to leave him in the care of strangers. I want you to nurse him back to health if possible, and take the best of care of him. If he dies I want you to see that he is buried properly and his grave marked. If you discharge this duty well you shall be amply paid for it; if you neglect or mistreat this man in any way I'll come back and burn your house over your head. I am General Blunt."

Madam: "Bring him in; I never mistreated a sick person in my life, no matter who it was."

Tenderly the sick man was lifted from his horse and carried into the house and laid on a bed. His personal belongings were brought and left with him, and with a kind word of parting from each one of the

little detail, one of whom was the corporal's son, we left him to the care of strangers. He died a few weeks afterward and was buried in the dooryard of the house whose mistress had done all that kindness and skill could accomplish to save his life. Later his remains were removed to the national cemetery at Fort Scott.

We reached Sarcoxie at midnight. We found the little army of one or two brigades terribly excited over a defeat a reconnoitering force had suffered two days before at Newtonia, fifteen miles south of Sarcoxie. Notwithstanding we had been in the saddle for thirty hours, there was very little inclination to sleep, the remainder of the night being spent in cooking, eating and discussing the impending battle now that the commanding general was on hand to direct the forces. Attracted by the screams of men on the operating tables, some of us went down to the field hospital and got our first glimpse of the horrors of war in a pile of arms and legs, stark and bloody at the back of the tent.

The next day our company rested, but the camps were alive with preparations for the fight. Sarcoxie was a dreamy old village comfortably situated among vines and shrubbery and overhanging fruit trees, with a single street that wound here and there to accommodate the course of a lovely little river of sparkling water, on the low bank of which it stands. Through openings in the woods that bordered the stream could be seen cultivated fields with white houses and green blinds, and big barns and cattle in pastures beyond; but these were not of Sarcoxie, which apparently lived a life of inactivity and reminiscent dreams. How old it was, or when it was founded or by whom, no one seemed able to tell. At the side of the road we found a pear tree loaded to breaking with delicious fruit. The body was as large as a flour barrel in diameter, and the wide, spreading top overshadowed the street.

I took my horse out on the prairie south of town to graze, and seeing some horsemen a few miles still further to the south, went out to our picket line to inquire who they were. Our men soon told me they were the pickets of the enemy. These were the first Confederate soldiers I ever saw. They were riding back and forth along the edge of the woods bordering Shoal creek, north of Granby, and were about eight miles from our picket line.

About eleven o'clock that night we were wakened by the orderly sergeant, who told us to get up, saddle our horses, and be ready to move at a moment's notice. When these orders had been obeyed there was nothing to do but wait and think. One of the lieutenants had been detailed to stay with the hospital corps, and he was at once besieged with messages to the loved ones at home, for we were all to be killed, of course. Then it occurred to some brilliant comrade to intrust his pocketbook to this officer. No sooner had this been done than the poor lieutenant was loaded with every pocketbook in the company, each consignment being accompanied with instructions as to the disposal of the money. We stuck his pockets full, piled them into his overcoat, laid them at his feet, until there was a good half bushel of them. Then he began to scratch his head in bewilderment. Doubtless he had already forgotten some of the messages, or had them mixed. Suddenly he blurted out that he

would have none of it, and for us to come and get our stuff back again. He did n't pretend to know which was which, but just told us to be careful and get the ones belonging to us. Strange as it may seem, every man got back his own— at least I never heard any complaints.

Just after midnight (it was the morning of October 4) verbal orders were passed among the men to "fall in," and by the light of a big fire—for the night was intensely dark—the captain indicated the right of the line. We had long ago learned that tall men were to take places on the right and short men on the left, and in this way each man automatically found his proper place. Then we were "counted off," and each man was enjoined to remember his number and not to swap places. We had fallen in mounted, so that nothing more remained except precautionary directions. These were given us in a low tone of voice by the orderly sergeant, and were: "No talking nor smoking in ranks, and no breaking ranks without orders." Then we sat there and waited for half an hour. The black clouds which had long been gathering began to emit flashes of lightning, and by these we could dimly see that many other lines had formed—cavalry, infantry and several batteries of artillery, some guns black and some brassy bright. Then came the order, in a loud whisper, "Fours right, forward, march"—and we were off. We could only distinguish our file leaders by the fitful flashes of lightning, and the only sounds heard were the whispered words of the men as they carried on a surreptitious conversation, the muffled tread of many feet, and the chucking of the cannon wheels as the column strung out on the prairie. The information I obtained, as a concession to an ignorant recruit, was that Blunt had six thousand men and two batteries, and that General Totten was coming up on another road to strike on the flank, with about an equal force; and that the enemy, commanded by Cooper, Rains, Shelby and Stand Waitie, had fifteen thousand troops at Newtonia. This was not so far wrong for our forces, as it afterwards turned out. At two o'clock our advance guard was fired on by the enemy's pickets, who fell back into Granby. Soon after this a pouring rain set in and we became drenched to the skin and chilled to the bone. In the lead-mining town of Granby we were halted for an hour, during which time the inhabitants peered at us from half-open doors and round the edges of curtains, although a few came out in a friendly way to inquire if it was the purpose to hold the country by an army of occupation. Seeing this, a few of the secessionists, mostly women and old men, appeared on their porches to taunt us with the "lickin' " our forces got on the 29th and 30th.

The rain having ceased and daylight having come, the column moved forward and came to an open prairie, where the formation of a battle line began. The Ninth Kansas was assigned to the extreme right of the line, and on our left the Third Wisconsin cavalry; then two batteries, and for supports the Ninth Wisconsin infantry and the Tenth Kansas infantry; and on the left the Second and Sixth Kansas cavalry, with a company of mounted Indians on either flank. This was Blunt's entire force—six regiments, two batteries and two companies of Indian scouts. If all the organizations had been full there would have been 6,550 men in line, but several companies of cavalry were on detached service, and the

ranks of several regiments had been weakened by the fight of a few days before, so that it is fair to suppose that the entire force present was somewhat below six thousand men.

The village of Newtonia is in a wide valley with low hills on the north and east. Our command formed line on the hills to the north, and about the same time General Totten appeared on the hills to the east and formed a line apparently about the length of our own. Newtonia lay at the foot of the slopes, a mile in front of each wing of the Union army. The Confederate army was camped in and around the town, and simultaneously with our formations they began to form in line in two divisions, fronting our divisions. Having a full view of the whole field as it was set for the fight, I must say it was the most imposing battle array I saw during the war. The alignment of the troops seemed as perfect as if on dress parade; flags unfurled, guidons fluttering in the breeze, bands playing inspiring airs, and officers, "drest in their best Sunday clothes," riding prancing horses to and fro along the line, and thousands of bright bayonets glistening in the morning light. It was my realization of the "pomp and circumstance of war."

The general rode slowly along the line, resplendent in full dress uniform, his brilliant staff following, scanning every man, evidently to see that he was prepared to do his best, in a most businesslike manner. But the regimental officers, some of them, could not resist the temptation to make a display of their horsemanship and good clothes. One of our majors made more of a display than he had calculated on. He rode a hard-mouthed beast that could only be controlled by a savage curb bit and tightly drawn curb chain. The first time the major moved along the front of our regiment he did pretty well, and a few of the men incautiously cheered his performance. Reaching the left of the line he whirled his horse about with a flourish and plunged the spurs in to the hilt. Then something happened. The horse resented the cruelty, and by a tremendous lunge broke the curb chain, which allowed the bit to turn flat in its mouth, and thus, freed from control, it came tearing at full speed along the front. The major's feet flew from the stirrups, his legs churned up and down at the sides of the horse, his trousers being pushed higher and higher with every downward plungs, until the legs formed big wads around his thighs and his blood-red underwear shone in the sunlight like pillars of fire. His hat, plume and all, had sailed away over the prairie, and in his frantic attempts to hold back the runaway horse he sawed at the bridle reins with both hands, leaving his flashing sword to cavort at will by his side. After the regiment had enjoyed his discomfiture to their satisfaction, a soldier rode out and caught the horse and held him, while the major, in deep chagrin, rearranged his toilet.

About this time Totten fired the signal gun, and the ball opened. The Confederates had not quite completed their assignments, and several regiments and batteries were given new positions under fire. Totten then advanced his batteries and took a new position about the middle of the intervening space between the two armies, and began again landing his shells with terrible effect in the ranks of the enemy. Seeing this, our batteries were run down the slope about half way to the town and nea a point where the enemy's shells were exploding, and took a new posi-

tion, using solid shot. Having no glass, I am unable to state whether from this new position our shots reached the enemy or fell in the town just short of their lines. Our whole line was then advanced to the position of the batteries, and Totten's line came down the hill at the same time. Then we could see that the Confederate line was longer than either of ours, but much shorter than both. I think it was a sight of our superior force and the damage done by Totten's shells that decided the fortunes of the day, for soon after this movement the enemy began to retreat. The infantry went on the double-quick and their cavalry formed a strong rear guard to cover the withdrawal, but it was all in good order. Then our combined forces marched down and occupied the town. From citizens we learned that the Confederates numbered seven thousand men of all arms, and were commanded by Cooper; Shelby, Buster and Stevens being brigade commanders. They said Rains had not joined them, and that Cooper was, as usual, drunk as a lord.

There was no pursuit, and on the following day our army moved forward a few miles and camped in a narrow valley. Foraging parties were sent out, the train was ordered up from Sarcoxie, and we settled down to camp life. This is officially known as "Camp Blunt"; but after the fall rains set in and the mud in the plowed field was knee deep, the boys changed it to "Muddy Field."

Late one night heavy firing was heard off to the south, and immediately the long roll was sounded and the troops turned out. After standing in the rain all night it was ascertained to be a false alarm occasioned by General Brown firing off his artillery to see whether the charges were wet! Probably others besides the Confederate general were drunk. While standing in line in the mud and rain and holding our horses by the bridle in momentary expectation of being ordered away, one of the comrades passed along the line and solicited a quarter from each for a big oyster stew which he kindly volunteered to prepare and serve to us as we stood in line. The money was raised and the stew was duly prepared—that is, enough for the four or five men who consumed it, of whom the benevolent comrade was one—but it was later ascertained that they had secured the oysters by a raid on the sutler, so that the fund was clear gain.

The meeting at Sarcoxie was the first time that company A had ever been with the regiment or seen its colonel during the whole year of its service. The "Iola battalion" part of the regiment had been kept well together, but our company had been on detached service pretty much all the time.

For the next few weeks we roamed around southwest Missouri making short stops at Gadfly, Hazel Bottom, etc., and then we were ordered to Fort Scott for a supply train. Returning to the army, which we found near Bentonville, Ark., at Camp Bowen, we brought two hundred six-mule wagonloads of supplies without losing a man or an animal. Some men think that the cavalry arm of the service had a snap, while the infantry and artillery did all the fighting and performed all the valuable service. The statement may be measurably correct; a rough, wooded country like Arkansas and Missouri is not adapted to the use of cavalry in pitched battles of large proportions; but as for the hard work and long hours of

service, and the chances of being picked off in detail without warning by an unseen foe, the cavalry had the bitter end of the job. Take the trip down from Fort Scott, for example. Two hundred slow-moving loaded wagons on a single road, and a bad road at that. On an open prairie, where an enemy could be seen and easily kept away, the caravan could make its allotted ten miles in a day without hardship. But in a wooded country, cut up with streams and featured by canyons and passes and rocky defiles, it was a far different proposition. Every foot of that road must be scouted and inspected and combed over for a lurking enemy. Bridges must be examined and repaired, often under fire of snipers, who could shoot and run away in safety; and flankers must be stationed all along the route before the first wagon could be allowed to pass. On this trip I remember that we had experienced a safe passage for the greater part of the day, when suddenly from the crest of a rocky ledge, but a few rods from the road, came a volley. It happened that the shots went wide of their intended mark. Of course the bushwhackers must be followed and kept away from the train that was following a couple of miles in the rear. To do this a detail was sent in pursuit and another detail sent back posthaste to warn the command. Then a file of cavalry men were sent out on either side to parallel the road as the train moved cautiously forward. When the front wagons came to the point where the attack was made they were halted to await the results of the scouts that had been sent after the enemy. In half an hour the men came back and reported that there would be no more trouble from that band. As an evidence of good faith they had brought one of the "Independent Rangers" slung across the saddle of his horse, as dead as a mackerel. The body was buried in a fence corner and we moved on. But this exploit had delayed the train an hour or more, had nearly exhausted the men and horses engaged in it, and given them many ugly sprains and scratches as they had scooted through brush and over logs and stones in pursuit of their game. It is a hard service and there's precious little of the pomp and circumstance of war about it, but its the only way to get food and supplies to an army with a base several hundred miles in the rear. It has been well said that "the cavalry is the eye of the army."

On this trip down to the army we took the Sugar creek route, via Pineville and the Pea Ridge battle ground. Along Sugar creek we marched for several miles through what had been Price's log blockade to delay Curtis. It was in a flat bottom covered with dense woods. The Confederates had felled the trees across the road at every yard of the distance. To open the road these logs were sawed off in lengths of about ten feet, and the sections thus severed laid at the sides, parallel with the line of road and on top of the undisturbed portions of the trees. Through the thoroughfare thus opened the Union army had forged ahead and engaged in the three days' fight that drove Price and Van Dorn to the east side of the Mississippi and left Generals McCulloch and MacIntosh dead on the field with hundreds of their men.

Leaving Sugar creek the road passed up a gullied hillside, with a tanyard on the right and a deep, wooded ravine of precipitous sides on the left. Further up an undergrowth of scrubby oaks occupied both

sides of the road to the top of the hill, where the "Elkhorn Tavern," an old stage station on the "Wire Road," stood at the end of a lane which divided open fields far to the south. It was while fighting its way up this steep hillside that the Ninth Iowa Infantry lost about half its men, and where its lieutenant colonel, Francis Jay Herron, was taken prisoner. Not a sapling in the dense thickets but had its bullet scars, and not an open space enough for the purpose but had its grave of a soldier, buried where he fell. Seven months had passed since the battle, but the marks of the fight were to be seen on every hand. The tavern had been successively the headquarters of both commanding generals, Price and Curtis, and for much of the time directly in the fighting zone. Our guide pointed out a stump not many feet from the door, where Captain Churchill, the pride of the Confederate artillery, fell, and the spot where Price sat on his horse and directed the firing of the guns, but a rod away. Our informant said he had on an old white coat and carried one arm in a sling. Cannon balls, fragments of shell and the wreckage of gun carriages and caissons strewed the ground. Half a mile to the southwest was a grove of black-oak timber, the trees being about a foot or so in diameter, not one had escaped the loss of body or limbs by shells or cannon shot. Imbedded in the trunk of one of these trees, at a point about twenty feet from the ground, was a conical shot which had struck it in the middle, and the point of which protruded on the opposite side. Near this was a tree which had been pierced by two shots on opposite sides, one about six feet above the other, each cutting the tree half off. The two had split the trunk from one wound to the other, and the whole top lay on the ground.

To the west and southwest of this grove were cultivated fields for a mile or more; it was at the farther end of this clearing that the two Confederate generals were killed.

After a few days' rest at Camp Bowen our regiment was ordered back to Fort Scott for another train of supplies. At Pineville, Mo., we were told by the citizens that Cooper's army had camped there for several weeks after the battle of Newtonia. Pineville is twenty-five miles from Newtonia. At Spring river crossing our command was attacked by Livingston's guerrillas and one of the men wounded. We found where the guerrillas had been fed and harbored the night before, the occupants being rather proud of the "honor." The people were well-to-do farmers and had so far escaped the ravages of war. They lived in a fine house and owned a number of slaves. The colonel decided to make an example of them, and ordered the house burnt to the ground. When this had been done he ordered all the cattle, horses and mules, together with the slaves, rounded up and taken along. To make a clean job of it, the boys took what chickens and turkeys there were in sight. The livestock numbered a hundred head and there were about a dozen slaves. That night some messes had a new cook and a good one. As the slaves prepared the fowls for us they laughed spasmodically, and often, as negroes will when they are happy, over the discomfiture of their former owner, who would have to start all over again with "a pile of ashes an' a po' ole guinea hen, an' no niggahs." I wonder how much of that livestock, if any, was accounted for!

When we reached Fort Scott there were no supplies in the commissary, and we had to wait for a train to arrive from Leavenworth. We camped a mile to the southeast of town alongside of the Eleventh and Twelfth Kansas Infantry regiments, just from the recruiting station and on their way to the front. In a few days the expected train arrived and we relieved the escort and started to the front. We had two hundred wagons again, and the drivers said it was the finest lot of supplies ever loaded for an army. As the country had been pretty well stripped of grain by one army or the other, it was necessary to carry along oats for twelve hundred mules and about nine hundred cavalry horses. The "roughness" for these animals had to be secured by foraging, the result being that they had to put up with corn fodder, straw, and such hay as the country might afford. A part of the time we cut down cottonwood and aspen trees for them to browse on.

On the 28th of November our advance guard was fired on while crossing Turkey creek, a few miles north of Neosho, Mo. We had one man badly wounded, and had no means of knowing whether the guerrillas suffered or not, as they were in a safe place and got away after a few shots at them. The next day we reached Neosho, and the officers got up a dance in the office of the *Herald* newspaper. The "sesesh" ladies did n't seem at all averse to having "Federals" for partners, and the fun was fast and furious until a late hour.

On December 1, we crossed Cowskin river at a ford near the ruins of the Seneca mills, burned by Price to prevent the Union troops from grinding foodstuff. The enemy's scouts had been in sight every day for a week, but too far away to exchange shots. Doubtless they knew of every move we made and the nature of our freight. In addition to an advance and a rear guard, it had been necessary to have flankers parallel our line of march all the time, half a mile from the road on each side. On December 2 we passed the corner stone of the states of Missouri and Arkansas. On one side was engraved the date "1823" and on the other "Latitude 36. 30." On this day I was one of seven men who were sent in advance of the advance guard, under command of Jeff Denton, the scout. He led us a rough ride, and at one time we were fifteen miles ahead of the advance guard. We ran into a scouting party of the enemy, exchanged a few shots, and took one prisoner. He was a callow youth of twenty, and harmless. He said, "You'uns licked our people at Cane Hill las' Friday." From him we also learned of the victory of Maysville or Old Fort Wayne on the 22d of October.

On December 3, after an exceptionally hard day's riding on the flank, our company got up a dance at a farmhouse and danced until reveille sounded in the morning. One of the ladies was blind and another was barefooted!

December 4, at the little village of Cincinnati, in the roughest part of the Boston mountains, we met Major Foreman, commanding a battalion that was escorting an ambulance train to Fort Scott with the wounded from the battle of Cane Hill, also a train of two hundred empty wagons going up for supplies and ammunition. When the vehicles turned out of the road and stopped to let our loaded wagons pass, some of the wounded

soldiers peeped out, and in answer to our inquiries made light of their sufferings and expressed a hope that they could get into the game again shortly. That night we reached Rhea's Mills, and found our brigade camped there. Blunt and the rest of the army were at Cane Hill, seven miles further south. Rhea's Mills was a beautiful spot. A gently sloping hillside facing the east, with scattering great oaks loaded with mistletoe, a sparkling rivulet issuing from a ledge of moss-grown rocks, trained to the flume of an overshot water wheel thirty feet high; a weather-beaten mill with a sagging roof, the cottage of the miller hard by, with a trailing vine over the door; another venerable gray-brown shack which served the purposes of post office, country store and loafers' headquarters combined—and you have the hamlet as it was when our regiment first saw it, and doubtless as other men first saw it many decades before that time. Thus it was, and thus it is now. Our arrival was hailed with shouts all along the line; not because we had come through many trials, scraps and snares with safety, but because we had brought "grub" to a half-famished army. They had been subsisting on hard-tack and scenery, and wanted a change of diet. If ever tired men slept, we slept that night. After old Lanterwasser had been watered, fed, groomed and blanketed for the night, I know I just fell down in a pile and was oblivious to war's alarms in a minute. I think that was about the experience of the nine hundred men who had shed their duds for the first time since leaving Fort Scott, nearly two weeks before.

On December 5 at ten o'clock in the morning, Captain Tough, chief of scouts, came racing into camp, and a few minutes later the "general call" sounded and the troops fell in with their arms. Presently the forage train came in with the teams on a run, and the wildest excitement prevailed. We stood in line, holding our horses by the bridles, until dark, and then the order came to unpack a few cooking utensils, get supper, and immediately pack up again without further orders. We did so, and then lay down and held our horses by the bridle rein all night. In the morning the call sounded before breakfast was over, and we stood there holding our horses and waited all day. We finally learned that the scare was occasioned by a large force of the enemy's cavalry driving in our pickets at Cane Hill. Captain Tough came to our mess fire to get a cup of coffee and told us that we would have all the fight we wanted in a day or two. He greatly mistook my inclination if he thought I wanted any fight at all. I wanted to turn Lanterwasser into a blue-grass pasture and then lie down and sleep for a month!

The 7th of December, 1862, was Sunday. Probably I would n't have known it if it had not been for a pocket memorandum book which stated the fact. It seemed more like late Saturday afternoon, with everybody hurrying to get their work done. Also, it was about the longest day I ever saw. Shortly after midnight on the morning of the 7th the orderly sergeant came around and waked us by gently kicking us in the ribs. He gave us orders to cook two days' rations and be ready to march at three o'clock. "Cook" is good! It is a figure of speech frequently used in the army. The process consists of laying a side of bacon, profanely called "sowbelly," flat on the ground, and eliminating, by a dexterous use of the knife (which serves all purposes from eradicating the stopper of

a flask to paring corns), a full-length slice of the viand for every absent meal contemplated; then the canteen is filled with coffee, which has been boiling in the camp kettle day and night since the day before yesterday. Lastly, all the hard-tack saddle pockets, blouse pockets and bootlegs will hold is stowed away. This is, in short, the actual and literal fulfillment of the injunction to "cook" rations for a march. Nor is the food so prepared as unacceptable as might appear to an epicure. To begin with, the coffee is unground, and the whole beans require more cooking than where they are ground. To cook it less would leave much of the flavor in the bean, and occasion a surprise thereby to the natives to whom we were wont to sell the "grounds" for a dollar a pound! As for the raw bacon, the full benefit of the meat is obtained uncooked, whereas, by cooking, the juice, essence and virtue of the article is lost and cast to the dogs or converted into that brindle liquid termed gravy. Therefore, the proper way to eat bacon is to eat it raw. Hard-tack is an implement of war which has been traduced and caricatured. However, it is not without its defenders—even admirers. Some one, more enthusiastic than eloquent, has said that hard-tack and mules put down the rebellion. But that is an unjust discrimination against the humble bean. Hard-tack, properly constructed, is good food and immensely nutritious. Eaten with moderation it is almost as appetizing as that imported mystery we called "consecrated vegetables," of which we had more than enough in the army.

By the time we had finished our "cooking" it was three o'clock and the column was set in motion. Now came the customary injunction of "No talking in ranks," and it was added with a chuckle, "No whispering in ranks." This was important. We had an esteemed comrade who was endowed with a mild screech, which by accumulative force might gather volume into a roar and apprise the enemy of our coming—for they were only seven miles away.

Our brigade at this time consisted of three regiments of cavalry and one battery. The Ninth Kansas was not all there. Company B was at Fort Halleck, Colo., and Company D, Captain Coleman, which had been in the battle of Cane Hill, was still in that part of the country on outpost duty. I tried to keep awake, but the monotony of the slow march through the dark woods finally got the better of my resolution and I went sound asleep. At sunrise we halted, and then I waked up to see several regiments in line, or forming line, in a wheat field full of dead and girdled trees, as is the custom of clearing land in that country, with a forest all around. Our regiment was formed in line, and on our right was a battery, and beyond this more troops, mostly infantry. Here we waited for several hours, while occasional shots were heard far to the southeast, as if the pickets were engaged. About 11 o'clock we heard heavy firing off to the northeast, and instantly the whole brigade moved back down the mountain side up which we had come, until open country was reached, and then turned to the right in the direction of the fighting, which proved to be at Prairie Grove, six miles further to the eastward. Here the cavalry halted for a while and the infantry and several batteries passed us on the double quick and disappeared in a belt of woods to the front. Other cavalry joined us, and then we moved forward a distance of a couple of miles or more and formed a line of battle and waited—and waited. More

troops passed us on the way to the battle, and we expected momentarily to be ordered in; but the order never came. The warm Sunday afternoon wore away in jokes and conjectures, and as evening came on the sound increased and became a steady roar. The field was covered with a dense cloud of smoke that was incessantly punctured by bursting shells, and as darkness fell the course of these was indicated by tracks of fire that crossed and recrossed from side to side. They resembled skyrockets at a Fourth of July celebration. Gradually the firing became fainter and fainter and then ceased altogether. Shortly after this we formed column and countermarched to Rhea's Mills, where we found everything in the greatest confusion. The camp was full of refugees, black and white, and all in hysterics. Presently it was explained by a report that our army had been licked and we were going to retreat. Details were set to building hundreds of huge camp fires on the hillside, as it was told us, to deceive the enemy into the belief that large reinforcements had arrived. To show the necessity for this, we were pointed to the sheen of light against the sky which hung over the camp of the enemy at Prairie Grove. It never occurred to us that the enemy might be resorting to the same kind of a ruse. Other details were set to work to unload a number of wagons for the accommodation of the refugees, and the camp fires were stimulated by boxes of bacon, crackers (hard-tack), molasses, pickles, sacks of rice, and barrels of beans—the selfsame good supplies that we had, with so much care, guarded all the way from Fort Scott. Then the civilian accessions were loaded into the wagons, the trail strung out, and we were off for Fayetteville, fifteen miles to the northeast. When our escort had assumed some sort of order, the orderly sergeants were sent along the column to tell the boys that our army had gotten the best of the fight so far, but that both armies were bivouacked on the field to resume the battle at daylight, and that we were getting the train out of the way so that our cavalry brigade could be used in the pursuit when the Confederates retreated. This made us feel better. Our course lay to the rear of the Union line and north of the battle ground about half a mile. Some time in the night I heard some one say that we were just opposite the field and that it would be a good place to slip over and take a look. The wagons seemed to be badly stuck in some sort of a slough, and as our escort would not move for some time, in all probability, a number of us fell out of ranks and rode over to our bivouac. The pickets were alert, however, and did n't seem to think our curiosity a sufficient reason for letting us pass. But little could be seen in the darkness, and we soon gave up the project and returned to the regiment.

The morning of December 8 found our company bunched up in a muddy lane in the Illinois river bottoms. It isn't much of a river, but it has bottom enough for the Mississippi. Before we got out of there a detachment of cavalry came back and said the head of the train was in Fayetteville, and there was no danger and we might as well go back to the battle ground. This we did, and spent several hours watching the burial details of both armies gathering up the dead and putting the bodies in trenches. Little white flags on sticks were seen in different places, and the soldiers of both armies seemed friendly enough to be comrades. Up to that time I was of the opinion that our own boys had in moments of extreme pro-

vocation called our officers about all the bad names in the dictionary, but the "Johnnies" had a larger vocabulary of epithets. At the time I took this contingent as a fair sample of the sentiments prevailing in the Confederate army; but when I knew more about war I learned that burial details are made from the most loyal troops in a command, to guard against the probability of desertions. If, therefore, these men were the loyal, conservative and forbearing selections from the force, I wonder what the ordinary men of the rank and file would say! What shocked me was the calloused indifference the men displayed toward their late comrades in putting them under the ground. Trenches had been opened in the clayey, flinty soil to a depth of not more than two feet, and about six and a half feet in width. Into these the bodies were tossed with about the same consideration that sacks of potatoes would have received, and when one layer had been completed another was placed on top of the first, and then, sometimes after their coats had ben wrapped over them and sometimes without, the clay and gravel was shoveled on and the job was complete. We saw many feet protruding from the ground, where there had not been enough earth put on to cover them. I am speaking now of the Confederates. A little more consideration was shown by our own troops; but over against the most heartless act of the enemy may be placed the ferocity of a detail sent to bury the dead of Herron's first line, who filled a well on the bank of the river with dead bodies! In a hazel thicket at the left of Hindman's line I found a man lying flat on his back, his arms extended their full length on either side. In one was clenched a lot of parched corn and the other was gnawing convulsively into the ground. A shell had torn away a part of his abdomen, and his bowels were protruding. At these wild hogs were chewing. I drove them away and shouted for the guards, who came and bore the dying man away. He had been overlooked and had lain in this condition not less than eighteen hours, although the hogs had evidently just found him.

Union officers were riding over the field, some of them moved to tears at the scenes around them. This was the cornfield from which our foragers had been scared a few days before by the alarm from Cane Hill. The women and boys left at home had raised a good crop for us.

It was the expectation of the Union troops that the battle would be renewed the following morning, but Hindman secured an armistice until the afternoon, "to bury the dead and care for the wounded," but violated his flag of truce to make precipitate retreat, muffling his cannon wheels and sneaking away in the night. In his official report Hindman states that he lost 164 killed, 817 wounded and 336 missing; total losses, 1,317. As our men before the middle of the afternoon after the battle had helped to bury more than double the number reported killed, and the work was not even then completed, there must have been a miscount, or a lot of live men were covered up in the trenches.

Our brigade returned to its old camp at Rhea's Mills and remained there until the end of December. From the 9th to the 20th of December I was sick in the regimental hospital, and then was sent to Fayetteville to the general hospital, where, after good care for a week, I was able to sit up for a few hours. My nurse, a Sister of Charity, brought me some

chicken broth for a Christmas dinner, and raised me up to see a magnolia tree in full bloom just outside of the widow. This was the first tree of the kind I had ever seen. The next day a detail from our regiment came over with ambulances and orders for all who were able to ride a horse to turn out. Corporal Moore (son of the man who died at Bower's Mills) commanded the detail from our company and had brought my horse! That settled it for me. The sight of Lanterwasser made me strong. He had been given the best of care during my absence, and was fat and saucy. The hospital attendants protested loudly at our going, but we turned out a squad of a dozen or more notwithstanding. To show my complete recovery I insisted on riding my horse, while the orders were for us to ride in the ambulances. In the act of mounting I went up on one side and became dizzy and came down on the other. Then I got in the ambulance, but insisted on leading Lanterwasser, and for that purpose, I sat in the back end, where he could put his head in to be caressed. I think he was as glad to see me as I was to see him. When we got to camp the boys with one accord characterized me as all the known varieties of a fool for leaving the hospital. However, the officers of the company praised me for coming, and that helped a whole lot. And right there came in a touch of nature that showed the essence of comradeship. I was given the best of the food, and the boys tried to outdo each other in caring for me. My "bunky," Hi Rothrock, got a chicken, as soldiers will, and cooked it for me, and before bedtime I began to feel fit for the trip at hand, for since Hindman did not come to us, we were going to him.

From my diary I quote:

*December 27.* Reveille at 3:30, and two hours later we were strung out on the march for Cane Hill and the south. At Cane Hill we visited the Confederate hospital and saw cots full of wounded men. Crossed the ridge of the Boston mountains and camped at the foot. Goods roads to-day and grand mountain scenery. Learned that since our occupation of this part of the country a number of men have enlisted in the Union army. Twenty loyal Arkansans in and around Cane Hill enlisted in the Ninth Kansas.

*December 28, Sunday.* Formed a junction with Herron's division at Lee's creek. He has been camped at Prairie Grove since the fight, and marched from there down the "wire road" to this place. Blunt's division was given the advance, as he is the senior officer. The Second Kansas cavalry with a couple of mountain howitzers is in the advance, and the Ninth is next. Company A in the advance of the reigment. The valley of Lee's creek is comparatively straight south, but the stream winds from one side to the other all the way down. If a string of unraveled yarn were placed on a table and another string laid straight across the many curves, one could have an idea of the course of this stream, the straight string representing our road. We crossed it thirty-seven times to-day. The winter rains have swelled it until it is a river about forty yards in width, and at no ford less in depth than up to the bellies of the horses. In making one crossing the infantry had to hold their guns at arm's length above their heads,

with their cartridge belts slung over them, the water being up to their armpits. As the current is very swift, some of the soldiers were swept off their feet and came near drowning. Others climbed on the ambulances, but the mounted officers beat them off with the flat of their sabers. The united command is reported to have 9,000 men, of which eight regiments are infantry, so one can see what number of poor boys suffered in this icy water to-day. Of course the cavalry and artillery crossed without difficulty. At nine o'clock the Second Kansas captured the enemy's pickets, and from then on we rode in a trot, and much of the time in a gallop. At last we came to a place where the creek turns off into the Indian territory, and from there on we had a better road and got ahead faster. At eleven o'clock we heard cannonading, and our colonel turned his horse and rode back at a gallop, shouting at the top of his voice, "They're at it; they're at it!" Its ludicrousness struck us all at the same time, and was greeted with roars of laughter interspersed with impertinent questions, such, for instance, as, "Where are you going? this is not Newtonia!" Then we heard a volley of musketry to the right, and soon after saw the enemy in line, backing out of their camp and firing as they retreated. The colonel not yet having returned from notifying his regiment that a battle was on, Captain Earl ordered our company, "On right into line," and we formed a line at a gallop, jumped our horses over a low rail fence and tore across an open field toward the camp. The companies following supposed the order was for the regiment, and formed similary on our right and a company of Indian scouts on the right of them, so that the woods were full of mounted men, as well as the little field through which we had come. A few shots were fired, the Indians raised the yell, and it was all over. Any soldier will remember how much faster the outer flank is required to move than the pivot, in making such a formation as ours. Those of us who were nearest the pivot in this case were spurring our horses to do their best and the flank was simply flying. In that part of the field was a big log over which the horses had to leap. One of our sergeants was over there, and hearing a yell of laughter I looked to see what it was about. He had cleared the log, but was without his forage cape, and he was lying on his horse's neck holding on with both hands. He was without a headpiece for the day. In the camp bacon was frying in the pans, coffee was boiling in camp kettles and a pair of revolvers were hanging on a sapling near a camp fire. I came within one of getting the pistols, but a miss is as good as a mile, and the other fellow got them. They were regulation U. S. navy revolvers in fine condition. One man killed and several wounded were the results of the skirmish.

Another stand was made at Dripping Springs, and a Texas regiment made a good fight for a few minutes and then fled. The howitzers broke their lines and they became demoralized. The citizens came out of their houses as we passed by, some to cheer, some to curse, and the women to cry. It was a running fight, in which horse flesh was at a premium. The road was strewn with broken-down wagons, camp equipage, baggage and plunder. Prisoners taken by the Second Kansas were being passed to the rear all the time. A few dead and dying rebels were seen

at the roadside, but they attracted but little attention. At length we came to a lane and then a log store—a hamlet called Logtown—and a little further along came to the top of a high bluff overlooking the Arkansas river, with Van Buren at the foot of the hill. The river stretches away in sight for miles, beyond which is a wooded region for more miles, and in the distance a range of blue mountains, forming a lovely picture of diversified landscape. Our company being in the front now—the Second Kansas having gone after three steamboats that were racing down the river at full speed—we had a fine view, and were enjoying it to the full when both generals rode up, and General Blunt inquired of Captain Earl, "What have we here?" Earl, who was a little nearer to the edge of the mountain, replied, pointing across the river, "A rebel battery over yonder seems to be about all." Blunt looked in the direction indicated and said something to one of his aides, who galloped to the rear. In a few minutes Rabb's battery of black guns came up with the horses on the jump. One of the guns was run out to the very edge of the cliff and carefully sighted, Blunt supervising it himself. The shot fell about one hundred yards short of the rebel battery, but it was a fine line shot. Then Blunt dismounted and helped to sight the gun, and at this discharge the shot fell plump in the midst of a group of the enemy around their guns, causing a great tumult. Their shots meantime reached only about half way up the side of the mountain and burst near a large white house on a shelf of the mountain below us. Both sides were using solid shot, but our people now tried shells, and at the explosion of the first one in close proximity to their battery the enemy limbered up and got out of range. A regiment of infantry supporting the battery was in line behind a thin stretch of cottonwood trees along the high-water mark of the river, about one hundred yards beyond the battery and at the far edge of the sloping, sandy beach. These troops soon followed the battery out of range and made it necessary to take a new position.

Our regiment was now formed in platoons of twelve and marched down a winding gullied road into town. As we moved the guidons were fluttering, flags of the infantry and batteries were unfurled, and in this order the line marched impressively down, all in platoon formation, with the bands ready but not playing. Orders were passed along the line to brace up, cease smoking and talking, and present a soldierly appearance. As we looked back (when the officers were not watching) it was a grand sight to see. About half way down the side of the mountain road is a long, low, frame residence with a porch—or "gallery," as they say down here—running the whole length. At the eaves of the porch on a gilt sign are the words "American Bible Society Repository." As we came along in front of this building, the family, including a number of slaves, appeared on the porch. One of our buglers, a reckless fellow, absolutely undisciplinable, rode up in front of the spectators, and rising in his stirrups and raising his bright trumpet high above his head, shouted in camp-meeting tones, "I preach here dis day fo' weeks—and maybe not den." An old aunty, with a red bandana wrapped over her woolly head like a turban, threw her arms in the air, looked upward and said in the most solemn tones, "Glory, bress God, de yeah ob jubilee am come!"

Our company burst out in a laugh, and instantly an aide galloped back and shouted to the nearest band, "Play, play; for God's sake, play!" They struck up "The Star-spangled Banner," and as soon as other bands heard it they joined in, and in this way we entered Van Buren. After marching through the town and giving everybody a chance to see a real army, and a victorious one, we countermarched to a back street and dismounted, leaving every fourth man in charge of horses. Other regiments, as they had made the circuit of the town, camped wherever they could find a place. One regiment of infantry made camp in the cemetery, but the greater part of the "doughboys" footed it back to the top of the mountain for camp. The batteries also went back there.

The next thing was to find something to eat. Our boys struck for the river, where the Second Kansas had brought back the three captured steamboats. We swarmed aboard and into the galleys and found lots of good things—corn pone, spare ribs, candied yams, peas, pies, chicken and fish, and no end of bottled and barreled liquors of all kinds. In a short time there were not less than four or five thousand men there and throughout the town, helping themselves to whatever they could lay hands on in the way of eatables. Coming out of one of the boats I saw a number of hogsheads of raw brown sugar which the boys had begun to appropriate. While I was diving my hands in for a grab, some one said in a thick, muddled voice, "Soldier, take some with me." This man had his "beegum" hat filled with the sugar and was piling more in for dear life. He had found something stronger than sugar, however, for he was already comfortably "full." It was our colonel. I never saw him in that condition before. Three boats had by this time been hauled up to the levee and were being despoiled of their movables. They were the *Frederick Notrebree*[2] *Rose Douglas* and the *Key West,* all stern-wheelers. The *Violet,* a little side-wheeler I have seen on the Kansas river, lay alongside of the bank disabled.

In the midst of the picnic the booming of cannon was heard, and instantly bugles sounded and drums beat in every direction. We boys scampered for our horses, and in mighty quick order fell in and formed line in one of the streets running at right angles with the river, with our right about four blocks from the levee. Our company happened to be at the left of the line and the furthest away from the enemy. Meantime shells were falling in the town and among the groups of men who were too busy or too drunk to get out of the way. I learn that six soldiers were killed in this way and that a woman who had been bedfast in one of the residences was blown to pieces by a rebel shell that smashed through the roof and set the house in flames. It was easy for the enemy to see that our line formed a splendid opportunity for an enfilading fire, and they tried their best to get the range, but failed, not a man of our regiment being hit. Just in front of our line, and about fifty feet away, was a large oak tree with a bunch of mistletoe about as large as a bushel basket in the top. A solid shot that was feeling for us cut that limb, and down came the mistletoe. One of our men, who had tarried too long at

2. In Hindman's report, "War of Rebellion Records," series 1, vol. 22, part 1, p. 172, this steamer is mentioned as the *Notre.*

the bar of the boat settled together in his saddle much like an accordeon collapses when the wind is squeezed out, and screamed out, "My God, are they shooting right *at* us?" I think if the rebels had been listening they could have heard the yell of laughter which this innocent inquiry brought out. About this time Rabb's battery of black guns began to roar from the top of the mountain where they had driven off the enemy before, and this time they made a finish of the job in short order, and our horses were soon picketed in a blue-grass pasture at the back of the mansion on the side of the mountain which had been under fire earlier in the day.

Of course, soldier-like, we had eaten up the rations which were to have lasted us the three days of the trip, and were ravenously hungry. The food taken from the boats had not been sufficient for the wants of an army, and we were casting about for something more. My bunky and I started out to forage for supper. As we were passing one of the negro quarters at the back of the mansion, a window was raised a little way and a black hand was stuck out with a beckoning motion to us. We went up and an old colored woman said if we would come back in a few minutes she would pass out a pan of "sumfin' fine" for us. We strolled about and said nothing to other foragers, but kept a sharp watch of that window. Presently it began to raise and we approached. When it was up far enough for the purpose, the old woman slipped out a frying pan of spare ribs, candied yams, corn pone, butter, milk and some knives and forks. She apologized for the absence of coffee, but said she hoped we could make out a good meal, and to "Shove back de dishes when youse done, massa." We fled to a safe retreat and sat down on the grass and had a feast. Before we were through a dense cloud of smoke began to rise from the vicinity of the levee and we thought the town was burning.

As soon as we could we hurried down to the river and found that an immense brick warehouse, two stories in height, was burning fiercely. It was filled with Confederate supplies and forage just unloaded from the boats as our army had reached the town. Much of the stuff was highly inflammable, or combustible at any rate, including one hundred barrels of whisky and brandy, a thousand bushels of corn in the shuck (they never shuck corn in this country until it is to be used), barrels of parched corn, to be used instead of bread in marches, etc, etc. In removing the corn from the boats to the warehouse, across the street, the ground had been strewn with corn shucks, and it was supposed that some one had dropped a match in lighting his pipe, and thus the fire was started. The town had no fire department, and we did our best to put out the fire with a bucket brigade from the river. A hardware store was broken open and hundreds of pails brought, and with a line of men formed to hand the buckets from one to another without moving, a constant stream of water was poured on the flames. Then a fire ladder was found and with this against the side of the building, water was passed to the flat roof. The first man up the ladder was Colonel Cloud. He took a position on the top of the fire wall and directed operations. By this time a steady stream of water was being delivered on the roof, but the fire was gaining headway every moment, and the roar of the flames sounded like thunder. Men shed their coats

and blouses and worked like sailors in a storm. Then out of the great crowd on the ground some one shouted for Cloud to come down, but his only reply was, "Pass up the water." The shout was repeated in an authoritative tone, but the reply came back, "Pass up the water." Great tongues of flame were leaping out of the windows, the side walls were bulging, and we momentarily expected to see the building collapse. Then came the voice louder and more authoritative than before, "Colonel Cloud, I *command* you to come down." It was Blunt who was speaking, and he was swearing mad at the foolhardiness of a man who would take such chances of being cooked alive. Not one man in a thousand could stand on that thin fire way, thirty feet from the ground, and brave the gale of wind and flame that was raging around him. His hat was gone, his long hair, that usually reached to his shoulders, was tossed about in the wind; and silhouetted thus against the lurid sky, he could be seen directing the men as they handed up the buckets of water. Blunt raved and swore and dashed aimlessly here and there and frothed about courtmartialing any officer who would thus bring the orders of his superior officer into contempt and demoralize the army—and all for a lot of "rebel stores." Finally the flames began to grow less and less and as the middle floors gave way and precipitated the accumulated water on the fire below, subsided and the danger was past. Then Cloud came down, and thousands of men cheered him to the echo. The walls and roof of the building were saved, but the floors and their contents were lost.

As I was leaving the crowd to return to camp our orderly sergeant met me and forthwith detailed me to stand picket guard at the end of the lane at the top of the mountain. He led me off to the sergeant of the guard and I was marched off with the detail. Once at the station I was placed on duty with instructions to allow no man to go to town unless he could show a proper pass, and to take into custody all drunken men passing out. Such instructions were easier to give than to obey. I went on duty at nine o'clock, and was given the choice of standing two hours on and four off alternately, or four hours on and then off for the night. I chose the latter and remained on duty until one o'clock in the morning. After I had been on duty about two hours the officer of the day made the grand rounds and came to my post. He inquired what my orders were. I told him. He asked about how many men had passed on their way to town. I estimated it at four thousand. "Did they all have passes?" he inquired. I told him they had! Then he asked if any men had passed back to camp. I estimated the number at about the same. "Were any of them drunk?" he inquired sternly. I said I had not seen any to say drunk, but they were all supplied with the necessary "goods." Then he wanted to know how the "goods" were being carried. I told him some of it was in bottles, some in kegs, some in buckets, and vast quantities in all the vessels known to the crockery trade that would hold liquids, including churns and tubs. Then he became somewhat confidential and asked me, as a man, if I had a "little something" about me. Not a drop—I was on duty and not allowed to drink! "Oh, of course," and then he added after a moment's reflection, "Suppose you get a tub and levy toll on every one of these men as they pass out," and meditatively he rode

away. The guard had been "turned out," and I think the sergeant must have been aware of the new orders, for he came with a tin cup not long afterward.

My opportunity soon came to put the new orders into effect. Two men came along carrying a tub about half full of liquor, with jugs of something in their other hands. I told them that no tubs of liquor were to be taken to camp, and after a feeble attempt to talk me out of it they set it down in the fence corner and moved on. Thereafter as men came with liquor they were required to pour a part in the tub. In this way I had very shortly a fine mixture of all the alcoholic beverages the country afforded—whisky, brandy, rum, gin, wines, beer, porter, cordials, and the various amplifications and qualifications of all these, such as corn whisky, rye whisky, moonshine whisky, white whisky, apple brandy, peach brandy, grape brandy, prune brandy, blackberry brandy, and so on to the end. There also reposed in the same wooden washtub the plebeian home-made beer of the town and the patrician champagne of sunny France, with the unbroken seals, which had braved the perils of the blockade. After that if any man came along who was devoid of an adequate jag, I pointed him to my tub and the contents "in one red burial blent." At one o'clock a. m. I was relieved and turned over my instructions to levy toll on all comers.

*December 29.* This is Monday, and we were promised a day of rest, but the company was shortly ordered to fall in, and in a little while the troops all turned out again and marched and countermarched through the streets of the town. Some of the infantry had just gotten in, having gone into camp last night several miles back on the road. As the long column, at platoon formation, marched through the town, the whole populace turned out. The bands played patriotic airs and a few of the spectators cheered, but when they struck up "Dixie" they shouted themselves hoarse. We could hear their comments, which were usually complimentary, and the remark, "They look like sure soldiers," was quite common. Evidently they were comparing our troops with the ragged, unkempt, half-starved followers of Hindman. At one place the column was halted to let a train of Confederate ambulances from Cane Hill, loaded with their wounded, pass. The vehicles and mules were all marked with the "U. S." sign of Uncle Sam, and had been captured from the First Federal Arkansas cavalry at the beginning of the fight at Prairie Grove. Under the flag of the hospital corps they were safe, but Colonel Cloud captured a train of U. S. army wagons and teams which were taken at the same time, and retaken by him as he chased the retreating rebels down the river yesterday. The drivers and other prisoners captured by him passed along joking and laughing and inquiring how much further it was to the "Lincoln coffee."

After the demonstration in town the infantry began to move out on the road back to Cane Hill. This is a great disappointment to us all. We had been hoping that the train would be ordered down and the march would be continued to Little Rock. The Confederate army is thoroughly demoralized and could offer but slight resistance. After the parade was over our regiment returned to its bivouac in the pasture.

Our orderly sergeant notified me that I would be on camp guard at the door of the mansion to-night. When I protested that I had been on guard last night he said there was no help for it and that a heavy detail from our company was ordered on picket and that I ought to be glad for such an easy place. Corporal Moore commanded our detail, and he gave us the privilege of double "tours" and off for the balance of the night. The "beat" extended from the back steps of the mansion about thirty paces to the rear, and was intended to prevent access to the house from the direction of our bivouac. The line ran across the line of slave quarters at a right angle. At first we had a big fire and the slaves came around and talked with the boys. They told us that this house belongs to a very wealthy planter and southern sympathizer. One old fellow declared that "Massa Scott done giv' to Mr. Davis mo'n a half bushel of gold an' silver." He also told us that Colonel Scott (he had earned the title in the Mexican War) had fifteen hundred acres of "pow'ful" rich land in the Arkansas bottom, and six hundred horses, mules and cattle, and three hundred slaves. The fire was not replenished, and when I took my tour at ten o'clock it was pitch dark. Shortly a bright light shone up from the levee, several hundred feet below and half a mile away. The corporal said the horse ferryboat was burning. Then the *Rose Douglass* burst into flames and the *Violet* sent up a big blaze, and then the *Key West* broke loose from her moorings and floated down the river wrapped in flames. By this time the whole heavens for a wide space were a maze of blood-red clouds, and I could count the windows of the boats as the flames burst through. As spars and chimneys and decks and pilot houses were loosened by the flames and fell overboard, the hulls rocked from side to side and the bells tolled intermittently as the vessels went to their doom. Last of all, the *Frederic Notrebree* was cast loose and started down the river a mass of fire. One of the boats ran aground on a jutting sand bar at a bend of the river a mile or so downstream, and lighted up the river, forest and sky as its companions drifted by and burned to the water's edge.

At midnight a slave came to me and asked if I would be kind enough to stop a minute at the end of the beat so that an old man who was dying in a cabin down there could see me. He said the old man had prayed to live to see a "Linkum soldier," and this was his last chance. I did as requested, and the man ran over to one of the cabins and opened the door. A streak of bright light shone across my path and I took my position in the middle of it. I could see everything in the room distinctly. There was a big fireplace with a blazing fire, a bed on which an old whited-haired negro lay, and a few black folks standing near. As they gently raised the dying man to a sitting position and pointed toward me, he said, in a whimpering tone, "Whar? I doan see nuffin." He was then turned facing me, and instantly as his eyes fell on the blue uniform he raised his hands and said devoutly, "I bress God," and fell back dead. When the slave came to thank me he said the old man was one hundred years old, "an' maybe mo."

In the fore part of the night there was much activity and bustle at the slave quarters, and I suspected that they were packing up to go

with us, but as the night advanced this grew less, and after the old man died there was not a sound heard anywhere except some slaves praying in the cabin where his body lay. As I turned to retrace my steps from the outer end of the beat I saw the figure of a woman in the path but a step from me. I was on the point of calling a challenge when she said in a loud whisper, "Hush, I must speak to you; it's very important." As she said this she advanced close to me and this is the story she told me:

"I am the housekeeper here. I have been brought up in the family and educated like a daughter. I am one-eighth negro, but as white as my mistress. I am going to leave to-night and accompany the army to the North. You must not stop me; you must find some way to let me out of the house and to your camp. I want to be somebody, and they tell me in the North I'll have no trouble to make a good living and sometime have a home of my own. Now I want to get into the house, for I have all the keys, and get my clothes and then pass over this line—please, please; for God's sake, please!"

She waited for no reply but turned and disappeared in the direction of the house. Here was a dilemma! I was on guard at a house whose owner was the host of our officers, who were at this moment asleep in the mansion. I was instructed to let no one in or out without a pass, and this meant just that, and not to be disregarded with impunity like the instructions of last night, which were understood to be a joke. I paced down to the end of the path and stood there thinking out what I ought to do. Then I thought that in the event that I should see her in the act of crossing the beat I could challenge her, and she would be sure to run, and in the darkness I could fire at the stars and the guard would be turned out and the whole thing would be explained satisfactorily. I would have obeyed orders and the slave would have made her way to freedom, which in this case was less than a quarter of a mile away. As I turned to retrace my steps I saw a figure of a woman scurrying away in the darkness toward our bivouac, and she was already too far away to halt. [This octoroon, who was reputed to be the handsomest woman, white or black, in the county, escaped and afterward married a rich business man in Buchanan county, Missouri. To my knowledge she was never suspected of having been a slave.]

*December 30.* The sergeant of the guard came and told us that Colonel Scott invited us to take breakfast at his house! We were ushered into a large and elegantly appointed dining room and presented to the hostess and her two daughters by the husband and father, and invited to take seats at the table. The madam apologized for having burnt the biscuit, it being the first time she had ever attempted to cook a meal in her life; as she explained, she said, with a fine show of impatience at their lack of experience in household duties, "We people of the South are so dependent upon our servants as to be positively helpless without them." Nevertheless she and the daughters had prepared a meal that was a banquet to us. While they were serving they told us that they were sorry, since there could be but one result of the war, that we were not going to remain and occupy the country. The meal over, we

all went on the veranda and saw the rent in the side of the wall where one of Hindman's shots had smashed against it. Colonel Scott then said, "Why that's worse than the Mexicans would do!" Then as we thanked him for his hospitality and were about to take our leave, he made this pretty little speech:

"Gentlemen, I am glad to have met you even under such circumstances. I am a Southerner, born and educated under her institutions and have always believed our system was the best for all concerned. You of the North think differently, and the two sections are in a terrible war. We are waging a losing fight; it can have but one result. For one, I have staked all and lost. Two days ago I was acknowledged to be the richest citizen of the county; to-day I am a pauper. With it all I assure you I cherish no bitterness. It is in the game. I shall be a good loser. When you come to Little Rock, as you will shortly, I shall be proud to entertain you at the residence of Albert Pike, near the arsenal."

He bowed us out, and we talked about the incident all day.

We waited in line all the forenoon while the rest of the troops took the back track, and then our regiment fell in the very rear, behind the immense column of refugees who were going out with the army. After we had been in motion a short time it was noised about that several of our company were not in the ranks. Sergeant Steele and I were sent back to hunt them up. We rode down the mountain road into the abandoned town, where the citizens were just beginning to take stock of results, and looked everywhere and inquired. At last we found the missing men and routed them out on the road. As they were scooting up the side of the mountain, Steele stopped to chat a few minutes with the people who had gathered around us. Their chief regret seemed to be that it was only a raid and not a permanent occupancy. When told that there was no subsistence for an army in the valley, they replied that Hindman's army had never fared better than along there. What he could do they thought we could do. Just then Steele said to me, with a jerk of the head, "Let's be off." I looked in the direction indicated, and the advance guard of Hindman's army was about four blocks away, coming back to reoccupy the town. As we put spurs to our horses and looked back they swung their hats in salute, and we did the same, the last men out of the town, and the Van Buren raid passed into history.

The net results of the campaign were the defeat of the enemy in the battles of Newtonia, Maysville, Cane Hill, Prairie Grove and Van Buren; the capture of a battery of four guns, several hundred prisoners, the destruction of more than a million dollars worth of the enemy's property, and the recovery of a hundred miles of territory in our front.

Incidentally it may be remarked that the Van Buren raid closed on the last day of slavery in the United States.

## STATEMENT OF CAPT. J. A. PIKE CONCERNING THE QUANTRILL RAID.

CAPT. JOSHUA A. PIKE, company K, Ninth Kansas volunteer cavalry, was in command of the Union forces stationed at Aubry, in Johnson county, Kansas, in the summer of 1863. Aubry is situated on the southeast quarter of the southeast quarter of section 6, township 15 range 25, in Johnson county. It is three and one-fourth miles west of the state line between Kansas and Missouri. In entering Kansas, on the

CAPT. J. A. PIKE.

raid against Lawrence, Quantrill followed a road up that branch of Grand river flowing out of Kansas through section 15, same township and range as mentioned above. This is the southeast section in Johnson county, and Grand river crosses the state line less than half a mile north of the line between Johnson and Miami counties. To Aubry from the point where Quantrill came into Kansas it is about one and one-half miles north and exactly three and one-fourth miles west. It is necessary to fix this point definitely. Quantrill chose this road into Kansas for the reason, doubtless, that it was through the woods. These woods extend along Grand river some distance into Kansas. The woods were more extended and the thickets more dense as you descended Grand river from the state line.

Quantrill passed out of Kansas, after sacking Lawrence, on the road and at the same point on the state line by which he entered the state. Another branch of Grand river flows through section 22, township 15, range 25. It crosses the state line in the northeast quarter of said section, less than half a mile south of the line between Johnson and Miami counties. At that time the land was owned by one McFadden, who had formerly kept a tavern in Paola. In taking up the pursuit on the morning of the 22d of August, B. F. Simpson rode across the McFadden farm, seeing and talking to both McFadden and his wife. They had not seen Quantrill nor any of his men. Riding in a northeasterly direction from McFadden's place, Simpson soon found the trail left by the guerrillas in passing into Missouri. It was the same used by them in coming into Kansas.[1]

Kansas and western Missouri (south of the Missouri river) were in the District of the Border, commanded by Brig. Gen. Thomas Ewing, Jr. In planning to protect Kansas from invasion by Missouri guerrillas, General Ewing had established posts along or near the state line from Kansas City to Fort Scott. These posts were at Shawnee Mission, Little Santa Fe, Aubry, Coldwater Grove, Trading Post and Rockville. They were twelve to fifteen miles apart. Little Santa Fe was about twelve miles north of Aubry, and Coldwater Grove was about thirteen miles south of Aubry. As has already been said, Captain Pike was in command of the post at Aubry. At Little Santa Fe, Charles F. Coleman, captain of company D, Ninth Kansas, was in command. In addition to his own company he had a detachment of company M, Fifth Kansas cavalry. In all he had about eighty men fit for service.

At Coldwater Grove the post was commanded by Charles S. Clark, lieutenant colonel of the Ninth Kansas cavalry. Company E of his own regiment constituted his force, but as all these posts were under his immediate command it is likely that Colonel Clark often had other troops there.

This preliminary discussion is prefatory to the statement to follow, made by Captain Pike. He was so severely criticized that for many years he refused to make any statement whatever concerning the Quantrill raid, believing that it would be impossible for him to be accorded justice, or even a fair hearing. The secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society requested Captain Pike to write fully his recollections of the events connected with the raid, assuring him that the article would be published as written. The secretary was anxious that this account should be written, for he himself had been severe in treating Captain Pike's course. If Captain Pike had been wronged it was but fair that he should have an opportunity to say so in a public way. The integrity, patriotism and honest intentions of Captain Pike were never questioned by any one at any time. If he made mistakes they were only errors of judgment, and most men are making these constantly.

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1. This point is not accurately located on the map in Connelley's "Quantrill and the Border Wars." When that work was written and the map made, the information for making this point specific did not exist, or at least was not known to exist. The discussion of the route into and out of Kansas taken by Quantrill, caused by the work of Mr. Connelley, developed and brought out much information that otherwise would never have come to light. And with all the other additional knowledge came also that which made it possible to be certain of the point of entrance and departure at the state line.

## CAPTAIN PIKE'S STATEMENT.

In the summer of 1863, before the raid on Lawrence, there was a patrol of two men between our camps on the Kansas City and Fort Scott road. These patrolmen were ordered from the headquarters of the District of the Border at Kansas City. Two men left each camp at eight o'clock a. m. and returned at five o'clock p. m. One man went north and one went south. Each met the patrol coming from the camp to which he was going as he went out in the morning, and met him again as he was returning in the afternoon to his own post. From Aubry, where I was in command, one patrol went north to Little Santa Fe and one went south to Coldwater Grove. A patrol from each of these posts visited Aubry each day.

On the morning of August 20, 1863, our scouts left at eight o'clock a. m. and returned at five o'clock p. m. They reported no enemy and no sign of enemy in either the morning or the evening.

Between five o'clock and seven o'clock Quantrill had gone southwest. He passed about five miles south of our camp. He gave it out that he was going to Paola to join United States troops there. He was representing that he was a Union officer, commanding Union troops himself.

At or near seven o'clock a farmer living some seven miles southwest of Aubry came riding into our camp. He reported that a body of soldiers claiming to be United States troops was going to Paola to join other troops there. These troops had passed his house and had held him captive while passing. He counted the first company. There were two hundred men in that company. There were four companies, and he judged that each one numbered two hundred men. When the guard who held him prisoner saw him counting the passing troops, he carried him behind the house so that he could not count any more. But this farmer was sure that there were seven hundred to eight hundred in the command which had passed his house.

William J. Houghawout, second lieutenant of my company, took the statement of the farmer. While he was doing so the men whom I had detailed for that purpose were getting their horses ready to take dispatches to Little Santa Fe and to Coldwater Grove. Just as soon as their horses were ready and the dispatches written, they left my camp on double-quick time.

At roll call that evening in my camp thirty-one men were accounted for, as follows:

C. M. Murdock, bugler, sick in hospital at Kansas City, Mo.

Four men sick in camp hospital.

Twenty-one men in line.

One-half the company at Coldwater Grove on scout under Capt. Henry Flesher.

Lieutenant Whitson and eight men on duty guarding stores at Spring Hill, by orders from headquarters at Kansas City.

Five on the sick list and five carrying dispatches accounted for ten of the thirty-one men at my camp.

That left us twenty-one men with which to attack the eight hundred reported by the farmer. Lieutenant Houghawout and myself talked the

matter over. We were certain the force seen by the farmer was an enemy force. We concluded that it would be suicide for us to attack it with twenty-one men. We knew that Capt. C. F. Coleman would be at our post as soon as he could get there. We thought best to await his coming. He arrived about ten o'clock p. m., as nearly as I can recollect. He assumed command, and he appointed Lieutenant Houghawout to command an advance guard of ten men, which he immediately detailed. The night was very dark, so much so that the scout had to strike matches to find the trail.

We followed as fast as we could some ten miles southwest on the road to Paola. There we found that the rebels had turned northwest and had gone to Gardner. We followed the trail all night. Major Plumb and his bodyguard came up with us south of Blue Mound, eight or nine miles southeast of Lawrence.

Major Plumb took command of all the troops. Captain Coleman gave him his plan, but Major Plumb did not carry it out. When he came up with Captain Coleman we were marching due west. Major Plumb ordered "left turn," and marched to the top of the hill northwest from Baldwin City. There he halted in plain sight of the rebels, who were on the Lawrence and Fort Scott road. I never saw Major Plumb again that day. We remained there a full hour. Who gave the order to march I do not know. We got it from some one and went on. We had several brushes with the rear guard. Kept on all day, and night found us at Paola. We had killed a number of the enemy on the way.

At Paola we were told that there was a big force at the state line or border to capture Quantrill and his whole force. But in the morning they went out of the state just where they came in. There was no force on the state line to stop them. We followed them three weeks before returning to Aubry. When we got back we found a company of the Eleventh Kansas cavalry camped there. That was the only other company stationed there that summer so far as I know. It was reported by some one that there were two companies stationed at Aubry.

(Signed) J. A. PIKE,
*Late Captain Company K, Ninth Kansas Volunteer Cavalry.*

FLORENCE, KAN., March 4, 1917.

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The secretary wishing some things made a little more definite, wrote Captain Pike asking the following questions:

1. From whom did you first hear that Quantrill had passed into Kansas? Was it from the farmer you mention in your statement?
2. Can you remember the farmer's name?
3. How far from Aubry is it to the point where Quantrill crossed the state line, and in what direction?
4. You speak of Captain Coleman having a plan which Major Plumb did not approve and did not follow. I wish you would write me what Captain Coleman's plan was.
5. Were you with Captain Coleman when he charged through the lane and came up with the rear guard of the guerrillas at what is known as the Fletcher farm?

6. Did Major Plumb leave the command at the point where he came into the Santa Fe trail on the top of the hill northwest of Baldwin; and if so, in what direction did he go, and how many men did he take with him?

7. What time did you get to Paola? Who was in command at Paola? What time did the Union soldiers move from Paola in pursuit of Quantrill?

8. When did you see General Ewing for the first time after the Quantrill raid?

9. When did you see Gen. James H. Lane first after the raid, and what was he doing?

10. It is said that Major Plumb's horses were exhausted and a good many of them died. Please give me what information you can on that point.

11. Please tell me the criticisms that were made of Major Plumb's conduct of the pursuit after he took command at Blue Mound?

12. It was said that he was to go to a ford of Ottawa creek to head off Quantrill. Please tell me what you can of that matter.

To these questions Captain Pike made the following answers:

1. Yes, the farmer.

2. No, cannot remember his name.

3. Twelve miles southeast from Aubry, at or near the farm of a Mr. Adams, coming up into Kansas in a very deep ravine.

4. Going directly west to a small village (one house and blacksmith shop), attacking the guerrillas from the head of a deep ravine.

5. No; we were ordered by Coleman to remain where we were. He took a number of men and went on. We followed when ordered.

6. I did not see Major Plumb after he halted us on hill. So far as I know, he only took his bodyguard.

7. After nine o'clock p. m. Lieutenant Colonel Clark. Four o'clock, a. m., as near as I can remember.

8. In the winter after he had been ordered to Pleasant Hill, Mo.

9. Did not see Gen. J. H. Lane.

10. Major Plumb's horses were just jaded out, same as ours. If any died, I did not know it.

11. Criticisms were not much to his credit. I have since learned the reason he did not attack Quantrill was he was instructed to follow him out of Kansas, and there would be at the border a large force to capture the whole outfit.

12. As to Plumb going to Ottawa creek, I never heard of it. Do not know where he went. Respectfully, J. A. Pike.

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Since the occurrence of the events described by Captain Pike nearly fifty-four years have passed. The memory of no man is to be trusted in all details after the lapse of so long a time. Statements made from memory after many years have elapsed must be checked with the records. The following extract from the report of Captain Coleman shows that he found about one hundred men at Aubry the night of August 20, 1863, when he started in pursuit of Quantrill; and that those men were fit for service is proven by the fact that they were taken by him as a part of his force in the pursuit. It has always been supposed that company D, Eleventh Kansas cavalry, was then stationed at Aubry under command

of Captain Pike, as Captain Coleman found it there and took it, as well as Pike's company, with him. If it had not been stationed there, how it came to be there at that time is not explained:

*Report of Capt. Charles F. Coleman, Ninth Kansas Cavalry.*

LITTLE SANTA FE, MO., August 30, 1863.

SIR—On the night of the 20th, at eight p. m., I received a dispatch from Captain (J. A.) Pike, commanding at Aubry, stating that he had just received reliable information that Quantrill with 700 men was in camp on the head of Grand river, eight miles east of that place. I immediately sent a messenger to Westport and Kansas City with a dispatch stating the facts as I received them. In about fifteen minutes afterward I received the second dispatch from Captain Pike, stating that Quantrill had passed into Kansas five miles south of Aubry, with 800 men. The second messenger was immediately sent to Westport and Kansas City with the above news, also one to Olathe, with the request that the word be carried on west.

At nine o'clock I started with all my available force, consisting of a detachment of company M, Fifth Kansas volunteer cavalry, and a part of my own company, in all about eighty men. At Aubry I was joined by Captain Pike, company K, Ninth Kansas volunteer cavalry, and company D, Eleventh Kansas volunteer cavalry. My force then consisted of about 180 men. From Aubry I sent a dispatch to Lieutenant Colonel [C. S.] Clark, commanding at Coldwater, that at eleven o'clock I would start after them. I struck their trail five miles south of Aubry, followed it some three miles, when we lost it, they having scattered and divided their force to prevent pursuit in the night (in again finding it, I lost near two hours).

At Gardner I learned that they had passed through six hours before. From Gardner I sent runners south and west to notify the inhabitants that Quantrill had gone north with a large force. I soon could see the smoke from the burning of Lawrence, and pressed on as fast as our jaded horses would permit. When about six miles south of Lawrence I was relieved from command by the arrival of Major [P. B.] Plumb, Eleventh Kansas Volunteer cavalry, with about 30 men. From there we turned south for Baldwin City, and when near there saw them burning Brooklyn. We halted there a short time to hear from our scouts which way they were moving, who reported that they were on the Fort Scott road, moving south. From Baldwin City we struck southwest and intercepted them on the Fort Scott road and engaged their rear with what men we could get up, we having made a charge for the last three miles, and the most of our horses being totally given out, having traveled them upward of eighty miles without feed, water or rest. After a few rounds their rear gave way and joined their main command. We then divided our command and attempted to cut them off from the crossing of Ottawa creek, but failed on account of the jaded condition of our horses. We then got together about forty soldiers and the same number of citizens (all the rest of the horses having given out), and again attacked them in the rear, and kept up a running fight for the next eighteen miles, and till we drove them into the Bull creek timber west of Paola. Night coming on, we abandoned the chase, having been in our saddles twenty-four hours without food or water for man or horse, and having traveled over 100 miles. The enemy here took around Paola on the north. From the best information received during the day, we killed and wounded about thirty of them. We rested at Paola during the night, and in the morning Lieutenant Colonel Clark took command and resumed the chase.

Respectfully, your obedient servant,

C. F. COLEMAN,
*Captain Ninth Kansas Volunteer Cavalry.*

BRIGADIER GENERAL EWING,
*Commanding District of the Border, Kansas City, Mo.*[2]

2. Volume XXII, series 1, part 1, "Rebellion Records," pp. 589, 590.

Captain Pike is certain that Captain Coleman was mistaken as to where he was joined by company D, Eleventh Kansas. Company D may have been stationed at Shawnee, or Shawnee Mission, or at some other point near Little Santa Fe. Or that company might have joined him after the pursuit of Quantrill started from Aubry. Wherever it came from, Captain Pike is positive it was not stationed at Aubry and was in no way under his command nor connected with his force. It was a mistake for Captain Coleman to say it was at Aubry, and it was a great injustice to Captain Pike for him to make that statement in his report.

There is another point which the report of Captain Coleman would seem to settle. It has always been maintained that the division of the command under Major Plumb, for the purpose of attacking Quantrill in both front and rear at the Ottawa creek ford, was made at the point on the Santa Fe trail where the Union forces first came in sight of the guerrillas. There is much to support this view of that matter. But it will be observed that Captain Coleman says that this division of forces was made after the fight at the Fletcher farm.

That Captain Henry Flesher was at Coldwater Grove on the night of the 20th of August, as Captain Pike says, is proven by the report of Lieut. Col. Charles S. Clark, Ninth Kansas volunteer cavalry, a portion of which is here given:

HEADQUARTERS TROOPS ON THE BORDER,
COLDWATER GROVE, August 30, 1863.

GENERAL—In compliance with Special Orders, No. 51, Headquarters District of the Border, I have the honor to submit the following brief report of the part my command took in the chase after Quantrill's murderers in their raid on Lawrence.

In the evening of the 20th of August, 1863, I received a dispatch from Captain [J. A.] Pike, commanding at Aubrey, that reliable information had been received that Quantrill, with a large command, was camped on Grand river, ten miles from the Kansas line. I immediately sent orders to Captain [B. F.] Goss, commanding Trading Post, also to Rockville, for the troops to march forthwith to Coldwater Grove; also that Captain Pike should watch the movement of the enemy and report. I also sent scouting parties to see if any troops had crossed the lines.

At three a. m., 21st I received a dispatch from Captain [C. F.] Coleman that Quantrill had crossed into Kansas, and he was in pursuit with 180 men. I learned from other sources that the enemy was moving in direction of Paola. Having with me a part of Captain Flesher's company (thirty men), I started in direction of Paola; but finding, after traveling twelve miles, that Quantrill had turned north, I changed my direction, and soon found the trail of the enemy. I followed to within four miles of Gardner; there I learned that Quantrill had gone through Gardner at eleven o'clock the night before. Being about twelve hours behind, and learning that a force was in pursuit, and believing that Quantrill could not pass back [by] the same route he entered into the state, I turned my detachment of thirty men in the direction of Paola; called out the people of Marysville as I passed through; instructed them to send scouts out on the road leading from Paola to Lawrence, and report to me at Paola. At five o'clock reached Paola, having marched fifty-five miles; found the citizens in arms; sent men to Osawatomie and Stanton to raise the citizens, and to communicate any and every movement of the enemy. The scout sent to Stanton met Quantrill on his retreat, five miles out, and returned to report. This was the first information I had of Quantrill's where-

abouts after leaving Coldwater Grove. He was then on the road leading into Paola. I made arrangements to attack him at the ford on Bull creek. It was now dark, and as the enemy did not make his appearance, as I had hoped and expected, I sent Lieutenant [J. E.] Parsons to feel the enemy and learn his destination. Lieutenant Parsons found Major [P. B.] Plumb, with the entire command which had been in pursuit, together with General Lane, in command of the militia, all eager to find the marauders, but none knew what had become of them. Various opinions as to direction were now discussed, and out of the diversity of opinions it was thought advisable to rest the command until the direction was ascertained by scouts from the less jaded troops."[3]

3. Volume XXII, series 1, part 1, "Rebellion Records," pp. 585, 586.

## THE CIVIL WAR DIARY OF JOHN HOWARD KITTS.[1]

[Through the courtesy of Mrs. W. L. Trump, of Topeka, daughter of John H. Kitts, we have been permitted to publish this Civil War diary. The copy has been made from two small memorandum books, one inscribed "John H. Kitts, Memorandum book, Leavenworth, Kansas," and the other "Maj. Gen. S. R. Curtis' campaign after Gen'l Sterling Price, commencing Oct. 11, 1864." Neither of these journals is complete; and in the momorandum books containing them are jotted down many things, such as small accounts for clothing and tobacco, money loaned, et cetera. The grandson of Mr. Kitts, Robert Kitts Trump, is serving in the European War. He enlisted in May, 1917, at the age of nineteen, and is an electrician (radio) in the Fourth reserve, U. S. navy, having taken his training at the Great Lakes station.—ED.]

*August 23, 1862.* Speeches made by Chief Justice Ewing—who was recruiting the Eleventh Kansas regiment of volunteers[2]—P. B. Plumb and others. After the speaking opportunity was given to all those who

1. John Howard Kitts, the son of Eli Kitts and Elizabeth Snell Kitts, was born in Maumee City, Ohio, February 3, 1842. He was early apprenticed to the printer's trade, serving his time in a printing office in Delta, Ohio. In 1855 his family immigrated to Kansas, settling near what is now Americus, Lyon county. Here young Kitts became identified with Americus, where his family later lived, and where his brother, W. W. Kitts, served as postmaster. He worked on a newspaper in Emporia, and was at one time with the *Kansas State Record*, published at Topeka, when E. G. Ross was its editor. When the Civil War broke out young Kitts was nineteen years old, and the following year, 1862, he enlisted in the Eleventh Kansas and was assigned to company E, of which Edmund G. Ross was captain. He was promoted to corporal and then first sergeant, and was mustered out with his company August 7, 1865. Shortly after his discharge from the army he went to Ottawa, where he worked on the *Western Home Journal*, and later became part owner of the paper. In 1868 he set up a job office and issued the Ottawa *Register*. The next year he became a partner in the Ottawa *Republic*, but in October he was obliged to sell his interest and retire from business on account of failing health. He died at Ottawa, March 10, 1870, leaving his wife, Mrs. Josephine Paramore Kitts, whom he had married in Ottawa in 1866, and a daughter.

2. On July 2, 1862, President Lincoln called for 300,000 more troops. The quota of Kansas under this call was three regiments. Already the state had furnished ten regiments to the Union army; all the men who were footloose had gone. Those remaining were men with families, but nevertheless, with unfaltering patriotism, enlisting began. Senator James H. Lane had been authorized by the War Department to recruit the troops, and under this authority, on August 6, he empowered Thomas Ewing, jr., then chief justice of the state, to raise a regiment. Judge Ewing established a rendezvous near Fort Leavenworth, calling it Camp Lyon, and began a campaign for recruits. It was a time of great gloom and depression, and he felt obliged to inaugurate a systematic canvass of his district. The first recruit was enlisted on August 8, and by September 14 the last company was filled and mustered in and the regimental organization completed. Judge Ewing was made colonel of the regiment and served with it until his promotion to be brigadier general, March 13, 1863; Thomas Moonlight was lieutenant colonel, and later colonel, succeeding General Ewing; Preston B. Plumb was major, and was promoted to lieutenant colonel May 17, 1864. The regimental staff appointed by Colonel Ewing was: John Williams, adjutant; J. R. McClure, quartermaster; J. W. Hogeboom, surgeon; R. M. Ainsworth and J. D. Adams, assistant surgeons.

wished to volunteer to go for a "bold soldier boy" in the defense of this good old Union, to protect that good "old flag," and wipe out treason from the best government that the sun ever shone on.

P. B. Plumb, who was recruiting a company in Lyon county, swore in eleven to-night, of which number I was the first to volunteer, although he had recruited 107 before he came to Americus. From the time that I enlisted I stayed at home until the 1st of September, when I bid farewell to Americus, and old friends, to go to Emporia to join the company bound for the headquarters at Fort Leavenworth.

*September 2.* Left Emporia, amid a large concourse of people, with twenty-seven wagons, and one hundred and fifty-five men. Camped at Burlingame for the night.

*September 3.* Passed through Burlingame this morning and camped about two miles this side of Lawrence.

*Setember 4.* Passed through Lawrence and crossed the Kansas river, and camped five miles this side of Leavenworth. During the night it commenced raining.

*September 5.* This morning the companies were divided off, making one company and a half, and the company from Emporia elected P. B. Plumb captain, Henry Pierce [Pearce] first lieutenant, Wm [V.] Phillips second lieutenant. The other part of a company elected Charles Drake first lieutenant and John D. Walker as orderly sergeant. Went into Leavenworth and made quite a show. Went on out to the fort, and found two companies there, A and B, and by their kindness they had pitched several rows of tents for us to occupy, and also prepared dinner for us. Companies A and B received us on parade, and, after a few remarks by Lieutenant Smith of company B, gave three hearty cheers for the Lyon county boys. Took our quarters, and Judge Ewing gave us a grand treat of a wagonload of watermelons.

*October 4, 1862.* Left Camp Lyon, near Fort Leavenworth, for Fort Scott. Traveled fifteen miles and camped. Not being accustomed to marching, my feet and legs became sore. The name of the camp, "Ewing."

*October 5.* Started at daylight, and reached the Kaw river about noon. The river being low, and poor accommodations to ferry, the men and teams did not all get across until dark. On the opposite side of the river there was a small town, De Soto. I took dinner at the hotel, and ate like a person nearly starved. Some of the boys bought whisky here, and the colonel, finding it out, ordered the lieutenant colonel to take all he could find and spill it, which he accordingly did. We went about two miles beyond the town and camped, a good spring being close by. The name of the camp was "Moonlight." I felt so sore and tired that, it being my time to go on guard, I hired a soldier belonging to the regular service, who was going with us to Fort Scott, to stand my guard for 75 cents. Distance 15 miles.

*October 6.* Reveille at four o'clock. Breakfast at five o'clock, and on the march by six o'clock. The day being excessively hot and sultry, it was bad traveling, although we marched thirty miles. About two o'clock

I was so tired and sore that I could hardly move. I got into one of the wagons and rode eight miles into camp. When the regiment stopped for the night there was not more than 300 men in the ranks, the balance being strung along the road for miles. The men complained very hard about being marched so hard. I bathed myself in Bull creek, close by, and felt considerably better. The name of the camp was "Plumb."

*October 7.* Started next morning at sunrise. Passed through Paola about noon. The Kansas Twelfth, being encamped at this town, were drawn up in line and presented arms to our regiment when we passed through. Around about Paola there is a pretty good country. Camped at Twin Springs. Distance traveled twenty miles. Stopped at a farm-house and got my supper, and ate with the appetite of a "cannible."

*October, 8.* Rained all night, and was still raining, in consequence of which we did not start until about twelve o'clock m. Passed through some good country. Camped on Sugar creek.

*October 9.* Next morning was on the march by seven o'clock. Passed through Paris, Linn county, about 7:30 o'clock. Passed through Mound City at twelve m. Stopped in the town about an hour, while it was raining. We were called into line again, and the rain was pouring down in torrents. There was a train of twenty wagons met us here that had been sent up from Fort Scott. We were ordered to stack arms, and marched on, leaving a few men to attend to having the arms put in the wagons. It rained nearly all of the afternoon. We at last arrived at Fort Lincoln,[3] where we camped for the night. Fort Lincoln is constructed of logs hewn out and put up, and is a pretty strong structure. It is used for the purpose of confining prisoners. It was guarded by several companies of negroes that had been raised for the Twelfth regiment; but the government would not accept them as soldiers. Twelve miles.

*October 10.* Started at seven o'clock for Fort Scott, at which place we arrived at twelve o'clock m., and pitched our tents. Fort Scott is a town of about 500 inhabitants. It was first built for a fort,[4] when the country was inhabited by the Indians. When the settlement of Kansas was commenced a party of individuals bought the post of the government, for the purpose of making a town of it. It is a point where a good deal of business is done, it being located in the southeastern corner of the state. There are several large stores, and the buildings are generally good. There were several companies of soldiers stationed there belonging to the Wisconsin Third and Ninth and Ohio Second. The town was under martial law, and the orders pretty strict. Fort Scott is at present occupied as a military post, and all of the supplies for the army in southwest Missouri, Arkansas and the Indian territory are shipped here. General

3. Fort Lincoln was located on the north side of the Osage river, a few miles north and west of where the town of Fulton now is.

4. Fort Scott was located as a military post April 8, 1842, and work on the temporary quarters was commenced the following day. It was occupied until 1854, when the troops were withdrawn. May 16, 1855, the buildings erected by the government, at a cost of $52,000, were sold at auction, and to-day some of the old quarters are still in use as dwelling houses.

Lane was here, and came out and met us about a mile before we went into the town. From Fort Lincoln to Fort Scott, twelve miles.

*October 11.* Layed in camp. Went over to town and took a saunter about to look at the town. When we left Leavenworth we expected that we would be stationed at Fort Scott for the present, but as soon as we arrived it was reported that we would be immediately sent into Missouri. A train that had been started out before we arrived had heard that there was a party of rebels waiting to capture the train, and they turned back and retraced their steps as far as Drywood.

We were ordered to be ready to march the next day to overtake the train and act as an escort to it. J. P. Johnson, who left us at Fort Leavenworth and went home, rejoined us here, and brought me a letter from home. All well.

*October 12.* According to orders, we struck tents and started to join General Blunt's command. We were accompanied by a company of cavalry and two sections of artillery. We had a train of about a hundred wagons. We traveled twelve miles and camped two miles south of Drywood.

*Postscript:* The two pieces of cannon that accompanied us were a part of the artillery that was taken from the rebels at the Fort Donelson fight in Tennessee.[5] They were six-pounders, and cast at Nashville, Tenn.

*October 13.* Struck tents at sunrise and marched in a southeast direction. Marched fifteen miles and stopped and pitched tents at noon. Our camp was near the field of a rebel that was in the southern army. The colonel gave us the privilege of using the rails to build our fires. The fence was torn down in a double-quick manner. We crossed the line of Kansas to-day, and are now in the land of "Misery." In the afternoon we went out and tried our guns[6] at target shooting. We did not do the best marksmanship in the world, but expect to better it after a few trials.

*October 14.* This morning we struck tents at daylight and were on the march before sunrise. We traveled in a southeast course. Took two prisoners and picked up quite a drove of cattle. At the north branch of Spring river we had to take off our pants and ford the stream. We camped in a small town by the name of Preston. It is a town that since the rebellion broke out has been deserted. It had been a Union town. One of the boys found a skull of a man in one of the houses, and had the word "Government" scratched on the skull. The way the hogs and chickens suffered was a caution. Part of the train did not get across the river, and I was detailed to go down into the bottom to guard the wagons. Twenty-five miles.

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5. February 12-16, 1862.

6. At the time of the organization of the Eleventh the only infantry arms at Fort Leavenworth "were a lot of Fremont's Prussian muskets, manufactured in 1818, of antique pattern, extra large caliber, and one-fourth heavier than either the Enfield or Springfield musket. These were hastily drawn and issued, and . . . the Eleventh regiment . . . started on its first campaign."—Adjutant General's Report, Kansas, 1861-'65, part 2, p. 200.

*October 15.* Was on the march by seven o'clock. At noon passed over the field where General Sigel fought the battle of Carthage. Forded the other branch of Spring river and went about two miles, when we entered the town of Carthage. The town is mostly deserted. The town is a wreck—the windows of the houses stove in, and showed the effects of secession. The courthouse, in the center of the square, is a large brick building, but a perfect wreck now. Met a large train returning to Fort Scott for supplies. The town was occupied by the Union troops. Marched about four miles from Carthage and camped at the house of a man that was in the "secesh" army. Pitched into the rails like good fellows. Rails, especially of "secesh" proclivities, make good fires. Took a survey of the country in search of honey, but did not find any. The other boys found some and brought it into camp.

*October 16.* Struck tents at eight o'clock and marched in an easterly direction. About noon came to the ground that General Blunt had occupied for his camp a few days before. Passed within a mile of Sicoxie [Sarcoxie]. Camped on the farm of Judge Ritchey, who was at Springfield engaged in the Federal army. His family still lives on the farm. The colonel gave orders not to trouble any of his property. Plenty of good spring water. Twenty miles.

*October 17.* Struck tents at six o'clock and marched in a southeast direction. About nine o'clock came to the ground where Blunt's forces had a fight with the rebels at Eutonia [Newtonia] about a week before. Saw several dead horses, and picked up two cannon balls. This is the place where the Kansas Ninth broke and run into the Winconsin Third and caused them to break, by which they had two of their companies cut to pieces, and came pretty near losing the artillery. Eutonia has been a nice town, but is deserted and gone to wreck now. There were good buildings, and a large-sized grist mill. Camped at Rocky Comfort, a small town. There were no men living in the town, they being all in the rebel service. There were plenty of women. Had plenty of cabbage and onions for supper. Twenty miles.

*October 18.* Struck tents at seven o'clock and marched in a southeasterly direction. The colonel received a dispatch from General Blunt, who was sixteen miles in advance of us, stating that he had struck tents the night before and was marching for Pea Ridge, and ordering us to hurry and join him. He expected a fight. Passed through Keetsville, Mo., about three p. m. Camped about four miles from Keetsville. Keetsville has been a good-sized town, and the buildings were mostly good. It had the appearance of all of the other towns that we passed, being mostly deserted. The town was occupied by Union troops, and used as a hospital for the sick soldiers. There was a telegraph wire run through the town, which had just been put up, connecting the headquarters of the west with St. Louis by way of Springfield. Twenty miles.

*October 19.* Struck tents at seven o'clock and marched nearly south. About ten o'clock passed the line of Missouri into Arkansas, and about eleven a. m. General Blunt and bodyguard came out and met us. The country through which we passed to-day was the route that the rebels

went when they were retreating to Pea Ridge. The road had been obstructed by the rebels after they had passed by felling trees across the road. This was followed up for more than a mile. On each side of the road were bluffs from 150 to 200 feet high. Passed over the Pea Ridge battle ground, where Sigel showed his great military skill. The trees showed signs of a hard-fought battle, being filled with cannon and musket balls. Some trees split wide open and limbs were shot off. The timber was pretty thick. At twelve m. we came to the headquarters of General Schofield, at Elkhorn Tavern. We were received by General Schofield in a most friendly manner. He made a speech to us, in which he praised the officers and men of the regiment. He said that the name of the regiment had preceded us. We went from here to Blunt's headquarters, about two miles distant, at the camp of the Kansas Tenth and Sixth. By the politeness of Colonel Weer, the Tenth had dinner served up for our regiment, which the men partook of with a good appetite. Capt. Charles Hiles, of Emporia, belongs to the Tenth. I also saw Major Bancroft, of the Ninth regiment, and Lieut. D. A. Painter, of the Second Indian regiment. After stopping here about two hours we started for Colonel Cloud's camp, about two and one-half miles distant. We got there about six o'clock and were drawn up in line, and he received us in a short and eloquent speech. He had just returned from a scout to Cross Hollows. We pitched our tents and had a glorious good sleep, the men being nearly tired out.

*October 20.* Went over to the Kansas Second and saw Albert Griffin. Had some washing done. In the afternoon received orders to be ready to march at six p. m. We accordingly struck tents at four p. m. preparatory to marching. At six we were on the march. We were delayed a good deal on account of a grand movement taking place among the different brigades. We marched all night, and at daylight brought up before the town of Bentonville, Ark. When we left Pea Ridge we were told that we would have a fight in a day or two. It was expected that we would find the rebels at Bentonville, but when we reached Bentonville there was no "secesh" force there. At a big farm close by there was an orchard, where we got some good apples and had them cooked for breakfast.

*October 21.* Went over to Bentonville and took a look at the town. It was deserted. Hardly any one lived in the town except women and children. It has been a town of about 1,000 inhabitants before the war broke out, and had the appearance of being a place that had done a good deal of business. The town had been nearly all burnt down by General Sigel, so that the buildings were perfect wrecks. Some of the inhabitants had fired on Sigel's pickets, and he found out the persons and sent a detachment of his force to the town and burnt their property. At four p. m. we were on the move for another night's march; traveled until a little after midnight, when we halted and built fires and lay down on the bare ground and tried to sleep, but did not get much rest. Fifteen miles.

*October 22.* At daylight received an order from General Blunt to hurry up, stating that the rebels were four miles south of Maysville and that our advance had driven the rebel pickets. We were put through

at a pretty fast jog. Just before we got to Maysville the cavalry and Robb's battery passed us on the run; also the howitzers belonging to the Kansas Second. After we had passed through the town of Maysville we heard the report of the cannon, and knew that our advance had attacked the rebels. We were put on double-quick and kept it up until we arrived on the battlefield, about two miles. The Kansas Second made the attack. They rode within about four or five hundred yards of the rebel camp and dismounted. The rebels had formed in line and run out four pieces of cannon. While Robb's [Rabb's] battery and the two howitzers were pouring volley after volley into them, the Kansas Second set up a yell and made a charge on the rebel battery, which they succeeded in taking, and took it from the field. The rebels tried to rally their forces, and had partly succeeded in doing it when they saw the Eleventh approaching on a double-quick, and they broke and run for dear life. Our loss was four killed and five or six wounded. The exact loss of the rebels is not known, but was pretty heavy. Besides taking their battery we took about thirty prisoners and sixty horses. The Indian regiment followed up the rebels and bushwhacked with them for about a half a day, and succeeded in killing and wounding a good many of their men. We marched to Fort Wayne—the ground occupied by the rebels—and pitched our tents. Their fires were burning, and they had left several old wagons and their breakfast, and everything looked like they had skedaddled in a big hurry. There were several dead horses on the field and the trees and bushes were pretty well marked up.

*October 23.* An alarm was given that the rebels had advanced on us and were engaging our pickets. The regiment was formed in line and marched out to the ground occupied by the rebels the day before; but it turned out to be a false alarm.

*October 24.* Nothing transpired in camp worth mentioning.

*October 25.* Started for mill to make flour for the regiment. The mill was of no account. There was thirty men in the first detail.

*October 26.* Colonel Ewing came out from camp with twenty men to relieve the first detail. Finding that the mill did not work, they concluded to go to another mill on Cowskin river, twenty miles distant. We accordingly started at four o'clock p. m. and traveled ten miles, when we stopped for the night.

*October 27.* On the road by sunup. Arrived at the mill about 10:30 o'clock. Two of the Kansas Second went out from the mill about half a mile to get feed for their horses, and while there a horseman rode up to them and wanted to know who they were, and they told him that they were "Federals," and he said he was not, and told them that they would have to fire. He wheeled his horse and attempted to run, when they fired on him and killed his horse. He jumped on his feet and started on a run to get away, and in doing so run into our pickets, and they took him prisoner. He acknowledged that he was a "secesh" and belonged to the rebel army. He did not know that there was any Federal soldiers in the vicinity, and took our boys to be citizens. He was a sharp

fellow and well posted on all subjects. He said he was a private, but I believe he is something more. Got the old mill in running order and went to grinding.

*October 28.* Started back for camp at seven p. m. Went eight miles and camped for the night.

*October 29.* On the march by daylight; reached camp about eleven a. m. Train arrived from Fort Scott and brought the mail. The Thirteenth regiment from Kansas came into [camp] to-day.

*October 30.* Grand review of all of the troops, about 7,000, by General Blunt. Did not amount to much.

*October 31.* Jerry Musgrave, of company C, accidentally shot himself, on picket guard, in the knee, and died of this wound about six o'clock this morning. Struck tents and marched sixteen miles in an easterly direction. It was a grand move of all of the soldiers.

*November 1.* Sabbath. Lay in camp. Mustered for pay; Colonel Cloud, commanding the Brigade, mustering officer.

*November 2.* Lay in camp. Pleasant day. General inspection of arms.

*November 3.* Struck tents at eight o'clock and marched twelve miles. Camped on the west branch of the Osage creek, on the ground that rebels occupied after their retreat from Pea Ridge.

*November 4.* Lay in camp. At six o'clock p. m. companies E and D were sent on detached duty to mill. Besides companies E and D of the Eleventh, they were accompanied by companies A, F, K, of the Kansas Second and two howitzers. Arrived at the mill about midnight. The mill was on Osage creek, thirteen miles south of Bentonville. The man that owned it—Brown—is a rank "secesh."

*November 5.* All quiet. Sent out a forage party and found forage plenty.

*November 6.* Nothing new. Went out after forage and got a load of wheat, some cabbage, turnips, tobacco, horse and apples. The old cuss raved and tore around when we took his stuff.

*November 7.* I went out with a party about eight miles and burned and destroyed a large tannery. We took the hides from the vats and threw them into the house and sheds, and set fire to the buildings. Colonel Cloud came along, while we were at work, with a scouting party, a part of the Second Kansas, Second Ohio, Sixth Kansas and some Indians, and they took hold and helped us do the work. Loss, $15,000.[7]

*November 8.* Another party was sent out about four miles and burned another tannery. Property destroyed amounted to about $5,000.

*November 9.* Nothing of importance. Went foraging.

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7. The foraging expedition to Brown's mill was commanded by Major Plumb. Their orders were to run the mill and forage the surrounding country for supplies for the nearly exhausted commissariat of the division. This duty occupied about two weeks' time, and was thoroughly performed, all of the wheat in the country, and much of the corn, was gathered in and ground for the use of the army. Loyal citizens who were in danger were organized into a party and sent in to Kansas, using for their transportation wagons and teams taken from the disloyal. It was at Cincinnati, near the Cherokee line, that Robinson's tannery, used by the Confederates for the manufacture of leather to furnish Hindman's army with shoes, was destroyed.

*November 10.* Colonel Cloud returned from a scout to Ray's [Rhea's] Mill, fifteen miles. He came across the rebels and routed them, killing one and taking ten prisoners. He also took their flag.

*November 11.* All quiet in camp.

*November 12.* Nothing stirring.

*November 13.* Do; do; do; do.

*November 14.* The same as the last few days.

*November 15.* Received orders to rejoin the main command, which had moved from Camp Bowen [Bowman], about twenty miles. We accordingly struck tents at three o'clock, and was on the march by daylight. Marched to within eight miles of the command and stopped for the night.

*November 16.* Called up at three o'clock and got breakfast, and was on the road before daylight. Joined the command at 7 o'clock. There was a good many reports about the rebels advancing on us for the purpose of giving us battle. Was called into line once during the day, but it was a false alarm.

*November 18.* Still raining. All quiet within the lines.

*November 19.* All quiet in camp. The rain has quit and it is now clear and pleasant.

*November 20.* Nothing stirring. Warm and pleasant. A party from company D that went out foraging were fired into by some bushwhackers. One of the men was killed and one wounded. Three horses killed.

*November 21.* All quiet. The first lieutenant of company A died in the hospital. He will be sent back to Leavenworth, where he formerly lived.

*November 22.* The man from company D was buried to-day with military honors. It is a very solemn way of burial.

*November 23.* All quiet in camp. On "grand guard," one of company C's men was shot in the big toe by a bushwhacker while out foraging.

*November 24.* Nothing stirring. The men on short allowances. The supply train has been due for some days, but has not yet arrived. Some companies have had no bread for several days.

*November 25.* Hard up for rations. The train not arrived. Weather rather cool.

*November 26.* The train came in about dark and brought supplies and the mail.

*November 27.* Received orders this morning to strike tents and load the wagons, keeping our blankets out, rolled up to carry on our backs; also three days' rations in our haversacks. Marched in a southerly direction. Stopped at the town of Cincinnati and made our supper and rested a couple of hours, and was on the march again and went five miles, when we stopped for the night. Very tired.

*November 28.* On the march by five o'clock, and traveled in a southerly direction until eleven o'clock, when Robb's [Rabb's] battery, which had been thrown in the advance in the morning, opened fire on the rebels, which they had run onto at Cane Hill, Ark. We were ordered on a double-

quick, and kept it up until we arrived at the place where Robb [Rabb] had his battery planted. Robb [Rabb] had been pouring a telling fire into the enemy, and drove them from their first position on a high hill near the seminary. We got a glimpse of the rebels, about a mile off, and Robb [Rabb] had turned his battery, and the rebels skedaddled off in a "little less than no time." We filed around through several fields, and finally brought up in the lower part of Cane Hill. We halted here a short time, when firing was heard ahead of us again, and we were started on at a pretty rapid rate, and finally overtook the rebels on a high hill. They made a stand here, but our force soon drove them again. We next run into them about a half a mile off, where they came in pretty close quarters, and the Eleventh had a chance to try their "light artillery,"[8] and done some good execution. The enemy again fled, but our forces run into them again, and after contesting the road for a short time drove them on. We followed on, but did not get sight of them again, as darkness soon set in.[9] The enemy sent in a flag of truce to deliver up a lieutenant colonel of the Sixth Kansas [Lewis R. Jewell], who had been wounded and taken prisoner. After the flag of truce was agreed on, we retraced our steps back over the road where we had driven the enemy in the morning, and finally stopped for the night and laid down on the ground without our blankets. The blankets arrived about twelve o'clock, but not more than half of the boys could find their blankets.

The loss on our side was 8 killed and 25 wounded, and that of the enemy a good deal more than our. It is reported that they acknowledge a loss of 72 killed and 200 wounded. The distance traveled by us to-day was stated to be thirty-eight miles—a pretty good march.

The rebel force was between four and five thousand, and eight pieces of artillery. They were all cavalry. Our force that were engaged was about two thousand. From the place where the fighting commenced we drove the rebels twelve miles.

*November 29.* Marched into Boonsboro[10] and lay around until nearly night when we took our position on a high hill for camp, to the south of the town. Our rations had nearly run out and grub was scarce. This is one of the best parts of Arkansas for farming. The county is Washington and the county seat Fayetteville, and it is one of the wealthiest and most populous counties in the state. Went through the town and found an old printing office that had been used to publish the Cherokee *Messenger*.[11] It had been thrown into "pi."

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8. ". . . While thus steadily forcing our way forward and the enemy back, the Eleventh Kansas infantry made its appearance, and under the direction of its officers opened such a fire of musketry that the enemy hastened his retreat. . . ."—Report of Colonel Cloud, "War of Rebellion Records," series 1, vol. 22, part 1, p. 47.

9. ". . . I take pleasure in saying that, although the regiment was never under fire, there was no lack of spirit or courage evinced by any officer or private belonging to it. The march had been severe up to eleven o'clock, when we reached the field, and being almost uninterrupted from that until nine o'clock at night, it taxed beyond the power of endurance the strength of about one-third of the men, who fell out from time to time, utterly exhausted. The entire march of my regiment that day was not less than thirty-four miles. . . ."—Report of Col. Thomas Ewing, jr., "War of Rebellion Records," series 1, vol. 22, part 1, p. 52.

10. Boonsboro is now part of Cane Hill.

11. A letter to W. E. Connelley from Emmet Starr, dated Tahlequah, Okla., September 11, 1915, says that Evans Jones and his son, John Buttrick Jones, "assisted by Hervey Upham and Mark Tiger, published at Baptist Mission the Cherokee *Messenger*, a monthly

*November 30.* All quiet in camp. The weather growing cold. Train arrived, and we pitched our tents and made ourselves comfortable. Went down town with Captain Ross and Major Plumb to take a look at the old printing office, and concluded to go to work and pick the type out of "pi" and get out a paper, and accordingly went to work, but found it a slow job on account of the type being mixed up with the Cherokee type.

*December 1.* All quiet in camp. The scout brought in twelve prisoners. Still at work in the office.

*December 2.* Still in the office; our company on grand guard.

*December 3.* Considerable excitement in camp. Tents struck and wagons loaded, ready to march. It is currently reported that the enemy are marching on us with a large force for the purpose of giving us battle. On account of the excitement, the paper does not flourish very briskly.

*December 4.* Some excitement in camp. Struck our tents and packed the wagons. Pitched our tents at five o'clock.

*December 5.* Tents struck and wagons loaded. About ten o'clock we were marched out about two miles from camp, and took our position on a "young mountain." Staid here until two o'clock and marched back to camp, pitched our tents, and "turned in" for the night. Went down to the office and went to work on the paper. Worked all night at the press on the outside of the *Buck and Ball.*[12] Worked 1,100 copies.

*December 6.* Went up to the camp a little after day, and found the tents struck and the wagons loaded and the regiment formed in line ready to march out on the position that we occupied yesterday. Got something to eat and went back to the office to work. The regiment came into camp about three o'clock, all but four companies, who were left on the hill to hold the position, and a part sent out to act as skirmishers to get their suppers. After supper they took their blankets and marched back to the hill, to remain during the night. The companies that had been sent out to act as skirmishers exchanged several shots with the rebels during the night. At one time they drove in our cavalry pickets and run into our skirmishers before they knew it, when they opened fire on them, making them "skedaddle" back. The firing was kept up at intervals all night. The rebels lost about fifteen killed and wounded during the night, and we had several wounded out of company H.

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missionary publication, a part of which was printed in the Cherokee language. Its first issue was in August, 1844. Only fourteen issues were printed." Evans Jones was missionary to the Cherokee Indians as early as 1821, and served them a long time, wielding a powerful influence among them. The Baptist Mission was located, from 1839 to 1867, at a point about three miles north of the present village of Westville, in Adair county, Oklahoma.

12. Two copies of this interesting paper are now in the possession of the Kansas State Historical Society. The name was descriptive of the charge used for the Prussian muskets with which the Eleventh was armed—three buckshot and a 72-caliber ball. From this charge was also originated the motto carried on some of the papers: "Caliber 72—Gives the rebels hell." Another sentiment run under the caption was "Kansas is pisen to the hull on 'em." The *Buck and Ball* bears date December 6, 1862, but a paragraph on the inside of the sheet says: "The outside of this paper was printed on the 6th inst., but owing to the great battle of the 7th it has been impossible for us to issue our paper before the 15th inst." In the meantime (according to Connelley's "Life of Preston B. Plumb," p. 127) the half-printed edition had been rescued from the floor of the printing office, tied up in a roll and thrown into an ambulance by Major Plumb. After the battle of Prairie Grove the half-printed sheets were found and the printing of the paper was finished by putting in type an account of the battle and some editorials. For some further account of the *Buck and Ball,* see "Kansas Historical Collections," vol. 12, p. 284.

*December 7.* Early this morning heavy firing was heard in our rear, and about ten o'clock General Blunt made his appearance on the ground, and after a short conference with Colonel Cloud the whole command were ordered to march.

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[The diary closes with the entry of December 7. In another part of the little volume are found the following entries, evidently written later, and, as will be seen, are in the nature of a résumé of the events recorded in the diary proper. Repetitions appear and mistakes will be noticed in dates given.—ED.]

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Enlisted in the Eleventh Kansas regiment at Americus, August 25, 1862. Started for Leavenworth September 1, '62, with a train of 27 wagons and 155 men. Camped at Duck creek for dinner and at night at Dragoon creek. Started next morning.

*Tuesday, October 22, '62.* Battle of [Old] Fort Wayne between the rebel force, commanded by Buster and Cooper, and our forces, commanded by General Blunt and Colonel Cloud. The fighting was done by the Kansas Second.

Distance traveled since we left Camp Lyon, near Fort Leavenworth: From Leavenworth, Kan., to Fort Wayne, Cherokee Nation, by the way of Fort Scott, Carthage, Eutonia [Newtonia].

*October 31.* At Fort Wayne, Jerry Musgrave accidentally shot while on grand guard, and died of his wounds in five or six hours after the accident. He belonged to company C, from Emporia, Kan., and was buried at Maysville, Ark., by our company.

Distance traveled since we left Camp Lyon, near Fort Leavenworth, Kan., to Camp Fort Wayne, Cherokee Nation, by the way of Fort Scott, Kan., Preston, Carthage, Eutonia [Newtonia], Rocky Comfort, Keetsville, Mo., Bentonville, Pea Ridge, Maysville, Ark., 325 miles. From Fort Wayne to Camp Ewing, 18; from Camp Wayne to the grist mill on Cowskin river and back, 45; from Camp Ewing to Camp Bowman, 15.

Battle of [Old] Fort Wayne, in the Cherokee Nation, took place Tuesday, October 22, 1862, between the rebel forces, commanded by Generals Buster and Cooper, and the Union forces, commanded by General Blunt and Colonel Cloud. The fighting was done by five companies of the Kansas Second. The enemy learned that we were marching on them, and made preparations to retreat. They had some trouble in getting their train off, and our forces were advancing on them, when they run out and planted four pieces of artillery and fired several shots, when the Kansas Second dismounted and charged on the battery and took it, losing four killed and two wounded. The rebel loss was about fifteen killed, and it is not known how many were wounded on the rebel [side], but from appearances it is supposed that there were a good many wounded. When our forces charged on the rebels they wheeled and run like sheep. The Kansas Eleventh made a double-quick for two miles, but arrived on the ground after the rebels had skedaddled.

*October 31, '62.* Struck tents at Camp Fort Wayne and started—report says for Fort Smith, but cannot tell as yet. First day's march, eighteen miles from Fort Wayne. The day was a hard day to march,

in being very dusty. When we got in camp we were black as the Old Nick. Went on grand guard.

*Saturday, November 1.* Lay in camp and mustered for pay. Colonel Cloud, commanding the brigade, mustering officer.

*November 2 (Sunday).* Lay in camp at Camp Ewing. Nothing of interest transpired; heard three sermons preached by McAfee, Cline,[13] Johnson.

*October 3.* Left Camp Ewing and traveled fifteen miles toward Cross Hollows, and camped on the ground occupied by the rebels when they retreated from Pea Ridge. The camp had the appearance of being a very large one. There was a good many graves on the ground.

*October 4.* Lay in Camp Bowman. Nothing of interest transpiring. Wrote a letter to Len Haver. There was an election held in camp to see how the vote would have been cast had the men been at home. About six o'clock p. m. we received orders to get ready to start off on detached duty for a grist mill about eight miles from the camp. Company D accompanied us; also companies A, F, K, of the Kansas Second, and two pieces of brass howitzers. We arrived at the mill about twelve o'clock and slept the balance of the night.

*October 5.* First day at the mill passed off without any excitement, and nothing transpired worth mentioning until October 7, when a party went out about eight miles from Brown's mill and set fire to and destroyed a tanyard and everything belonging thereto. We also destroyed about ten thousand dollars' worth of hides in the vats. We took the hides out of the vats and [they were] thrown into the building and burnt up. Loss about $20,000.

From October 7 to the 12 nothing occurred worth mentioning.

*Friday, October 14.* Left Brown's mill to join the command, passed camp Bowin [Bowman]—the old camp—about 12 m., and overtook the command the next day about ten o'clock a. m. We stopped about eight miles this side of the command and took supper and laid down and slept until about two o'clock p. m., when we started again. Distance first day about twenty-two miles; second, 8 miles. Arrived at camp, took our quarters.

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[The diary of the campaign after Price in 1864, which here follows, is written in a second memorandum book. The little volume appears to have been primarily an account book in which accounts of clothing, side arms, saddle blankets, curry combs and lariats issued have a prominent place.—Ed.]

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Diary of the campaign in Missouri and Arkansas after Gen. Sterling Price of the Confederate army, by J. H. Kitts, company E, Eleventh K. V. C., commencing October 12, 1864, and ending December 12, 1864:

*October 12, 1864.* Received orders to be in readiness to march at twelve o'clock m. with all men fit for duty. We formed in line, H and M

13. Rev. James S. Cline was the chaplain of the regiment. He enlisted from Tecumseh, where he had a charge. He came into the Leavenworth district in 1859, having the church at Columbus City. Following the close of the war he lived at Lawrence.

companies being on the right and B on the left. We were marched around the square and then took the road to Aubrey, Kan., where we arrived at dark, and found that the troops there had moved into the timber three miles west of the town, and started for that place. arriving there, encamped for the night, with several other companies of the regiment, but it was too late to look around.

*October 13, 1864.* I took a look around and found companies D, I, F, K, A in camp, making nine companies of the Eleventh there, one company of the Sixteenth Kansas, and one company of the Fifth Kansas, making Eleven companies. We did not move to-day. Colonel Moonlight went out on a scout and returned about five o'clock, when he issued orders for us to be in readiness to march at 3 a. m. During the day about 1,000 militia arrived, and McLain's colored battery. The woods were alive with men, and it looked like we had enough to whip old "Pap" without any other assistance.

*October 14, 1864.* Reveille at two a. m., and at three a. m. we were en route for Oxford, where we arrived about an hour after daylight and stopped to feed. Rested about two hours, when we took up the line of march for Hickman's Mills, Mo., where we arrived about twelve m. and found several companies of the Second Colorado and two companies of militia from Lawrence, Kan. I had the pleasure of meeting several old friends from Lawrence who were out trying soldiering. Among them was Ross Mayberry, Charley Taylor, John Spear, and so on. Rumors were rife about "Pap," but nothing reliable as to where he was or what force he had with him.

*October 15, 1864.* To-day is Sunday, and if I were in Lawrence I would *undoubtedly* attend divine worship, but as I am in the land of Dixie, where such things do not abound, I reckon that I won't do it to-day. General Curtis came over and had a *conflab* with Blunt; and Moonlight took us out for battalion drill. The different brigades were classed as follows: First brigade, commanded by Col. C. R. Jennison; Second brigade, commanded by Col. Thomas Moonlight; Third brigade commanded by Col. C. W. Blair; Fourth brigade, commanded by Brig. Gen. Fishback, K. S. M. The Third and Fourth brigades were composed principally of Kansas militia.

A good deal of speechifying was done in the afternoon. Blunt said that he intended to go out on a reconnoissance after the elephant, and if he found him he would bring him back to them. A good deal of dissatisfaction existed here among the militia, and part of it—the regiment commanded by Colonel Snoddy—started back to Kansas, but Blunt sent after them and brought them back and placed Snoddy and Fishback under arrest in close confinement. I guess they will find "Jordan a hard road to travel" before they get through with it. At five o'clock p. m. we received orders to supply ourselves with three days' rations and be in readiness to march at 7 p. m. This order related to the First and Second brigades. At seven we were in the saddle and on the march and did not stop until 3 a. m., when we arrived at Pleasant Hill, where we found Major Anderson, who had been out

reconnoitering and reported the enemy at Knobnoster and Warrensburg in considerable force. I made my bed, and in a short time was wrapt in the arms of Morpheus.

*October 16, 1864.* I took a saunter around the town in search of some place to replenish my hunger, but I met with poor success and had to return to camp and content myself with a cup of coffee and a hardtack.

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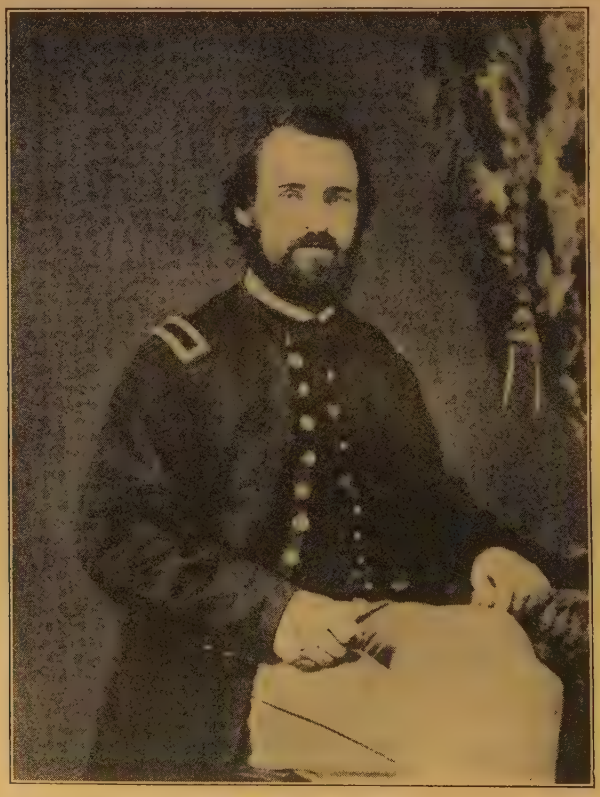
## ELEVENTH KANSAS CAVALRY, 1865, AND BATTLE OF PLATTE BRIDGE.

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society, by GEORGE M. WALKER, of Salina.

SOON after the Eleventh Kansas was transferred from infantry to cavalry, in 1863, G company was detailed as bodyguard for Maj. Gen. Samuel R. Curtis, commanding the Department of Missouri, with headquarters at Fort Leavenworth, Kan., and remained detached through the balance of the service.

In the winter of 1864-'65, when the Eleventh Kansas returned from



GEORGE M. WALKER.

helping to drive the forces of General Price across the Arkansas river, they were ordered to rendezvous at Fort Riley, Kan.

About January 25, 1865, companies C and E were detached and sent to Fort Larned. About a month later C company was sent to Fort Dodge. Their duties were to guard the United States mail and trains on the routes leading to Denver and Santa Fe. They had no engagements with the Indians that would be classed as battles, but were often beset by Indians greatly in excess of the number of the guards, but never failed to protect their trusts. These companies returned to Fort Riley in July, and were mustered out August 7, 1865. Company G had been mustered out in May and June. Companies A, B, D, F, H, I, K, L and M were ordered to North Platte, overland and telegraph route. They left Fort Riley February 20, 1865, under command of Lieut. Col. P. B. Plumb, assisted by Majors Martin Anderson and Nathaniel A. Adams.

I find two published statements of the campaign of these nine companies. I shall endeavor not to duplicate any ground they have covered, except in cases where they disagree or are in error, and I have evidence to correct.

In describing the battle of Platte bridge I state what I saw, which is indelibly fixed in my mind; what I learned at the time from comrades, and later from official records.

I was not with the command on its march from Fort Riley to North Platte bridge, but letters from comrades who were fully confirm accounts given in both articles.

In August or early September, 1864, I was detailed as acting assistant quartermaster and acting assistant commissary of subsistence for troops under command of Lieut. Col. P. B. Plumb, with headquarters at Olathe, Kan. When I learned that my regiment was ordered West I applied to be relieved to join it, but this was not done in time to enable me to make transfers, settle accounts, and reach the command at Fort Riley.

On arriving at Fort Riley I received orders to proceed to regimental headquarters on the North Platte. On March 16 I was supplied with wagon transportation for supplies and baggage, and placed in command of some fifty men, back from furloughs and the hospital, who belonged to the Eleventh and Sixteenth Kansas regiments. No horses were furnished the men, so most of them had to walk. We had no tents and had to improvise such shelter as we could against storms, and we had several quite severe storms *en route*. Upon our arrival at Julesburg, Colo., April 3, we learned of the fall of Richmond. We were detained at Julesburg until after the assassination of President Lincoln. On leaving there we were given a sutler train to guard to Fort Laramie, where we arrived April 25. Arrived at Deer Creek May 3, and at regimental headquarters, near Platte bridge, May 4. All the men who left Fort Riley with me were safely delivered to their commands, and only one man was relieved from duty *en route* on account of sickness. When near Scott's Bluff hostile Indians were reported in our vicinity, but they did not molest us. On arrival at regimental headquarters I was assigned to duty as acting regimental adjutant and acting regimental quartermaster, and was not with the command on any of the scouts.

Thomas Sanders, of L company, now of Clay Center, Kan., was with me on the march from Fort Riley to his company. He kept a diary the last year of service, and I am indebted to him for notes from this diary, giving many facts and dates. I am also indebted to several other comrades for assistance, but they, like myself, had to depend principally on memory. I had had some data, but it was burned with my home in 1884.

I do not now recall the locations of the companies at this time. From best data I could obtain, D and L were at Deer creek; A, B, F, K and M at and near Platte bridge; H and I at Sweetwater, about fifty miles southwest of Platte bridge.[1]

Owing to lack of forage and meager grazing, the stock was in bad condition. On May 8 the nine companies, except men left to guard and care for their headquarters, assembled at Platte bridge, and in the afternoon started on an extended scout, commonly called the Wind river expedition. For lack of serviceable horses, many of the men had to walk. Colonel Moonlight and Lieutenant Colonel Plumb were in command, Majors Anderson and Adams and Captain Huntoon commanded battalions, and James Bridger, a noted scout, was guide. They marched north to the headwaters of Powder river, thence westerly and southerly, crossing Rattlesnake range to the watershed of Sweetwater river, thence to Independence Rock and Sweetwater station. Companies H and I remained here for a time, and the other seven companies continued to Platte bridge, arriving May 17. Much of the marching was done at night and in snowstorms. Several men were taken down with scurvy and had to be sent back in camp wagons, with dismounted men as guards.

As described by one of the men who made the trip: "Nine days of hard marching on short feed, snow nearly every night, and did not see an Indian or a fresh trail."

About May 19 companies D, L and M moved to Mud creek. I think it was on this occasion that Lieutenant Godfrey, of D company, was left with a few men to guard supplies, transportation for which was to be sent back. They had no knowledge of Indians being in their vicinity, but used precaution to guard against attack by forming breastworks of boxes, etc. When the main force was out of reach, a body of Indians, much superior in number to the guards, charged on them, but received such a warm reception that they fled to high ground. Though beyond range of carbines, the lieutenant had his men raise the sights of carbines to estimated range and fire a volley, which knocked one Indian off his pony and wounded a pony severely. The Indians then withdrew to a safe distance.

On May 21 Lieutenant Colonel Plumb, with a small force, had a fight with Indians across Platte river near Deer creek. One man of A company was killed and several horses were injured. We could not ascertain the Indian casualties.

June 3 Major Adams' battalion, companies A, L and M, were ordered to Horseshoe, where they arrived June 8.

1. The assignment of companies here given follows the assignments as printed in the Adjutant General's Report, Kansas, 1861-1865 (reprint 1896), p. 209.

June 11 General Conner telegraphed Lieutenant Colonel Plumb to take five companies to the Fort Halleck route.[2] Plumb, with L company, arrived at Fort Laramie for this transfer June 13. Companies A, M, B and F followed later.

On June 14 trouble with Indians near Fort Mitchell caused Moonlight to take two companies of California troops, one from the Sixteenth Kansas, one from the Eleventh Ohio cavalry, and Plumb with fifty men of L company, near 350 men in all, and all of the serviceable horses, to pursue Indians. They had to cross North Platte river on a small ferry-boat, and the force did not reach the north side until the morning of the 15th. They marched fifty-five miles down the river that day, and struck an Indian trail. They followed the trail on the 16th, and saw where Indians had camped on the previous night. On the 17th all men were sent back whose horses were not able to make fifty miles per day, thus reducing the force to about 135 men; L company to 21 men. With this force they marched until noon, when they stopped for dinner and to graze the horses. For some reason they neglected to send out pickets. Indians charged on the camp, wounding one man and stampeding about eighty horses. Several Indians were supposed to be killed, but were carried away by their comrades. L company of the Eleventh Kansas saved most of their horses. Extra saddles were burned by order of Colonel Moonlight, the horses saved were used for packhorses for the outfits, and the command started back to Fort Laramie on foot, where they arrived about noon of the 20th. L company started out for Fort Halleck that afternoon, overhauled A and M companies on the 23d, and arrived at Fort Halleck on the 26th, Major Adams being in command.

These three companies guarded the route from Fort Halleck to Point of Rock, on Bitter creek, west of North Platte ferry, escorting the United States mail, freighters and emigrants. B and F companies arrived on the route later, and did similar service from Cache Le Poudre to Fort Halleck.

An emigrant train of one hundred wagons with families was beset, on July 1, by Indians at Rock creek. A detachment of twenty-one men of L company rescued the train and drove off the Indians. On July 4 a detachment of A and L companies had a brush with Indians near Fort Halleck, in which Sergeant Gale, of A company, was killed. These five companies were kept busy on scout duty and escort duty until relieved in August, when they started for Fort Leavenworth for muster-out service. Lieutenant Colonel Plumb joined this command early in July, returning to North Platte on the telegraph route.

About May 24 I company had moved from Sweetwater station to the regimental headquarters camp at the foot of the mountains, some six miles southeast of Platte bridge. H company moved at the same time, and when the five companies were taken to the Fort Halleck route D and H companies were stationed at La Bonte or Horseshoe, and K com-

2. S. H. Fairfield, in his story of "The Eleventh Kansas at Platte Bridge," published in Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 8, p. 352, says that it was on May 11 that Plumb was ordered to Fort Halleck. This must be a mistake, since all other statements agree on the date, June 11. Unfortunately the order cannot be found in the War of Rebellion Records.

pany at Deer creek. About July 1 regimental headquarters were moved east, and I company was sent to Platte bridge. Regimental headquarters were soon after moved to Platte bridge, with Major Martin Anderson commanding.

On July 14 Lieut. R. J. Harper, the noncommissioned staff and the band started for Fort Leavenworth for muster out. Near the same date part of a company of infantry—commonly called galvanized, as they were recruited from rebel prison camps for service against Indians, and officered by northern men—under command of their captain, was added to the force at Platte bridge.

Company G of the Eleventh Ohio cavalry, under Lieutenant Bretney, left Platte bridge for Sweetwater on July 22, and Sergt. Amos J. Custard, of H company, with a detail of twenty-four men from D and H companies, including himself and teamsters, who had arrived from the east with supplies, were sent with the company to move baggage, etc.

### BATTLE OF PLATTE BRIDGE.

The mail ambulance from Fort Laramie arrived at Platte bridge about four o'clock July 25. It had been escorted by twelve men of company K, commanded by Corporal Grimme. The driver reported that Indians were endeavoring to stampede the herd which was grazing in a valley about two miles east of the station. Captain Greer, with part of his company, I, went to the relief of the herders, and Corporal Grimme's squad, and drove off the Indians. As the command returned, an Indian chief was seen lying, face down, apparently dead, in the edge of a clump of brush. Corporal Bates made sure he was dead by shooting him; then he scalped him and took his deer skin coat, which was ornamented with many scalp locks, a majority of which were taken from white women. The body of this chief had not been removed when our forces left Platte bridge.

The forces at Platte bridge at this time were I company and Corporal Grimme's detachment of K company, Eleventh Kansas cavalry, and the part company of "galvanized" troops. Lieut. Casper Collins, of company G, Eleventh Ohio cavalry, had come up in the mail ambulance. Major Martin Anderson was in command. During the night of the 25th Lieutenant Bretney, of G Company, Eleventh Ohio, arrived from Sweetwater with a few men and reported they had passed Sergeant Custard's train camped at Willow Spring, which was about half way to Sweetwater, but had seen no indication of Indians.

Soon after sunrise on the 26th three or four small squads of Indians were seen north of the river and northeast of the station. Surmising that a heavier force was hiding in their rear, Major Anderson ordered a detail of twenty-five of the best mounted men to go and notify and assist Sergeant Custard's force. Lieutenant Collins having had much experience in Indian warfare, was placed in command. He had no horse at Platte bridge, as I furnished him with what was considered the best one of those used by the noncommissioned staff—an iron grey that had been used by Sergeant Major Isbel

As these men were getting ready Major Anderson and I were on the lookout on the roof of the station, watching the Indians. Major Anderson went down before the command started. Soon after he left I saw two

squads of Indians west of the river, but south of the road. I at once reported this to him. He replied, "I have ordered twenty more men; they are now saddling their horses." Lieutenant Collins' force had crossed the bridge and ascended to a low ridge north of the road, which paralleled the road for about a half mile where it connected with the main ridge. Lieutenant Collins had been directed to ascend this low ridge, but to keep close to the brow and reach the road where it ascended to the main ridge. We could not from the ground see what was to the northwest of the command, but saw they were leaving the brow of the ridge. We learned later from men in the command that a small body of Indians had appeared to the northwest, and they started in pursuit. As soon as the command was well away from the brow of the ridge the decoy Indians in front increased to hundreds and those in the west and northeast to thousands, and, atacking the command in the rear, inclosed it in a seething mass. Seeing the impossibility of going forward, a retreat was ordered. The wonder is that any succeeded in getting back to succor near the bridge. Owing to friend and foe being so intermingled, the howitzer at the station and the carbines at the bridge could not be effectively used until our men were back in our lines. This action lasted less than half an hour. The number of Indians killed and wounded we could not know, as all were removed. Of the soldiers, four men besides Lieutenant Collins were killed, six badly wounded, and others probably slightly wounded.

One man stated he had seen Lieutenant Collins back at the bridge with his men; he then wheeled his horse and rushed back among the Indians—but this was not verified. His body was found nearly a mile northwest of the bridge, stripped and badly mutilated.

The ranchmen and half-breeds at Platte bridge claimed to recognize Sioux, Cheyennes, Arapahoes, Black Feet, and, I think, Kiowas, and estimated the number of Indians engaged as from 2,500 to 3,000.

We found out early in the morning that the telegraph wires had been cut on both sides of the station. About nine o'clock a. m. I was ordered to take twenty men and try to repair the line to the east. Owing to the condition of the horses, only a corporal and sixteen men reported. Over ¼ mile east of the station was a small creek, which, owing to the shape of its banks, had to be crossed at fords. The ford on the telegraph road was hidden from view of the station by a low mound. East of the creek was a low ridge a half mile wide, and beyond lay the valley in which the herd had been attacked on the previous day. The ford was considered the danger point, as the Indian ford of the river was about a half mile north, and the Indians were congregated on the north bank.

Major Anderson ordered the infantry captain to take his men to this mound and guard the ford until the repair force returned. He ordered me, in case the howitzer was fired, to drop all work and bring my men in at once. The Indian ford could be seen from the station, but not from the telegraph line east of the creek. We found nearly one thousand feet of wire had been destroyed in the valley near where the herd had been attacked. I directed one picket to be sent north along the ridge to

watch the Indian ford, and two, Chappel and Porter, to the high ground east. The corporal and six me were sent to the east end of the break, and I started the other seven men stretching wire from the west end; then I went to the party on the east end, and was just dismouting when we heard the report of a howitzer, and at the same time our north picket fired his revolver. I signaled to the east pickets and saw they were coming in, and ordered my men to mount. My attention was then called to the west squad, and I saw they had mounted and were leaving us. I had a fleet horse, and used her speed, overhauling the men on the ridge and holding them in check there until the corporal and his squad arrived and notified me that the pickets and all his men were in. We could not see the creek ford but did see that the infantry had abandoned the mound, leaving the danger point unprotected, and were on the double-quick to the station. I saw some of my men near the ford, and, believing our safety depended on our being together, I again let out my horse and crossed the creek with the foremost; then wheeled and held the men until the corporal again notified me that the pickets and all men were in. A few Indians were in sight north of us within carbine range, and I had the men give them a volley from their carbines. We then moved forward in good order at a slow lope. When about a quarter of a mile from the mound my attention was called to the rear, where I saw Chappel coming in on foot, his horse lying in the road a few rods further back, and two other men mounted in his rear, who proved to be Porter and Hilty, with a few Indians on fleet ponies behind and south of the men. Hilty was one of the corporal's squad, and had lagged behind to save his horse. I wheeled my men and started to their rescue. Chappel's horse had been killed by an Indian, and Porter and Hilty had each been speared in the back by Indians, who had rushed in from the north between the creek and the mound and struck the men from the rear. Porter fell from his horse within our lines, and was dead by the time a comrade could dismout and reach him. Hilty recovered and lived for several years.

At eleven o'clock Sergeant Custard's wagons and guards came into view some six miles west. The howitzer was fired several times, but apparently no notice was paid to the warning. The Indians evidently knew about the train, and were watching for it. They now started on a general movement west. When Custard and his men saw the Indians they had passed the mounds, where they could have corraled with some hope of repelling them, but Corporal Shrader, of D company, was sent out to show the teamsters where to corral. It was too late. The Indians forced the wagons into a shallow ravine about five miles westerly from the station and cut off Corporal Shrader and four men from the balance of the force. With field glasses we saw the men cut off and watched them ride toward the river, followed by nearly one hundred Indians, and could see enough of the wagon covers to show the position of the train. We saw the smoke from the men's carbines as the Indians charged on them, and after the volley the Indians scattered like a flock of birds shot into. This was continued for about four hours. The wagons were burned about three o'clock in the afternoon.

Our attention had in the meantime been called to three men on the hills south of the river, walking and leading their horses, and followed by about fifty Indians. The distance was too great to recognize the equipment of the horses or the uniforms of the men. For three hours we thought it was a decoy to draw out more of our men. We then saw it was three of our men from the train, and we went out and met them at the bend of the river south of the station.

Of the five men cut off from the train, all reached and crossed the river, as I recall Corporal Shrader's statement. The horse of William West, of H company was killed in the river, and he was last seen on the south bank of the stream, and urged to go with the others, but would not. Private Summers, of D company, was shot from his horse at the foot of the hills; the other three men dismounted, led their horses and kept over ten times their number of Indians at bay until met by comrades about four o'clock p. m.[3]

The Indians had a few rifles, but evidently not of long range. They had great fear of our carbines if the men were on foot. Company I was camped near the bank of the river below (east of) the bridge, yet they dared not approach near enough to give them a shot from the north side of the river. The Indians probably killed several of Sergeant Custard's men with rifles. The main charge on the train was from the east. A short distance southwest of the wagons was a small branch ravine with bluff banks. We saw where places had been scooped out large enough to aim a rifle through, and had evidently been used by Indians for that purpose.

I did not see the remains of Sergeant Custard or his men, but my recollection of the statements of those who buried them was that the men were scalped but not badly mutilated. It is claimed that the Indians threw the scalps away. The lack of mutilation and the throwing away of the scalps was said by those acquainted with Indian customs to be in honor of their brave defense, and an evidence that the Indian loss was heavy.[4]

The ranchmen and half-breeds at Platte bridge said the Indian trail gave evidence of several hundred Indians having been killed or badly wounded and hauled away on tepee poles.

Our supply of ammunition was so low that Major Anderson directed me to get all the powder and lead the ranchmen had and set our men to making cartridges. Why there was such a dearth of ammunition suitable for our arms I was never able to learn. We expected a supply when the ambulance got in on the 25th, but got none. Had we not been short of ammunition I have reason to believe a greater effort could have been made to rescue Sergeant Custard's command.

On the night of July 26 two half-breeds were hired to take a message to Captain Allen, of K company at Deer creek, and on July 27 Lieuten-

3. Casualties in the Eleventh Kansas at the battle of Platte bridge were eight men of company D killed; Sergeant Custard and twelve men of company H killed; three men killed and six wounded of company I, and of company K two men killed and one wounded.

4. "The Indians also threw away the scalps taken in the fight, which were afterwards picked up on the ground of the battle. This is said to be evidence that they lost more lives than they had taken."—Adjutant General's Report, Kansas, 1861-1865, p. 213 (reprint 1896).

ant Hubbard, with a detachment of K company, came to our relief. A few days later the Eleventh was relieved by detachments of the Sixth Michigan cavalry,[5] and we started for Leavenworth for muster out, and from there returned to our homes, from which many of us had been absent over three years.

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## THE FIRST ASCENT OF LONG'S PEAK.

### MADE BY AN EXPEDITION UNDER MAJ. J. W. POWELL.

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society, by L. W. KEPLINGER,[1] of Kansas City, Kan.

AFTER the close of the great uncivil war, I attended school at the Illinois Wesleyan University at Bloomington, Ill. Professor Powell as he was then called, was a member of the faculty in charge of what might be termed the scientific department. Powell had command of a battery during the war and had actively and efficiently participated in the Shiloh fight, where he lost an arm. In 1867 he made a trip to the mountains, accompanied by students of the Illinois State Normal School and of the Wesleyan University, among whom was J. C. Hartzell, a classmate of mine, who since has become a bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The next year Powell organized a larger party made up of students of these two schools, and I joined it. Different departments of science were represented, including botany, ornithology, geology and entomology. My part was to determine altitudes and latitudes at various points. I was equipped with sextant, barometers and chronometers furnished by the Smithsonian Institute. That institute furnished other facilities, but all personal expenses were borne by the members of the party.

We went on the Union Pacific to Cheyenne, where each member of the party provided himself with a horse for riding, and a pack mule. We got horses out of a wild herd, none of them ever having been backed or lassoed. That those from whom we purchased should back the animal once in our presence was part of the contract. This they did with results not particularly encouraging. Though some of us had been in the army, we had not been in the cavalry. A dun-colored broncho with dark streaks along the back and down its legs fell to me. Those in charge of the herd told me these were "bad signs," and subsequent events justified the warn-

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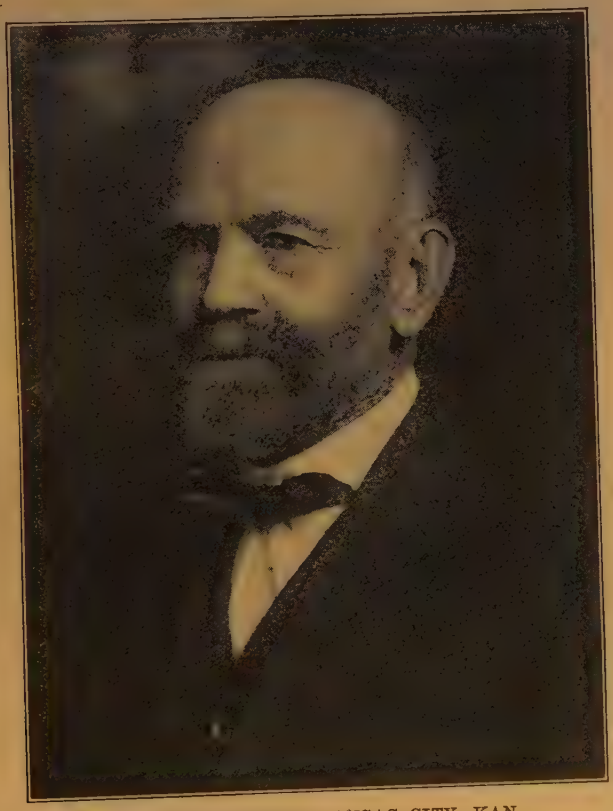
5. The Adjutant General's Report, Kansas, 1861-1865, p. 213, says that it was a detachment of the First Michigan cavalry which relieved the Eleventh Kansas, but statements from many members of the Eleventh agree that it was the Sixth Michigan. I. B. Pennick, in his diary, kept on this campaign, repeatedly speaks of expecting the "Sixth Michigan."

1. Lewis Walter Keplinger, the son of Samuel and Permelia (Green) Keplinger, was born in Morgan county, Illinois, August 8, 1841. He received his elementary education in the public schools, and had attended Illinois College at Jacksonville one year when the Civil War interrupted his studies. He enlisted in August, 1861, in company A, Thirty-second Illinois infantry, and served through the war, finally being present at the grand review in Washington. At the close of the war he returned to his education, graduating from the Illinois Wesleyan University in 1868. After his summer with Major Powell he returned home and read law at Bloomington. He was admitted to the bar in December, 1869, and in the spring of 1870 came to Kansas and opened a law office in Humboldt. Here he remained until 1883, when he removed to Kansas City, Kan. (then Wyandotte), where he has since remained. Mr. Keplinger was married to Miss Jessie Wolfkill, of Logansport, Ind., on January 14, 1886. Several children have been born to them.

ing. The country through which we were to travel is especially hard on unshod horses. The first thing was to shoe every animal. This was done, with the exception of my dun-colored broncho. It resisted every effort, until finally the facilities in Cheyenne were declared to be inadequate. My broncho staid unshod. The next thing was to break him to the saddle.

Being busy with other matters, I made no attempt to mount him until after I had had no end of fun watching the experience of the others. All



L. W. KEPLINGER, KANSAS CITY, KAN.

were thrown. One was deposited in a cactus patch and staid sore for days. His relatives—prominent people residing in Illinois and in Kansas—may be interested to know that that was Allen. Allen was the ornithologist of the party, and the collection he made on the trip included every species of the feathered kind to be found in Colorado.

At this time Rev. W. H. Daniels, a divine of some eminence, who had been a teacher both at Normal and at the Wesleyan, and who had written a history of Methodism, was a member of our party. He too was thrown and his foot hung in the stirrup. Lying on his back on the

ground he addressed himself now to his pony, and now to those who were standing by: "Take hold of her, boys, take hold of her! Whoa, whoa, you sweet little angel you! Take hold of her boys, take hold of her!"

To all my comments on the adventures of my broncho busting friends they replied, "Just wait until you tackle your dun-colored broncho." And finally the time came for me to do so. The pony stood mute and motionless. I put on the bridle; he remained unchanged in mien. I put on the saddle; the situation was absolutely peaceful. I cinched the girth tighter and tighter; he never flinched or batted an eye. Then I patted and petted him and told him how nice a pony he was, but he gave no sign either of appreciation or dissent. Then I folded my arms about his neck and actually dared to fold my legs around his fore legs. He made no objection. Then I bore down on the stirrup. Finally I put my foot into the stirrup, and at last with no little trepidation I vaulted—I believe that's the right word—into the saddle. And still that broncho stayed mute and motionless. Then I renewed my pettings and pattings wherever my hands could reach, fore and aft. I took hold of his ears one by one. I leaned forward and folded my arms about his neck. He remained motionless as the sphinx. Then I called everybody's attention—here was the pony that could n't be shod! I was a second Rarey, a gentleman who in those days had a national reputation as a horse tamer. With the whole party for interested and astonished spectators, I again patted and petted and leaned forward and folded my arms about my broncho's neck. Finally some doubting Thomas suggested that it would be more satisfactory to see a little going, though it were ever so little. Sure enough, I had n't thought of that. Going there must be. So I slapped gently and said "Go 'long," but he did n't go. Then I began spurring, very gently at first then harder and still harder. Then he did perceptibly flinch, but otherwise remained motionless. The spectators became intensely interested. Then the spur was applied vigorously, accompanied by an imperative command to "Go 'long." And then there was a going. Further particulars will be omitted, except to say that I was finally extricated from the resulting heap of man, horse and saddle. Nevertheless I kept at it, and finally the beast was broken to ride. I had a breaking experience later from which also some amusement was derived by the bystanders. My pony became somewhat out of commission by reason of being unshod, so I was provided with a mule as a substitute. This creature had been a pack animal, and it had to be broken. Accompanied by Major Powell, I led the mule out into an open spot at some distance from any rocks to give him his first lessons. The major held the halter and I mounted. The mule protested most vigorously against the unaccustomed burden, and I no less vigorously shouted "Whoa! whoa!" at him. As we returned to camp in triumph, I mounted and the major leading, he complimented me highly on the staying qualities I had manifested, but reminded me that the mule did not understand my language and that my noisy "whoaing" had in no way contributed to the successful result.

Our party went in saddle to Denver, then a city of 7,000 or 8,000 people. Thence we went up to Empire City. Here we were joined by W. L. Byers, editor of the *Rocky Mountain News*, a prominent citizen of Colo-

rado and a most estimable gentleman. We crossed the main range over Berthoud's pass into Middle Park and camped at Hot Springs, on the Grand river. While in camp there Schuyler Colfax and Samuel Bowles, of the Springfield (Mass.) *Republican*, visited us, staying several days. While in Middle Park, Long's Peak was continually before our eyes and in our thoughts. Before leaving Illinois it was understood that whatever else we might or might not accomplish, we would ascend the Peak. That was something that had never been done, though many attempts had been made. The old mountaineers had fun at our expense. They said nothing could get there that did n't have wings. The idea of a bunch of tenderfeet coming out and trying to do a thing like that was ridiculous! Finally we went up and camped at Grand Lake. The city at that time consisted of one log cabin occupied by a trapper. The lake itself, however, was densely populated. I will not subject the faith of those who know me in my veracity by stating the number of speckled trout I saw caught there in an hour on a single hook. Here several of us organized a squad to ascend the Peak. We rode horses and took one or two pack animals. We went along the north side of the lake, through fallen trees, with the utmost conceivable difficulty. After going for two days we camped at the westward base of what is now known as Mount McKinstry, or McHenry, the first peak west and about three miles distant from Long's Peak. From here, the following morning, having corraled and left our animals, we proceeded on foot. After being baffled in various attempts we came to a ridge ascending from the west, which appeared to connect with and lead to the summit. We followed this, stringing along for a distance of half a mile. Jack Sumner, an old mountaineer and brother-in-law of Mr. Byers, was in advance; I was next, at a far stone-throw distance. The ridge grew narrower and narrower. Finally I approached where Jack was sitting down. I called to him, "Hello, Jack; what's the matter?" He replied, "By G——, I have n't lost any mountain." I told him I had, and without hesitation I walked over the narrow place. It was not to exceed eighteen inches in width, and to have fallen on either side would have changed altitude hundreds of feet, though of course the descent was not perpendicular. After seeing me pass he said he could go anywhere I could, and he did, but he got down and "cooned" it. Then we waited until the others came up. They all passed over the narrow place, and we proceeded some way when we came where further progress was impossible. We then retraced our steps, and descending went into camp on the south side of the Peak, in what is now known as the Wild Basin. This was about two o'clock in the afternoon. The "Notch," which is so conspicuous a feature of the Peak, extends down the southerly side as far as and beyond timber line. We camped where there was plenty of timber for fires, intending to make an early start the next morning. As we stood there looking upward and speculating as to the probabilities of our success the next day, a place met our eyes, about a third of the way up, which appeared as though it might not be impassable. I told them that as I was not at all tired, I would go that afternoon in light marching order and reconnoiter. It seemed useless for the entire party to waste its time the

next morning if the place on the mountain was impassable. So I set out, leaving blanket and barometer and other impedimenta behind. When I got to the difficult place I found a way around it, but there was another a little farther which seemed doubtful, so I went on and found a way past that also. Then there was the summit, temptingly near. I was closer than any mortal had ever been before! Would n't it be a bully thing to go ahead and get a scoop on the other boys? I went ahead, into and through the Notch; the distance is only a few yards, not to exceed twenty or twenty-five, as I now remember. At the northerly edge of the Notch, Estes Park was before me for the first time. I wondered at and admired the view but for an instant; the summit of that peak seemed very close, and that was what I was after. I started up on the Estes Park side, using hands and feet, and traveling along where it would seem utterly impossible to go when viewed from Long's Peak Inn. All was well until I paused and looked down to my right on Estes Park. There, not to exceed ten feet below and away from me, was what seemed to be the eaves of the world's roof. I looked to my left toward camp, but the still unascended Peak was now between me and that. A lonesome feeling came over me. I started back. As any one who has had experience in that kind of climbing will know, descent was far more difficult. I proceeded, keeping farther away from those eaves than when I went up, and where the way was more difficult. Finally I got where I could let go without slipping over, and dropped a short distance onto an ice formation in the northwest corner of the floor of the Notch. I feel quite sure that ice has not yet melted away. Of that occasion I will say this: never before and never since have I so completely lost all nerve. I was trembling from head to foot.

After congratulating myself upon the fact that I had not become a permanent occupant of Estes Park, the next thing was to get back to camp. To my dismay, I saw the sun was getting low and those two difficult places must be passed before it went down. This was accomplished, but darkness fell and camp was at quite a distance. The party had become alarmed, and Major Powell had sent Jack Sumner up the mountain carrying bundles of dry sticks to kindle beacon fires. To see his fires and hear him hallooing were pleasing incidents of the return trip. It was about ten o'clock when I reached camp. I well know that the reports of a "last survivor," who after the lapse of half a century tells of occurrences in which he participated, are ordinarily to be received with some allowance, but a full account of these incidents, including the part taken by me, was written at the time by Mr. Byers and appeared in the *Rocky Mountain News* within a week after the occurrence. The article was republished in full a year or so ago in the *Rocky Mountain Trail*, a monthly magazine published in Denver. His article errs in one particular. He says I got within 1,000 feet of the top. Mr. Ennis Mills, who has made the ascent hundreds of times and is an authority on such matters, says I was within 150 or 200 feet of the summit, and I am satisfied he is correct. If Mr. Byers meant the distance to be traveled rather than the direct-line distance, he may be about right. That night we camped under a shelving slab or rock leaning to the south. It was quite cold. We

spread our blankets under the incline and kept fires burning in front. There was not room for the entire party under the rock. When those on the outside got tired of being out in the cold they replenished the fires so as to make it too hot for those under the rock. In this way there was more or less alternating between those within and those without during the night.

Early the next morning seven of our members, including myself, started up. We followed the line of my ascent the day before, going along the downward continuation of the Notch until we got within a few hundred feet of the Notch proper. Then we obliqued to the left until we reached the line now followed by those who ascend by going through the keyhole from Estes Park, and made the final ascent at the same place where it is now made. There were no indications of any prior ascents. In making this ascent Mr. Byers and I both carried barometers. He was so unfortunate as to break his in climbing. I took the necessary readings, from which, in connection with the complete series taken in the days following in the immediate vicinity, I determined the altitude of the Peak to within twenty-five feet of what has since been found to be correct. For some reason, as yet I believe unexplained, barometer readings go, as it were, in waves, with about eight days between crest and crest. For this reason the several readings I had taken on the summit did not furnish the data necessary for a correct determination. Before leaving the summit we erected a monument, in which we placed our names in a baking-powder can. One incident may be mentioned. Major Powell, though one-armed, insisted on doing his stint the same as the rest, even in "packing." At the camp where we left our horses he said, "This is my time to make the bread." I insisted on taking his place, but he would not consent. I carry with me always the picture of the major paddling with his one hand in the sticky dough. But he made the biscuits, such as they were. When we put our names in the can, one of these biscuits was put in also, with the statement that this was placed in the can "as an everlasting memento of Major Powell's skill in bread making." As we were about to leave the mojor thought that was hardly up to the dignity of the occasion, and the biscuit was taken out. We insisted that his real reason was he did not want future generations to know how poor a bread maker so good a mountain climber was. The biscuit was of the kind which when cut with a sharp knife would show a fine-grained, smooth, dark-colored surface. Candor compels me to say that the biscuit would not have been different if he had let me take his place.

As we were about to leave the summit Major Powell took off his hat and made a little talk. He said, in substance, that we had now accomplished an undertaking in the material or physical field which had hitherto been deemed impossible, but that there were mountains more formidable in other fields of effort which were before us, and expressed the hope and predicted that what we had that day accomplished was but the augury of yet greater achievements in such other fields.

The ascent was made on the 23d of August, 1868. The names of those who made the party were: Maj. J. W. Powell, Wm. N. Byers, John C. Sumner, Samuel Garman, Ned E. Farrell and myself. I am the only

survivor. There were several others along, but they did not attempt the ascent.

We then returned to where we had left our horses, at the foot of Mount McKinstry. The names of our party were found by those who next made the ascent several years later, and were published in the Denver papers.

I well recall a remark Powell once made about the allowance which should be made when an account is given of a noteworthy event by the sole survivor. He never understates his own part in the transaction. I therefore quote from the account given at the time by Mr. Byers in the *Rocky Mountain News,* which reappears in the Denver *Trail,* October, 1914, which is as follows:

"Some explorations were made, however, preparatory to to-morrow's labor; the most important by Mr. Keplinger, who ascended to within about 800 feet of the summit and did not return until after dark. We became very uneasy about him, fearing that he would be unable to make his way down in safety. A man was sent to meet him and bonfires were kindled on some high rocks near us. An hour after dark they came in, Mr. K. with the report that the ascent might be possible, but he was not very sanguine."

The "they" refers to myself and Sumner, who kindled the bonfires. The 800 feet mentioned by Mr. Byers referred to the line of travel. Mr. Eneas Mills, who is familiar with the situation, assures me that by direct line I was within 200 feet of the summit.

I, with Mr. Samuel Garman, a student of the Illinois State Normal (who since became a professor in some southern college) as my assistant, established ourselves on the summit of Mount Henry, which, as before stated, is the first mountain west of Long's Peak. We carried up little poles, over which we spread sheeting for covering. We remained there for eight days and nights, taking barometrical readings. Once every hour readings of the barometer were taken, together with wet and dry bulb readings of the thermometer. I took from twelve midnight until twelve noon, and Mr. Garman took the readings the second half of the twenty-four hours. One of us would go down every day or so to timber line to do a little cooking. We were in mountain solitudes, a quarter of a mile above timber line, and the occasion remains vividly impressed in my memory. Thunder and lightning and magnificent storms were about, above and below us. There was one heavy snowfall. This was the highest complete series of barometrical readings that had then been taken. My readings were reported to the Smithsonian, and can be found there now. After completing this task we returned to Grand Lake, and found our party had gone down to Hot Springs. There was no one at the Springs but a trapper, who occupied a cabin, where he expected to remain during the winter. Soon after we reached Grand Lake a courier arrived from our party with orders for us to come on down to the Springs at once, but to keep a sharp lookout; that the Utes were on the warpath and were likely to meet us. We went immediately, and we kept a sharp lookout but met no Indians. We reached the Springs about ten o'clock, when we were saluted with "Who comes there?" by the pickets Powell had stationed.

Though subsequently changed, Major Powell's plan then was to go some three hundred miles west of the main range and establish winter quarters for a portion of the party somewhere on the Colorado or some of its tributaries, and then proceed next season with his explorations of the Grand Canyon. A French engineer, Berthoud, had passed through that region some fifteen or twenty years before, trying to find a location for a stage route. We were to follow his trail, and in the main we did. None of our party had had experience in that kind of camp life. We knew nothing about mountaineering, and most of us could hardly cinch a saddle, to say nothing about "packing." It was thought best to associate with us a couple of experts in that line. We did so, procuring two experienced mountaineers who had passed one winter as trappers west of the main range. It was a difficult matter to follow the old Berthoud trail. The plan was to send a portion of the party on in advance with all the pack animals loaded, and have some of them return with the pack animals for the rest of the party. Captain Powell, a brother of the major, went with the advance. I also, as well as these two experts, together with some of the younger members of the party, accompanied him. We had a copy of a chart made by Berthoud showing latitude at various points and other features. I remember one point he marked "Rattlesnake Camp." His journal said, "Look out for snakes." He stated the very large number of snakes his party had killed. But they must have killed all, for we saw none. We found the utmost difficulty in following the old trail, and as an aid almost every evening I determined latitude by sextant observations. The diary of the trip kept by Mr. Allen, a Wesleyan student and member of our party, contains this entry, under September 11:

"Last night Keplinger took an observation on a star in Scorpio and found we were in latitude 40:21 [the figures showing the minutes are indistinct]. He said if the map which he had was correct we would strike the trail in about three miles, and so we did."

We again lost the trail on the 12th and traveled several miles in a northerly direction, relying on the assurances of our two experts, who maintained they knew exactly where we were. Subsequent event showed that they did, but that we did n't. That night I again took observations, and as a result I asserted with the utmost confidence that we were entirely off the trail and that we were several miles north of any point marked on the Berthoud chart. Against the earnest protests of our experts it was determined that next morning there should be no further going north unless we found the trail. But when next morning came we found that one of our mountaineers, Gus Lanken by name, was missing, together with two of our best pack animals, heavily laden with provisions. What to do was the question. We spent the next day hunting for Gus. He was entirely familiar with the locality, and we did not find him, though we found a cabin where he and his pal had passed the previous winter trapping. It was apparent that they were still trapping, and that we ourselves were the intended game. The following morning the party started back. I undertook to take a nigh cut back to the deer trail we followed, but came onto a ravine. I could not cross, so I lost

considerable time and got behind the rest of the party about a mile. They were going over an open space or park two or three miles in length and about as wide. I heard a shot, and saw two of our men galloping back to the party, which had stopped. When I came up and asked what was happening they told me that two of our party had ridden off near the foot of the mountain, which was the northerly boundary of the open space, and had been fired on by Gus, who was at the mouth of a ravine or depression that came down the mountain at that point. They were waiting for me to come up so that we might hold a council of war. Powell's brother, who was the leader of the squad, said that so far as he was concerned he was in favor of going after Lanken. The matter was then referred to me, and I said if Gus was willing to risk his life to take our property, I was willing to risk mine to see that he did n't do it. Lyle Durley, who still lives at Ventura, Cal., said he was with us. Rhoades Allen, of Harristown, Ill., said "Me too," or something equivalent. Durley and Allen were students of the Wesleyan University. We four deployed as skirmishers instead of advancing directly to the foot of the ravine from which Gus had fired. We debouched to the left and ascended the mountain until we struck the depression about half a mile up, there we descended through dense brush wood, Captain Powell and Allen on one side of the ravine or depression and Durley and myself on the other. Durley and I came out first to the open place, but we saw no sign of Gus. We waited there, expecting to hear shots between the other parties, but did not. While waiting, and against Durley's protest, I carved this inscription on the smooth bark of a quaking asp tree: "Gus Lanken is a mule thief—Keplinger says so, this 14th day of September, 1868."

Allen's diary gives the full details of that day's ineffectual hunt for Gus, which continued until dark. While we were away hunting Gus his pal told the boys that "Kep" would never get back. He said Gus was a crack shot and that he "did n't like that sextant business." So it was probably just as well we did n't find him. He and his pal who staid with us were crack shots, as an incident which occurred later would indicate. Some time after that, while we were in camp, attention was called to a hawk which was leisurely sailing about high above our heads. Missouri—that was what we called our second mountaineer—said, "See me fetch that hawk." We scouted at the idea of his doing such a thing. Whereupon he laid down on his back, stuck his feet up in the air, crossed them as a rest for his rifle, and down came the hawk into our midst. He always assured us that Gus was as good if not a better shot than himself—all of which reconciled us to the fact that we did n't find Gus. Of course we took it for granted that the two were in league, as they undoubtedly were. That night I made my bed close to Missouri, with a double-barreled loaded gun by my side, and I did not sleep much. Our plan and my instructions were to shoot to kill at the first unmistakable sign of treachery. We could afford to take no chances. The trappers had every advantage; they knew the ground. With the exception of the captain and myself, the rest of our squad were mere boys, and though they had nerve, they had had no experience in matters of that kind. But Missouri staid wth us, and proved to be a capital good fellow. He ac-

companied the major down the canyon the next year, and on one occasion saved him from drowning. Long after that he told that he understood mighty well that I did not make my bed close to him by accident.

We knew nothing of the antecedents of these men except what might be inferred from these two incidents: One morning Missouri said, "I had a dream last night. I dreampt I was back in Missouri and the sheriff was after me." Of course we "joshed" him and told him that was a dead give-away, and asked what devilment he had been up to in Missouri. But he was not communicative.

On another occasion, when some of us were passing the night in an abandoned miner's cabin, the sound of horses' hoofs were heard approaching. We listened with unconcern, but they both sprang to their feet, got their revolvers and peered anxiously out of the crevices between the logs until the horsemen had passed by.

Since we were unable to find Gus Lanken, he undoubtedly must have passed that winter in solitude in the mountains.

An extract from a letter from Jack Sumner gives something of his subsequent history: "I presume you remember Gus Lanken, the fellow who stole the mule and grub on your first trip to Bear river. Well, he scrimmaged and secured $30,000; then went into his room in Rawlins, Wyo., wrote on a card, 'Life is not worth living,' and put a bullet through his head. Missouri staid on the frontier and died a violent though honorable death."

But to return. We finally found and followed the Berthoud trail, though with great difficulty, for a distance of some two hundred miles west of the divide. We then unpacked and sent the animals back for the main party and the remainder of the provisions. I was one of those who remained at the advanced post. While waiting at this camp for the main party, some incidents may be mentioned. One day, while hunting in a near-by forest, Captain Powell and I came upon a tree the side of which, at some elevation from the ground, had been freshly and strangely marked as if struck and shattered by a missile of some kind. The wound was fresh and was too serious to have been made by a rifle ball. Besides we had every reason to suppose no other human beings were within two hundred miles. We adopted the aërolite theory. Two or three hours later, and when we would have sworn we were miles away, we suddenly stopped and faced each other silently. There was that same tree! We had been lost without knowing it!

One day while at the camp, to relieve the monotony, I took a stroll of several miles by myself. I went only so far as would enable me to get back to camp by sundown. Soon after I started back I found a solitary wolf was following me at a safe distance. Pretty soon there were two of him. Then there was one a head of me. Soon there were two of him also. Both those in front and those in the rear kept increasing in numbers, and they carried on a continual conversation among themselves in wolf language, the meaning of which I could only conjecture. I have good reason to think they were each and all somewhat hungry. They did not come near enough for me to try a shot, but I kept thinking of all the wolf stories I had ever read.

An amusing incident occurred when those we had left behind were within a day's travel of where we were There were two gentlemen with them, Doctor Vesey, who had charge of the botany department, and Doctor Wing, an eminent physician who was in quest of health. They had read that skunks were good eating if killed before odoring, and after testing the matter they indorsed the statement. The others of the party agreed among themselves to insist every time either of these gentlemen came near that they could smell skunk. On that last day members of their party who were out hunting met Allen and Durley of our party, who were out on a like mission. They told of the fun they were having at the expense of the doctors, and it was arranged that they should say nothing of having seen any members of our party, but that when their entire party rejoined ours the next evening we were all to smell skunk. All of which we did. That they had become accustomed to it was the explanation insisted upon by us of their inability to detect its oder.

When the party came to us they had left behind them one of their number, Mr. W. H. Bishop, now a resident of Denver, to bring up any mail that might come on the next mail day. He was to follow in the trail made by those who had gone before, but a snowfall covered the trial and he was lost for an entire month, during which time he saw no sign of any living being. He was fortunate enough to kill a grizzly or two, which with other game kept him alive. Finally the snow having disappeared, he happened to strike the trail of the party, and rejoined those who had gone or were expecting to go into winter quarters. The rest of the party having joined the advance, we went on to a point on the White river, which is one of the principal tributaries of the Colorado. The plan was to erect cabins there, to be occupied for the winter by some of the party, while the others were to go up to a point on the Union Pacific railway and return home. Wishing to get back earlier, I resolved to return alone over the route we went in. I was confident that my familiarity with the route would enable me to do so, even though I could not follow the trail made going out by reason of the slight snowfalls that might be expected in that locality; but the day before starting, Willy Woodward, a young lad of seventeen, said he would go with me. One morning when we were about half way back to the main range our horses were nowhere to be seen. We followed, tracking them for an hour or so, when it began to snow so as to cover the track, but fortunately just then, looking ahead at a distance of half a mile, we saw our animals. We got them and started on our way. All that afternoon it snowed heavily. When we camped that night the snow was not less than five inches deep. We went into a clump of bushes and tried to make a fire, but it seemed impossible to do so. We almost despaired. Then Woodward said, "Never mind Kep, I've got a Bible." I laughed and told him that when he started on his trip his good, pious sisters had put that Bible in his saddlebags and we had never heard of it. He had never thought of it since, but that now in the hour of his extremity he bethought him of that Bible. I told him if we got out of that I would see that the story got into the Sunday-school papers. Of course he meant that we would use the Bible for kindling; but we were not driven to such

an extremity. We finally got a fire. We did not sleep much that night; we had to keep the fire going. Our horses did not move out of their tracks, and had nothing to eat or drink that night. We were then one good day's travel west of the range, which is the western boundary of Middle Park. The next morning was clear and cold. We started at sunrise. We could not see any trail, but the landmarks were sufficient. We feared the snow extended so as to cover the main range, which is the eastern boundary of Middle Park, but the western boundary range of Middle Park prevented us from seeing. That night was very cold, and we slept about half way up the western boundary range of Middle Park. The following morning we soon reached the summit, and looking across the park, some seventy miles distant, there, sure enough, the main range was white with snow. We supposed of course we were in for it, and as we traveled that day we were busy planning how we would contrive to get through the winter by ourselves beyond the main range. We knew we would find a cabin at the Spring, but did not know anyone would be there. We talked about how we would keep fire coals covered as a protection in case our matches should give out, and of many other matters. We were unanimous on one thing: we would get through in some way, even though we would have to "live off the country" and without any bread. That evening we got to the Hot Springs and found there a solitary trapper, who was going to pass the winter there. We expected to stay with him, but he told us that although the main range was white with snow, he did not believe it was heavy snow, and thought we might be able to get over if we got there before the next snowfall. We started the next day and passed from the Hot Springs through the park to the foot of the western slope of the main range and went into camp. After going to bed the indication became favorable for another snowstorm. We knew any more snow would make the crossing impossible, even if not so already, so we determined to go ahead at night. We went on ascending the western slope until about three o'clock, when the clouds broke away and the moon came out. We then went to bed for the second time that night. The next day, the first Tuesday in November, 1868, the day of the presidential election, we crossed the main range. As we did so I turned to Woodward and said, "Now let the band play. Ain't we mighty glad we got out of the Wilderness out in Colo-ra-do." To which he replied, "You bet," or something equivalent, though I believe those were his exact words. But our tribulations were not over!

We must get into decent clothing. In my time I have seen hard-looking specimens, but have never seen any that would equal what we presented. To say nothing of Woodward, I will give some idea of myself. While we were going out, my broncho, by reason of being unshod, soon wore every foot to the quick and went lame. We were continually losing the old trail we were trying to follow, and many days we would spend hours in searching for the trail. To spare my horse as much as possible I would go on foot. Contact with the sagebrush wore my pants to a frazzle up to the knee. Then I cut the sleeves out of a stiff gum coat I had, which was a different color from my pants, and sewed these

on, with such tailor skill as I possessed, in such a way as to cover the aforesaid frazzles. But contact with sagebrush had worn these to a frazzle also. When we got to Black Hawk we were ready to sell our animals for anything we could get, so as to apparel ourselves properly. We offered them for sale very cheap. A crowd gathered around so picturesque an appearing couple, which crowd, like the wolves that attended me that day, steadiy increased in numbers. I noticed some private consultations going on in the outskirts of the growing crowd, and it appeared somewhat mysterious. Finally one fellow, who had been particularly active in these whisperings, came up and in an authoritative manner wanted to see the bill of sale we had for these horses. "Bill of sale?" said I. "What bill of sale?" He went off and was speaking a word or two first to one and then to another. Then a gentleman came up and hinted the explanation. I walked up to the citizen who was so officious and said to him I wanted to have a talk with him. I told him I knew we were ragged and not particularly clean, but we were neither lousy nor mean, we were respectable people where we came from, and that we did n't know anything about their blank customs out there, and that was the first we ever heard of such a thing as a bill of sale. Then I told the crowd who we were and how we came to be in that plight, and they immediately got on our side and helped us dispose of our horses. We got new clothes and went into a restaurant, where for the sum of two dollars each we ate not less than five dollars' worth of victuals.

And that is the plain, unvarnished recital of the whole story, in its main outlines, so far as I was concerned. During the entire trip we saw a great many grizzlies and killed several, though I did none of the killing. I never even fired at one. Other game was plentiful.

Next season Powell made his famous descent of the Colorado canyon. He was a most remarkable man. We were, and continued to be, on intimate terms. I heard the story of his achievement from his own lips. Those who visit points accessible to tourists think they see wonders, but farther up the walls of the canyon ascend perpendicularly to a height of more than a mile. Just think of it—*more than a mile!*

I well knew most of those who went down with him. On one occasion in making the descent they came to falls where the steepness of the bank would not permit them to let their boats down by ropes as in other cases. They must take their chances by going over in the boats or abandon the expedition. Three of them, the two Howlands and Bill Dunn, were unwilling to take the risk. Rations were divided and the three started across country for Salt Lake City, but were killed by the Indians. The others went over the falls in the boats and finally came through in safety.

Major Powell's wife, a most accomplished lady, accompanied the party, though she did not go with us to Long's Peak, nor did she go down the canyon. She is now living at Washington, D. C. She and Captain Powell, the major's brother, were exceptionally good vocalists. Their songs, as we sat by the log-heap fires on the mountain side after nightfall, are an accented feature of my recollection of that memorable trip.

"Old Shady" was one of the captain's favorites.

Forty years later I again made the ascent of Long's Peak—this time from Estes Park and through the "keyhole." This route is quite easy as compared with the way we went. As I approached in plain view of the Peak there came over me a strange, vivid feeling, as if I were being greeted with shouts of recognition and glad welcome, as one of those who first brought the pressure of human footsteps for which there had been such long waiting and yearning.

I have read the pamphlet by Thomas F. Dawson, which claims that the descent of the canyon was made in 1867 by a man named White.[2] I do not believe a word of it. These are my reasons:

*First.* Besides the Powell party, several have since made the descent. Those who have done so are most competent to judge as to the probability or possibility of White's statement being true. Without exception they say no. If Dawson will himself make the trip and still adhere to his opinion, I may concur.

*Second.* The internal evidence afforded by his statement is all but conclusive against him. He undertakes to give the exact number of days he was on the trip. No man who ever lived could start on and make that trip, under the conditions stated by him, and be able to tell the minutia of the different days or the number of days he was on the trip unless he kept a record at the time. I appeal to the judgment of any one who undertakes to keep a diary by waiting two weeks to make a record of the events of each successive day. With scarce an exception, each of his thirteen days was the exact duplicate of the others. The facts of human nature and the structure of the human mind are against him.

*Third.* He tells us that just after getting about 200 yards past the Big Rapids, he "stopped and looked at a stream of water," as big as his body, coming through the solid rocks of the canyon. He tells us "the beauty of the sight can never be described." Now, a man in the condition he then was, who had n't yet taken a half dozen breaths after being precipitated over that frightful fall, would not have noticed anything like that. Again, how could *he* have stopped? What did the frail raft do which he was tied to, while *he* was stopping? Did it stop, too, while he was admiring the beautiful scene which attracted his attention? Did it pause in its mad onward rush to permit him to admire?

2. "The Grand Canyon," an article giving the credit of first traversing the Grand Canyon of the Colorado to James White, a Colorado gold prospector, who it is claimed made the voyage two years previous to the expedition under the direction of Maj. J. W. Powell in 1869. By Thomas F. Dawson; printed as Senate Document, No. 42, Sixty-fifth Congress, first session, Washington, 1917.

# THE KANSAS STATE PRINTING PLANT.

By W. R. Smith, State Printer.

FOR more than a dozen years all printing for the various state officers, boards and institutions of Kansas has been done at the state's own printing plant in Topeka, and so satisfactory have been the results obtained from the operation of this establishment that any proposition to return to the former method of handling this work would be overwhelmingly defeated by the voters of the state.

The printing plant as it stands to-day is one of the youngest of the state's institutions, yet the field it covers is so extensive that there are few citizens who are not benefited, directly or indirectly, by its operation. It might be truthfully said that its establishment has helped to lighten the burden of every taxpayer, as the records of its dozen years of usefulness show a handsome reduction in the cost of printing for the seventy-odd officers, departments and institutions it serves. A second benefit, and one nearly as extensive in its scope, is the saving effected for the pupils of Kansas schools through the state publication of school texts.

Early in the present century it was seen that the system of public printing adopted when the state was young had been outgrown by the expanding commonwealth, and in many sections suggestions for a change in plan were voiced. Prior to the year 1905 the public printing was done at the office of a state printer named by the legislature, and paid for his work according to a schedule of prices fixed by statute. As it was necessary for every public printer to purchase a fully equipped printing plant, the generous scale paid by the state had substantial justification, but it was pointed out by many that the state could well afford to equip its own plant, pay the printer a salary, and get its printing done at cost.

The first move in this direction was made in 1903, when the legislature submitted to the voters a constitutional amendment providing for the election of the state printer by the voters and putting him on a salary. This was adopted in the election of 1904, and the following January the legislature fixed the salary at $2,500 a year and provided for the establishment of the state printing plant. T. A. McNeal, editor of the *Mail and Breeze*, was named as state printer to serve until the next general election. After serving that term he was twice returned to the position by the electorate of the state.

The initial investment in the plant was approximately $111,000, of which amount $75,000 represented the equipment and $36,000 the grounds and building. During Mr. McNeal's administration the feasibility of the state publication of school books was suggested, and in a report to the legislature on this matter Mr. McNeal presented estimates to show that the enlargement of the plant's sphere to include school-book publication would be desirable from many points of view. Results of the actual operation of the system justify his conclusions.

Not until some years later, in 1913, did the state make provision for doing this work, however. That year the legislature authorized state

publication and voted an appropriation of $150,000 for the purchase of additional ground, the enlargement of the building and the installation of necessary equipment to carry on textbook publication.

That this measure carried easily is the best commendation that could be asked on the work of the state plant in the few years of its existence. Tables showing the cost of state printing for the seven years under the contract system just preceding the establishment of the state's print shop, and the cost of printing under the new plan proved a most effective argument for the enlargement of the scope of work. The difference in the cost of doing the printing under the new system and under the old was enough to pay for the plant and leave a surplus of some $80,000.

Immediately following the action of the legislature plans were made for putting the system in force. W. C. Austin, of Cottonwood Falls, was state printer at the time, and he installed the book-making machinery and printed the first Kansas state-published textbooks.

Changing from privately published texts to state publication has been a large task, and it has necessarily taken time. The State School Book Commission has labored to make the change as quietly and with as little disturbance to the work of the schools as possible, and I believe this has been accomplished.

In July, 1915, through the grace of the voters of Kansas, I assumed the office of state printer and was immediately introduced to some of the problems of state publication, solution of which has lent interest to the work of the office, and we trust has been beneficial to the citizens of the state. On my induction into office I found orders for 141,000 school books to be completed within the next six weeks. It seemed like a titanic task at the time, but through the coördination of the various departments and the helpful coöperation of the employees, the work was finished on schedule time. Since then this feature of the plant's activity has grown so great that the work of those six weeks has dwindled somewhat in size, but it was the experience of those days and the successful finish of that first stretch that has made possible the record-breaking runs accomplished by the plant in the last two years.

Each administration has its own problems to solve. The two that have given us the greatest amount of study are the one just mentioned—state publication of school books—and the nervousness of the paper market resultant upon the unsettled conditions due to the war. Both, I believe, have been settled as satisfactorily as possible, all conditions considered. When it was apparent that the price of raw materials used in printing were due to advance, estimates were made on the needs of the state printing plant for months ahead, and orders were placed, so far as appropriations would permit, to take care of these needs. As a result, several neat savings were effected and a much larger volume of work was turned out than would have been possible otherwise. Throughout my entire administration this uncertainty of paper and printing and binding materials markets has continued, and in the last few months a new factor—shipping delays—has added to the complexity of the problem. So far we have been fortunate in anticipating our needs, and the time

lost in the plant because of lack of materials has been a negligible quantity.

These last few years have shown no diminution in the amount of regular state printing, the expansion of the various departments and institutions being marked by a corresponding increase in the amount of printing required. All this the printing plant has been trying to do, bearing in mind all the time the thought that public printing must conform to the rules laid down for it by the State Printing Commission, which approves or disapproves all jobs submitted.

Kansas has enjoyed uniform textbooks for years, and this fact has made the transition from privately published to state-published texts easier than would have been possible otherwise. During the last few years the contracts on the old books have been expiring, and whenever this occurred the State School Book Commission, whenever feasible, replaced the old text with one that could be published at the state plant. At this time one of the high-school texts and practically all of the grade-school books are state published.

While this work is still in its infancy, more than two million finished volumes have been produced, and other orders in course of fulfillment will swell this number a half million more. In addition, 400,000 writing texts have been furnished by the plant in the last year and a half. Some idea of the beneficial results of this work may be gained from the statement that more than a million and a quarter volumes were sold to Kansas pupils at cost in the first half of the present fiscal year, at a saving to them of nearly $200,000.

State publication so far has not only not interfered with the completion of other state printing, but it has increased the efficiency of the plant, making it possible to maintain a larger force of skilled operatives and at the same time lower the manufacturing cost on work produced. It has resulted in school books being furnished to the pupils at prices averaging 40 percent less than those charged by book companies, even under five-year contracts.

The state, in publishing school books, supplies them at cost, but in fixing the price of the book every item of cost is included, so that the taxpayers are in no case taxed to make up a saving to the purchasers of textbooks. There is no attempt made to cheapen the quality of the product, and the saving effected is due to the fact that the state charges no profit and its marketing cost is much less than that of the private publisher. No attempt is made to slight the quality either of the content or workmanship, and the best evidence we have that this is not being done is the many congratulatory letters that have been received from Kansas educators on the books produced at the plant.

Perhaps a word in regard to the plant and its present equipment will be of interest. It is in the highest sense a modern book-making plant—one of the very best in the country. Its value is approximately $235,000, and it has a floor space of 55,460 square feet. California is the only state west of Illinois that has an establishment to compare in any way with the Kansas state printing plant.

Every art and device known to the modern successful printer has been

installed. The book bindery is equipped with two quadruple folding machines, each doing the work of twenty-seven girls, a gathering machine doing the work of seventeen girls, and two ruling machines of highest efficiency. It also has seven modern bindery sewing machines; a duplex paper trimmer and three others, each equipped with a motor; a rounder and backer, a casing-in machine, case-making machine, and tipping machine—none of which can be compared with the old instruments used in bookmaking, because their use has been the means of producing a book altogether out of class with the old hand-made books.

In the composing room are found six linotype machines, each of which produces in one day the work of four hand compositors; two monotype machines, capable of doing a like amount of work; new labor-saving furniture for job work, which commercial printers declare results in 25 per-cent more efficiency than the old frames.

In the pressroom are found eight cylinder presses, ranging from the small book-form sizes to the 64-page book forms. Six of the presses are equipped with automatic feeds. There are three jobbers, or presses doing the smaller work, one equipped with automatic feed; also an automatic rotary press, capable of printing 50,000 envelopes a day.

It is the aim of the state printer to keep the plant thoroughly up to date, but this does not mean that appropriations are used for machinery that is not tested and tried. The printing office of Kansas should be a model in every way, and the efforts to make it so have been successful to some extent at least, as may be noted by the inquiries that come every week from other states asking about the Kansas way.

The plant has been visited by expert printers who are acquainted with the best shops in the country, and they have been unstinted in their praise. This fact and the favorable expressions heard about the plant from Kansans generally are the basis for the pride the author takes in the plant, which the people of the state have done him the signal honor to ask him to run.

The state printing plant has been a paying investment for the state. I believe that it will grow more so all the time. As was mentioned above, it paid for itself almost twice in the saving it effected alone in the first seven years of its existence. With the increase in the amount of printing required by the seventy-odd departments, boards and institutions it supplies, its savings are proportionately larger. When the saving on textbooks is added, enough is saved to replace the plant every two or three years. Some years it does much more. A conservative estimate on the amount saved this past year was enough to replace the entire plant—grounds, building and equipment.

# HISTORY OF SALT DISCOVERY AND PRODUCTION IN KANSAS, 1887-1915.

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society, by FRANK VINCENT,[1] of Hutchinson.

FOR more than a quarter of a century Kansas has been a salt-producing state. The annual production of all grades of salt at the present time is about two and one-half million barrels. While a number of individuals have furnished descriptions of the salt industry for newspaper publication, no complete history[2] of it has yet been written. The writer, who has been actively engaged in the salt business from its pioneer days until the present time, presents this little history to the public, with the assurance that great care has been taken to make it correct as to subjects, dates and persons.

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It has been pretty well defined that the rock salt deposit in south central Kansas which will afford quantity to justify production is embraced in the territory included in Ellsworth, Rice, Reno, Kingman, and Harper counties. Light strata of rock salt have been found in Sumner county; also at Minneola, in the northeast corner of Meade county, where drillers, putting down a prospect well for oil and gas, drilled through a rock-salt deposit at about 1,200 feet below the surface of the ground.

Wells have been drilled in McPherson, Harvey and Sedgwick counties, adjoining the above-defined territory, but no rock salt was found.

At Ellsworth, in Ellsworth county, where wells have been drilled, the top of the rock-salt stratum is approximately 650 feet below the surface of the earth, and will approximate 150 feet in thickness. At Kanopolis, where shafts have been put down, it is also found at 650 feet, but will average about 185 feet in thickness.

At Lyons, in Rice county, the top of the rock-salt bed is 650 feet below the surface and will measure, probably, 240 feet through. At Sterling the stratum is 600 feet below the surface and about 250 feet in thickness.

At Hutchinson, in Reno county, the top of the stratum is found at 500 feet and will approximate 300 feet in thickness.

At Kingman, in Kingman county, the top of the rock-salt stratum is some 600 feet down, and runs about 200 feet thick.

At Anthony, Harper county, the top of the rock-salt stratum is like-

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1. Frank Vincent, the son of J. P. and Sophia (Miller) Vincent, was born in Brown county, Ohio, May 6, 1853. His father, born in Pennsylvania, as a young man moved to Ohio, where he married Miss Miller, who died at the birth of her son. Mr. Vincent, for his second wife, married Caroline Morehead. In 1854 the Vincents moved to Lucas county, Iowa, and there Frank Vincent received his education. In 1868 he made a trip to Kansas, visiting Fort Scott, but did not become a resident of the state until in March, 1874, when he came to the new town of Hutchinson. During that summer he located on land in Castleton township, where he remained until about 1880, when he moved to Hutchinson and later became a prominent factor in the development of the salt industry of the state. He served as state senator from his district in the sessions of 1901 and 1903. On August 20, 1874, Mr. Vincent was married to Miss Anna C. Payne, near Chariton, Iowa. They are the parents of seven children.

2. A very valuable article on Kansas salt, by M. Z. Kirk, is found in "Mineral Resources of Kansas," 1898, p. 68. Also in a "History of Manufactures in Kansas" (1910), by Richard L. Douglas, considerable space is devoted to the salt industry. This article is printed in "Kansas Historical Collections," vol. 11, p. 175.

wise about 600 feet below the surface, and will also measure 200 feet in thickness.

In the early nineties wells were drilled at Wellington, Sumner county, and at about 250 feet below the surface a rock-salt stratum was found, but not in sufficient quantity for the production of salt. Two small plants had been erected about 1890. They were operated for a short time, but were dismantled and disposed of.

In the year 1875 some cowboys camping ten miles south of Raymond, in Rice county, on the old Texas cattle trail, discovered salt brine at a depth of four feet. The discovery was reported in Hutchinson. Immediately a salt company was organized, consisting of F. E. Gillett, president; E. Wilcox, treasurer; Hiram Raff, secretary; E. A. Smith, engineer; C. C. Bemis, superintendent—all Hutchinson men. The plan was to pump the brine through a pipe line from Salt Marsh, as the place was then known, to Raymond, on the Santa Fe railroad, a distance of ten miles. The promoters of the enterprise, however, soon discovered that the brine was not of sufficient strength to make the project a success; therefore, before much money had been expended, it was abandoned.

As early as 1867 salt had been made in small quantities at Solomon,[3] by solar process, and had found a local market in and around the town, which is on the Solomon river and the Union Pacific railroad.

The first discovery of the great salt deposit of Kansas was on September 27, 1887. Ben Blanchard, of Terre Haute, Ind., who organized and laid out the town of South Hutchinson, immediately south of the city of Hutchinson and across the Arkansas river, was drilling a deep well in hopes of obtaining gas or oil, when he penetrated the salt stratum. The people of Hutchinson—optimistic then as now—immediately commenced to boom the salt business. The Hutchinson *Daily News* announced, on the day that the salt was first discovered, that a great salt mine would be opened and operated without delay. At that time none of our people here knew anything of its value, excepting that the market price for salt in carloads delivered in Hutchinson from the Michigan field was from $3 to $3.50 per barrel. Within a year after salt was discovered ten salt plants were in operation in and near Hutchinson.

In June, 1888, a party made up of the officers of the Michigan Salt Association, who had been attending the Democratic national convention at St. Louis, came on to Hutchinson. The party consisted of W. R. Burt, Edwin Wheeler, W. J. Barstow, Thomas Cranage, D. G. Holland, Joy Morton and J. F. Ewing. Mr. Burt was president of the Michigan Salt Association for seventeen years and thoroughly understood the salt business in all its phases. These gentlemen, finding so many salt companies engaged in the business, with production far in excess of market demand, decided it was an inopportune time for them to participate in the manufacture of Kansas salt. Mr. Burt indicated to the Kansas

3. Salt was manufactured in Kansas in limited quantities from the early '60's on. The first salt made in the state was by James G. Tuthill, an early settler of Republic county. It is known that the Tuthill marsh, as it came to be called, was used at an early time by hunters who came there to "jerk" their buffalo meat. The first salt plant of any size was at Solomon, and was operated irregularly from 1867 to the later '90's, at which time its superintendent, Mr. Cowie, estimated the capacity of the plant to be 7,000 barrels per year.—"Mineral Resources of Kansas," 1898, pp. 72, 73 and 76.

manufacturers that they would be wiser but not richer men after a couple of years of operation, which proved to be true, as this history will reveal.

THE GOUINLOCK & HUMPHREY PLANT—THE FIRST SALT PLANT.

Doctor Gouinlock, a salt manufacturer of Warsaw, N. Y., hearing of the salt deposit at Hutchinson, arrived there in October, 1887, and commenced putting down a salt well north of the Arkansas river, in the southeast part of the city limits of Hutchinson. On December 16, 1887, Doctor Gouinlock completed his first well, penetrating 300 feet of rock salt, and on the 24th of March, 1888, the first salt was produced. Mr. Humphrey, a partner of Doctor Gouinlock, came on to Hutchinson and superintended the operation of the first salt plant.

Throngs visited the plant, and the day after the first salt was produced, being Sunday, it was estimated that at least five thousand people visited the plant and carried away samples of salt. Palmer & Davis, Hutchinson well drillers, put down the first well in which salt was discovered in South Hutchinson. The second well, that of Gouinlock & Humphrey, was drilled by J. A. Saunders and Charles Smith, of Bradford, Pa.

Andy McLean was brought here from Syracuse, N. Y., by Gouinlock & Humphrey to construct their salt plant. At the time of construction the plant produced 500 barrels of salt per day.[4] About five years later the capacity was enlarged to a production of 1,000 barrels per day. The plant consisted of nine steel open pans.

THE VINCENT PLANT—THE SECOND SALT PLANT.

The Hutchinson Salt and Manufacturing Company was organized in March, 1888, the organizers being Frank Vincent, John F. Vincent, of Hutchinson; George L. Morris, of Chatham, N. Y.; Thomas S. Krutz, Preston B. Plumb, Calvin Hood and C. A. Leighton, of Emporia, Kan.

In July, 1888, the plant, located on avenue C, East, and Lorraine street, in the east part of Hutchinson, was completed. It had a production of 300 barrels per day. The following year a dairy mill was added to the plant, being the first dairy mill built in Kansas to produce table and dairy salt.

This plant was known and referred to for many years as the Vincent salt plant. About the time it was completed Mr. Thomas S. Krutz bought out the interests of P. B. Plumb and Calvin Hood, the officials of the company becoming, Thomas S. Krutz, president; George L. Morris, vice president; John F. Vincent, secretary and treasurer; and Frank Vincent, general manager, in charge of manufacture and sales department. T. W. Payne, still a resident of this city, was the superintendent of the plant from the time it was first started until it was dismantled in 1911.

In March, 1891, the Hutchinson Salt and Manufacturing Company obtained by purchase the plant of the Crystal Salt Company, a corporation

4. In his "History fo Manufactures in Kansas," published in "Kansas Historical Collections," volume 11, Mr. Douglas, on page 177, says of the first Hutchinson plant: "It was opened early in 1888, and the first salt was made March 15. It had a daily capacity of 600 barrels, and made about 70,000 barrels in the first year of its operation."

organized at Terre Haute, Ind., and which had built a salt plant in South Hutchinson with a capacity of 300 barrels per day. About the same date the Hutchinson Salt and Manufacturing Company also acquired, through purchase, the plant of the Nickerson Salt Company, a salt plant with a producing capacity of 300 barrels per day. This plant was located at Nickerson, Kan.

In November, 1890, Mr. Jay Gould, of New York, purchased the salt plant and property known at that time as the Pennsylvania salt plant, and located on the Missouri Pacific railroad in South Hutchinson. He also bought the McFarland salt plant, located in the southwest part of Hutchinson and on the Missouri Pacific railroad. The company which built the McFarland plant had made a failure of the business, and it was said Mr. Gould bought the properties on account of their being located on the Missouri Pacific, and largely to protect the freight traffic for this railroad.

In March, 1891, the Hutchinson Salt and Manufacturing Company and Jay Gould agreed on a consolidation of the Gould plants with the Hutchinson Salt and Manufacturing Company holdings. The first stockholders' meeting of the Hutchinson Salt Company was held at 195 Broadway, New York, on April 22, 1891, at which time application was made to the secretary of state of West Virginia to amend the charter from the Hutchinson Salt and Manufacturing Company to the Hutchinson Salt Company, and the capital stock was fixed at $200,000, of which $100,000 was paid in full.

The first meeting of the board of directors of the Hutchinson Salt Company was held at 195 Broadway, in the city of New York, on May 13, 1891. The following officers were elected: Thomas S. Krutz, president; George J. Gould, vice president; Howard Gould, treasurer; John F. Vincent secretary and assistant treasurer; and Frank Vincent, general manager, in full charge of manufacture and sales department.

The Hutchinson Salt Company continued in business from April 22, 1891, until May 16, 1899, at which date the Hutchinson Salt Company and the Kansas Salt Company were consolidated, the corporate title becoming the Hutchinson-Kansas Salt Company. The officers of the Hutchinson Salt Company were retained, and added to them were Joab Mulvane, second vice president, and J. C. Baddeley, assistant general manager. The company's plants at this time had a capacity of 4,000 barrels per day.

January 1, 1900, all the stock, interests and plants of the Hutchinson-Kansas Salt Company passed by purchase to an eastern syndicate. The general office was moved to Chicago, Ill., and Mr. Joy Morton became president of the company. An office was maintained at Hutchinson, where the general business of the company was conducted under the policy of its president. Frank Vincent was general manager, with J. C. Baddeley in charge of the sales department. The company continued to be much the largest salt company in Kansas in producing and manufacturing salt, its production capacity being one million barrels per year, with a warehouse storage capacity of 250,000 barrels.

In the early part of the year 1910 the Morton Salt Company, of

Chicago, Ill., was organized, with Joy Morton, president; Mark Morton, vice president; Sterling Morton, secretary; Daniel Peterkin, treasurer—all of Chicago. The Morton Salt Company acquired all the stock, interests and plants of the Hutchinson-Kansas Salt Company. General offices of the company were in Chicago, with branch office in Hutchinson, where Frank Vincent continued as general manager and J. C. Baddeley as manager of the sales department. This arrangement obtained until November, 1914, when the Hutchinson sales office was moved to Kansas City, Mo., with Sterling Morton in charge of the sales department, and became known as the Western Sales Department of the Morton Salt Company.

THE KANSAS SALT COMPANY.

J. M. Mulkey and others, owners of the Riverside salt plant, and R. R. Price, owner of the Gouinlock & Humphrey salt plant, and lessee of the Western salt plant, on August 1, 1890, organized the Kansas Salt Company. This company took over all the interests and plants of R. R. Price and the Riverside Salt Company. The organization of the new company was: R. R. Price, president; W. F. Mulkey, vice president; J. M. Mulkey, secretary and treasurer; W. L. Moore, general manager.

In August, 1891, the Kansas Salt Company acquired by purchase all the stock and holdings known as the New York Salt Company. In the latter part of 1894 it acquired all the stock, interests and plant of the Star Salt Company, and in July, 1899, it purchased the plant known as the Hegwer or Western salt plant.

At the time of the death of R. R. Price, December, 1894, the Kansas Salt Company was producing about 2,000 barrels per day. Immediately following Mr. Price's death, Messrs. Joab and John R. Mulvane, of Topeka, bought all the stock and interests held by the Price estate, also all the stock and interests of the Mulkeys, thus becoming sole owners of the Kansas Salt Company. Joab Mulvane became president of the company; John R. Mulvane, vice president and treasurer; J. C. Baddeley, general manager, having charge of the manufacturing and sales departments, and H. A. Snell, secretary. Mr. Baddeley had been in the sales department of the company since its organization. Mr. Snell is still identified with the salt business.

The Kansas Salt Company continued in business until June, 1899, when, as has been already stated, it was merged with the Hutchinson Salt Company and took the name of the Hutchinson-Kansas Salt Company.

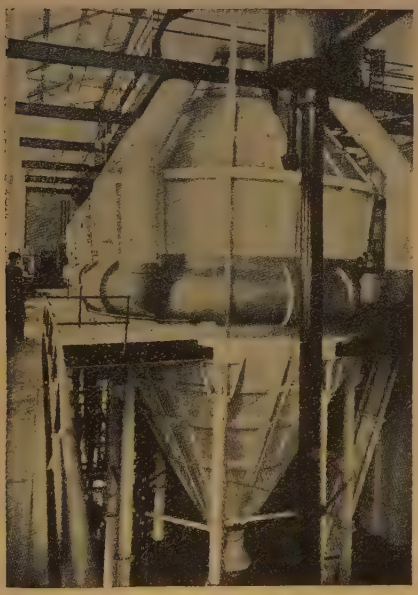
THE DIAMOND SALT PLANT—THE FIRST PLANT OWNED BY JOY MORTON.

In June, 1888, the Diamond Salt Company was organized by G. W. Hardy, Sims Ely, J. S. May, W. E. Burns and Grant Easley; G. W. Hardy, president; Sims Ely, secretary; Grant Easley, manager sales department and superintendent of plant. The works were erected in the latter part of 1888 in Blanchard's first addition to South Hutchinson, and consisted of two steel open pans of a production capacity of 200 barrels per day. On April 25, 1892, the plant was sold at sheriff's sale to Charles E. Phelps, mortgagee, who in June, 1893, conveyed it to Joy Morton, who operated the plant from that date until the fall of 1897, with Edward

Gardner as superintendent. Under lease Mr. Morton had operated this plant from 1891 until he became the owner in 1893.

THE FIRST SALT PLANT BUILT BY JOY MORTON.

In July, 1897, Joy Morton, who had been handling Michigan salt for many years, purchased land in the northwest quarter of 23-23-6, which is located in the northwest part of South Hutchinson. Here he commenced the erection of a new salt plant, which was completed and producing salt in April, 1898. The superintendent of the plant was Mr. Edward Gardner. This plant consisted of five V-shaped steam grainer pans,[5] with a producing capacity of 500 barrels per day. One year later Mr. Morton had added to the plant five more pans, which gave it a producing capacity of from 1,000 to 1,200 barrels daily. The product was sold and distributed by Joy Morton until May, 1900, when the plant passed into the ownership of the Hutchinson-Kansas Salt Company. On the evening of March 25, 1907, the plant was totally destroyed by fire.



BATTERY OF VACUUM PANS, MORTON SALT PLANT.

THE NEW MORTON SALT PLANT.

On September 1, 1906, Mr. Joy Morton, president of the Hutchinson-Kansas Salt Company, commenced the erection of a large modern vacuum-pan salt plant adjacent to his first salt plant. The new plant was well under construction when the old one was destroyed by fire, as above stated. Considerable loss was sustained in the new plant through the burning of several carloads of material.

Immediately after the fire and as soon as the debris could be cleared from the ground, Mr. Morton commenced the erection of a new salt warehouse and fireproof boiler house on the location of the old plant. On the 10th day of September, 1907, the new plant was completed, and began producing salt on the 14th day of September, 1907.

This plant consisted of triple-effect vacuum pans and seven steam grainer pans. The vacuum pans had a producing capacity of 2,500 barrels per day; the grainer pans a capacity of 800 barrels per day. The dairy or refining mill had a capacity of 450 barrels per day, while the warehouse storage capacity was 200,000 barrels of salt.

5. For some description of this process see volume 11, "Kansas Historical Collections," page 179.

At the time of its completion this was much the largest salt plant in Kansas; in fact, it was said to be the largest one in the United States.

Messrs. L. D. Libbey and W. E. Kissick superintended the building of this plant. Mr. Libbey continued as superintendent until October, 1908, at which time he resigned, and W. E. Kissick succeeded him, continuing in the position until November 1, 1914, when Mr. Wirt Morton was made superintendent, and holds the office at this time.

### THE CAREY SALT PLANT.

The Carey Salt Company was organized April 25, 1901, with Emerson Carey, president; C. W. Southward, vice president; W. D. Puterbaugh, treasurer; Edith Carey, secretary; and Arthur B. Carey, superintendent.

The company started originally to make salt with two grainer pans supplied with steam from their ice plant, which was connected with the

MORTON SALT PLANT: A MODERN VACUUM PROCESS PLANT.

salt plant. The capacity of the plant was 200 barrels per day. Their first car of salt was shipped in July, 1901, to J. P. Baden, at Winfield, Kan. The capacity of their plant was gradually increased to 500 barrels per day.

In 1905 the Carey Salt Company contracted for a small steam vacuum pan which did not prove successful, and was later dismantled and taken out.

In 1907 the company installed what was known as the Lillie quadruple-effect vacuum pan, with a producing capacity of 500 barrels per day. This plant was located on avenue C, just east of Main street, in Hutchinson.

On June 17, 1909, the Carey people secured a charter for the Hutchinson Salt Company, which was to be a sales company and subsidiary to the Carey Salt Company; R. G. Streeter was made secretary of the new company.

### THE CAREY SALT PLANT NUMBER TWO.

In 1909 the Carey Salt Company erected a new salt plant just east of the city limits, near the Santa Fe railroad, in the city of Hutchinson. This plant was equipped with a Lillie quadruple-effect vacuum pan, with

1,000 barrels capacity. Also, the plant had a 200-barrel capacity refining or dairy mill for putting up high-grade table and dairy salt.

The Carey company has been one among the successful salt companies. They claim to have a total capacity of 1,500 barrels per day. The officers at the present time are: Emerson Carey, president; Howard J. Carey, vice president; James Lee Dick, secretary; Charles E. Carey, treasurer; Arthur B. Carey, superintendent; W. H. Dryden, sales manager.

### THE BARTON SALT PLANT.

In the fall of 1892 E. E. Barton, Frank Barton and William Barton organized the Barton Salt Company. They acquired by leases the packing plant and buildings known as the Toby & Booth packing house, located at the east end of Campbell street, in Hutchinson. The Barton Salt Company erected in this building three open grainer pans, with a production of 300 barrels of salt per day.

In August, 1903, the plant was totally destroyed by fire. It was rebuilt on the same ground that fall, the new equipment consisting of five steel grainer pans, with a production capacity of 400 barrels per day. On July 1, 1905, the company was incorporated with the following officers: E. E. Barton, president; E. M. Barton, secretary and treasurer; H. M. Barton, F. L. Barton and G. A. Vandeveer, directors.

The Barton company was operated under the direction of Mr. E. E. Barton until his death, which occurred February 26, 1912. It continued in business until April 1, 1913, when Mr. C. H. Humphreys, acquired a controlling interest through purchase of the stock. He immediately took charge of the plant and the sales department of the company. The Barton Salt company is still continued as a corporation, with C. H. Humphreys as president; E. M. Barton, vice president; G. A. Samuelson, secretary and George M. Bonnell, sales manager.

At the time Mr. Humphreys became president of the company the plant had a producing capacity of 400 barrels of open-pan salt per day. In June, 1913, Mr. Humphreys commenced the erection of a triple-effect vacuum evaporating plant, which was put in operation and produced salt in the latter part of the year 1913. The new plant has a producing capacity considerably in excess of the old open-pan plant. It also has a refining or dairy mill for producing dairy and table salt, with a capacity of 200 barrels per day.

### THE MATHEWS SALT PLANT.

In the latter part of 1888 Mr. G. H. Bartlett, of Prividence, R. I., built in the northeast part of Hutchinson a small plant consisting of but one open pan. He operated it a short time only, it not being an economical plant to work. It stood idle for several years and was eventually purchased by Collins & Mathews, of Hutchinson. After a short time Mr. Samuel Mathews bought Mr. Collins' interest in the plant, erected new buildings, and increased the production from 80 barrels per day to 300 barrels per day. Mr. Mathews had had considerable experience in the salt business before buying this plant. He still owns the property and has been successful.

THE UNION ICE AND SALT COMPANY PLANT.

The Union Ice and Salt Company plant was located on Avenue D, East, in the city of Hutchinson. James F. Redhead was the president of the company, the directors being members of his immediate family.

This plant commenced producing salt in the early part of 1892, and consisted of two steam grainer pans, with a capacity of 250 barrels per day. The company operated the plant until July 1, 1900, when they sold it to Mr. Ed Gardner, who took charge immediately. With this plant was also connected an ice plant. Mr. Gardner has operated the business continuously and since taking it over has produced but little salt, giving most of his attention to the production of ice.

THE STAR SALT PLANT.

The Star Salt Company was organized in 1889, with R. E. Conn, president; William Randle, secretary; and John Welsh, treasurer.

The plant was located at the junction of the Santa Fe and Missouri Pacific railways, in the northwest part of Hutchinson. The company operated their plant and marketed their salt until 1894, when they sold out to the Kansas Salt Company. Later the plant passed into the hands of the Hutchinson-Kansas Salt Company, and is now the property of the Morton Salt Company.

This was a two-pan steam grainer plant, with a capacity of 200 barrels per day. There was in conjunction with it a dairy mill for dairy and table salt, with a capacity of 50 barrels per day.

THE HUTCHINSON PACKING COMPANY PLANT.

The Hutchinson Packing Company plant was owned by the Omaha Packing Company, of Chicago, Ill. The following were the officers: James Viles, jr., president; E. F. Robbins, vice president; Sidney Underwood, secretary; Walter Underwood, general manager; E. S. Moore, sales manager.

This company commenced producing salt with exhaust steam from the engines of the packing plant. They gradually increased the salt production, until in 1895 they had four steam grainers, with an output of 300 barrels daily. In 1895 they acquired the right to manufacture salt by the Craney direct-heat vacuum-pan process, and installed during that year two vacuum pans. In 1896 their third vacuum pan was installed, giving them a production of 1,400 barrels per day. It was said the investment in this vacuum plant reached $150,000. The storage capacity of the plant was 80,000 barrels. A complete dairy or refining mill for making table or dairy salt was also maintained.

This plant, however, did not prove successful in economical production, and was therefore closed in 1900 and dismantled and torn down about 1906. It was located in the eastern limits of Hutchinson, on Fourth avenue.

THE HEGWER SALT PLANT.

The Hegwer salt plant was built in the summer of 1888 by Henry Hegwer, of Hutchinson, and was producing salt in the fall of that year, with four large steel open pans. This plant was located in the northeast part of the city.

In the latter part of 1889 Mr. R. R. Price, associated with W. L. Moore, both of Hutchinson, leased the Hegwer salt plant and operated it under the name of the Western salt plant. This lease passed to the Kansas Salt Company upon its organization, and the plant was operated by them until about 1897, when they secured the property by purchase. It had a producing capacity of 500 barrels of salt per day.

In 1899 this plant became the property of the Hutchinson-Kansas Salt Company, and is at this time one of the holdings of the Morton Salt Company.

RIVERSIDE SALT PLANT: DIRECT-HEAT PROCESS.

THE RIVERSIDE SALT COMPANY.

In June, 1888, the Riverside Salt Company was organized by J. M. Mulkey, W. F. Mulkey, N. White, J. F. DeBrass, A. M. West, W. E. Hutchinson and H. Whiteside. J. M. Mulkey was made president of the company.

That year they erected the Riverside Salt works in the northwest part of South Hutchinson, near the Arkansas river. The plant consisted of four large steel open pans, and produced about 500 barrels of salt per day. In connection with it was a dairy mill with a capacity of 100 barrels of table or dairy salt per day.

In August, 1890, the ownership of this plant passed into the hands of the Kansas Salt Company. In May, 1899, it was purchased by the Hutchinson-Kansas Salt Company, and is now the property of the Morton Salt Company.

SALT ON DRIP BOARD OF HAND-LIFTED OLD-STYLE GRAINER PAN.

THE NEW YORK SALT PLANT.

The New York Salt Company was organized by Ben Blanchard in 1888, with Anthony Oswald, president, and J. M. Zinn, secretary. The works were located on Tenth avenue, in Blanchard's second addition to South Hutchinson, but before their completion the company met with financial difficulties and they remained unfinished until the fore part of 1891, when they were purchased by the Standard Salt Company. In August of that year this company, through Joab Mulvane, its president, sold the New York salt holdings to the Kansas Salt Company, who immediately completed the work and put the plant in operation. It had two steel open pans and produced 300 barrels of salt per day. In 1899 it passed to the Hutchinson-Kansas Salt Company, and eventually became the property of the Morton Salt Company.

THE CRYSTAL SALT COMPANY.

A syndicate from Terre Haute, Ind., organized the Crystal Salt Company in May, 1888. The organization consisted of Jos. H. Briggs, Andrew Grimes, J. N. Phillips, J. Q. Button, and Frank Brittlebank. Jos. H. Briggs was president; Frank Brittlebank, secretary; and J. N. Phillips, treasurer. Jos. P. Farley was made superintendent of the plant, and E. E. Barton manager of the sales department. The company erected the plant, which consisted of two large steel open pans with a 300-barrel production per day, in the early months of 1888. It was situated in Blanchard's first addition to South Hutchinson, and began operation in the latter part of the year, continuing until March, 1891, when it

passed by purchase to the Hutchinson Salt Company, and thence through company changes to the Morton Salt Company, its present owners.

### THE PENNSYLVANIA SALT PLANT.

In the latter part of 1888 W. R. Bennett, T. J. Decker and C. R. Thoburn, of Hutchinson, organized the Pennsylvania Salt Company and erected a salt plant in the Pennsylvania addition to South Hutchinson. The works consisted of two large steel open pans with a producing capacity of 300 barrels per day. This plant operated only a few months, until in 1890 it passed into the ownership of Jay Gould. Shortly afterwards it was conveyed to the Hutchinson Salt Company, who operated it until May, 1899, when the ownership passed to the Hutchinson-Kansas Salt Company, and thence to the Morton Salt Company.

### THE M'FARLAND PLANT.

In the latter part of 1888 the Great Western Salt Company was organized by D. C. McFarland, Z. L. McFarland, J. C. Grimes, of Hutchinson; J. H. Crabb, of Dodge City, and M. Brandome, of Wichita. D. C. McFarland was made president of the company, and Z. L. McFarland secretary. In the latter part of 1888 and the early months of 1889 the company erected a small salt plant on South Monroe street, Hutchinson, which consisted of two small open pans, with a producing capacity of about 200 barrels per day.

The plant was poorly constructed and not successful. It passed to the ownership of Jay Gould in November, 1890. He conveyed it to the Hutchinson Salt Company in 1891, and in 1899 it was transferred to the Hutchinson-Kansas Salt Company. It is now the property of the Morton Salt Company.

### THE WYOMING SALT PLANT.

In February, 1888, a party of salt manufacturers of Warsaw, N. Y., organized the Wyoming Salt Company. It was composed of E. H. Buckline, J. B. Crossett, M. E. Coffins and W. W. Hawley. Mr. Hawley, representing the company, came to Hutchinson and superintended the erection of the plant at the intersection of avenue D and Monroe street, in the western part of Hutchinson. They commenced producing salt in August, but the business proving unsatisfactory, the plant was sold October 1, 1888, to the Queen City Salt and Mining Company, composed of J. R. VanZandt, J. N. Sweet and A. F. Smith, of Hutchinson. The plant was operated intermittently until November 1, 1892, when it was conveyed by sheriff's deed to B. F. Blaker, of Mound City, Kan. Mr. Blaker, with A. J. Renner as superintendent, was not successful in keeping the plant in operation, and in 1895 he leased it to G. C. Easley and S. Mathews. They operated it for a short time, when it was taken over by the Kansas and the Hutchinson salt companies and operated jointly under a purchase contract until 1900, when it passed to the ownership of the Hutchinson-Kansas Salt Company. The plant comprised two open grainer pans, with a producing capacity of about 200 barrels per day. It is now the property of the Morton Salt Company.

### THE INDEPENDENT SALT PLANT.

E. H. Holbrook, of Port Huron, Mich., under the name of the Independent Salt Company, secured land near the Morton salt plant in South Hutchinson in 1901 and started the erection of a salt plant. After building four cement grainer pans, drilling three brine wells and receiving several carloads of lumber for construction purposes Mr. Holbrook disappeared from Hutchinson. It was generally supposed that he was unable to further finance the enterprise. The property was foreclosed at sheriff's sale in 1903 and passed to the ownership of the Hutchinson-Kansas Salt Company in March, 1908. It was never completed, and is now one of the holdings of the Morton Salt Company.

### STERLING SALT PLANT.

The Sterling Salt Company was organized in August, 1888, with the following officers: T. H. Brown, president; J. C. Turner, vice president; P. P. Trueheart, secretary; and J. C. Turner, treasurer.

The company erected its plant in the eastern limits of the city of Sterling. It consisted of two open pans, with a capacity of 300 barrels per day; also of a dairy mill with an output of 100 barrels per day. The company operated the plant until 1904, when Mr. T. H. Brown purchased all the stock of the Sterling Salt Company and became sole owner.

Mr. Brown changed the open pans to grainer pans, with a capacity of 400 barrels of salt per day, and continued the operation of the plant under the name of the Sterling Salt Company.

In the year 1890 a company known as the Forest City Salt Company started to build a plant at Sterling. It was never completed, and four or five years later it was bought by the Sterling Salt Company and dismantled.

### THE ELLSWORTH SALT PLANT.

The Ellsworth Salt Company was organized in 1902, with H. Work, president; J. R. McLarrin, vice president; George F. Trembly, secretary; B. S. Westfall, treasurer; and E. S. Moore, manager.

Work on the plant at Ellsworth began in the early part of 1903, and by July it was completed. It consisted of four large steam grainers, with a producing capacity of 500 barrels of salt per day, and a complete dairy mill for manufacturing table and dairy salt. The plant was operated steadily until the fall of 1909, but since that date it has been in operation but a part of the time.

The organizers of this company were business men of Ellsworth of strong financial standing, and at this date still own the plant.

### WELLINGTON SALT PLANT.

Rock salt was discovered at Wellington, Kan., in 1888. A local organization, with D. A. Espy as manager, in the following year erected a small plant, consisting of two direct-heat open pans, with a capacity of approximately 200 barrels per day.

About the same time a Mr. Bowers, of Wellington, erected a small plant consisting of one direct-heat open pan, capable of producing 100 barrels of salt per day.

Neither plant was successful. They were operated only a short time, when both were dismantled and disposed of.

KINGMAN SALT PLANTS.

There were four small evaporating plants built in Kingman during the latter part of the year 1888.

The Stout & Babcock plant, operated by the owners, was the first to manufacture salt. The first barrel produced was sold at public auction in October, 1888, to John R. Griffith, of the Farmers' and Drovers' Bank, of Kingman, for the sum of $120, probably the highest price ever paid in the United States for one barrel of salt before or since.

The Ninnescah Mining Company, composed of R. S. Cates, S. M. Thornburg, L. C. Almond, Charles Alexander, Edgar Henderson, John A. Cragun and F. A. Temple, erected and operated a small direct-heat plant.

Bowran & Craycraft erected and operated a small direct-heat plant.

The John P. Moore Salt Company was an incorporated company, of which John P. Moore was president and George T. Almond secretary and treasurer. This company erected and operated the largest evaporating plant in Kingman.

The total production of these four plants was approximately 500 barrels per day. It was said that on account of poor railroad facilities they could not be operated successfully. No one of them was in operation more than a year, and they have all been dismantled and disposed of.

ANTHONY SALT PLANT.

In July 1888, salt was discovered at Anthony, Harper county, Kansas. The Anthony Salt company was organized, with George W. Moffet, president and T. B. Smith, secretary. During the winter of 1888-1889 the company constructed a 500-barrel-capacity salt plant, consisting of four large steel open pans. They operated the plant and sold their product on the general market until November, 1901. At that time C. M. Mulkey purchased Mr. Moffet's interest in the company and became its president. Messrs. C. M. Mulkey and Grant Easley operated the plant until February, 1903, when P. G. Walton acquired all the interests of the Anthony Salt Company, including the plant. Mr. Walton then became president, and Mr. W. A. Williams, secretary, and they operated the plant until June 21, 1909, when Samuel L. Smith and C. E. Simmon became, respectively, president and secretary of the company. On January 14, 1913, occurred another change, C. E. Simmon becoming president and H. A. Smith, secretary, and those gentlemen are operating the plant at the present time. It is generally believed, however, that the Anthony Salt Company's plant is still owned by Mr. P. G. Walton.

GLOBE SALT PLANT.

The Globe Salt Company was organized with W. H. Hurd as president, and erected a plant in the latter part of 1889. It was a small open-pan plant, the capacity of product not exceeding 100 barrels per day. The company continued in business for only a short time, and the plant has been dismantled and disposed of.

LYONS SALT PLANT.

The Lyons Salt Company was organized in the early part of 1911 and erected a salt plant two miles southeast of the city of Lyons, in Rice county, Kansas. The plant consists of five steam grainer open pans, with

a producing capacity of approximately 500 barrels of salt per day. It also includes a dairy mill for manufacturing dairy and table salt, with a capacity of 100 barrels per day. The officers of the company are: G. P. Kelly, president; H. F. Anawalt, vice president; and Charles Mendenhall, superintendent.

It is reported that the American Salt and Coal Company, with general offices at Kansas City, Mo., and organized by the same officers that organized the Lyons Salt Company, has taken over the Lyons Salt Company. As yet there has been no change in the management or plant of the Lyons company.

SUMMARY OF CONSTRUCTION AND OPERATION OF FIRST SALT PLANTS.

Within one year from the date salt was discovered thirteen plants had been erected, with a total of twenty-nine steel open pans and four steam grainers. The approximate cost or investment was $600,000, with an annual production of 900,000 barrels. However, a number of these plants were not completed in time for their production to be reckoned in the tonnage of the first year, and those that were completed were operated only part of the time. This was because the freight rates limited the territory in which salt could be marketed.

Owing to this restricted territory, overproduction caused sharp competition; this resulted in ruinous prices and stopped further building operations for several years. The years from 1889 to 1892 were years of elimination, and during that period eight different plants passed ownership to the stronger companies at less than one-half the cost of construction, some of them being dismantled.

During this time the railroads were coming slowly to recognize the importance of the infant industry, as the revenue from outgoing salt and incoming fuel and supplies became substantial in volume. About 1892 the Goulds becoming financially and directly interested in Hutchinson plants, and salt rates were put into effect which greatly increased the Kansas market, as shown elsewhere in this history.

As noted above, during the first several years the plants erected were almost invariably equipped with the steel open-pan direct-heat process. During the period following the year 1895 several new plants were erected in which the type of the pan was the steam grainer. In the year 1896 a triple-effect direct-heat vacuum plant was built, which was a development in principle, but was not successful in operation.

In 1907 a triple-effect steam vacuum plant was erected which was an immediate success and which revolutionized previous systems of salt making. At this writing there are four plants operating by the vacuum system, with a producing capacity of more than one million barrels per annum.

KANSAS SALT PRODUCTION.[6]

On account of the sharp competition from the Michigan salt field, which had heretofore supplied the territory naturally tributary to Hutch-

6. "Kansas ranked fourth among the states in both quantity and value of the output of salt in 1914. The quantity produced was 2,967,864 barrels (415,501 tons), valued at $924,550, an increase of 269,785 barrels (37,770 tons) in quantity and $64,146 in value, compared with 1913."—"Mineral Resources of the United States," 1914, part 2, p. 299.

inson, the producing capacity of the Kansas plants for the first ten years exceeded the demands of the territory by about 33⅓ percent.

In estimating the volume of Kansas salt tonnage for the past twenty-seven years it is impossible to supply exact figures. The distribution given below was compiled very carefully from records of annual distribution kept by the larger producers. We think it safe to say that these figures would vary but little from the actual distribution.

| | Barrels. | | Barrels. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1888 ..... | 190,000 | 1901 ..... | 1,014,000 |
| 1889 ..... | 380,000 | 1902 ..... | 928,000 |
| 1890 ..... | 600,000 | 1903 ..... | 915,000 |
| 1891 ..... | 800,000 | 1904 ..... | 1,070,000 |
| 1892 ..... | 850,000 | 1905 ..... | 958,000 |
| 1893 ..... | 900,000 | 1906 ..... | 930,000 |
| 1894 ..... | 875,000 | 1907 ..... | 997,000 |
| 1895 ..... | 839,000 | 1908 ..... | 1,132,000 |
| 1896 ..... | 850,000 | 1909 ..... | 1,215,000 |
| 1897 ..... | 812,000 | 1910 ..... | 1,206,000 |
| 1898 ..... | 952,000 | 1911 ..... | 1,198,000 |
| 1899 ..... | 1,197,000 | 1912 ..... | 1,137,000 |
| 1900 ..... | 1,244,000 | 1913 ..... | 946,000 |
| | | 1914 ..... | 1,004,000 |

These figures show the total shipment of evaporated salt for the past twenty-seven years to have been 25,139,000 barrels.

THE ROCK SALT DEPOSIT.

In the district adjacent to Hutchinson one hundred and fifty salt wells have been drilled. And from their logs there has been shown to be very little variation in the formation of the strata before reaching rock salt, the greatest difference being found in the first hundred feet below the surface of the ground. North of the Arkansas river, after passing through three feet of dark soil, sand is encountered, which extends downward sixty feet before striking shale. On the south side of the Arkansas river the sand extends downward one hundred feet. Drive pipe has to be put down through the sand to the red shale, which is a soft, red stone, to prevent filling in of the drill hole.

Log of No. 7 well, drilled at the Riverside Salt Plant in January, 1897, shows the following:

99 feet of clear sand,
68 feet of red shale, soft stone,
313 feet of white-lime shale, soft stone,
330 feet of rock-salt stratum.

The rock salt stratum is divided as follows:

35 feet of salt and shale.
20 feet of salt.
15 feet of salt and shale.
10 feet of salt.
10 feet of salt and shale.
15 feet of salt.
5 feet of salt and shale.
20 feet of salt.
5 feet of salt and shale.
5 feet of salt.

5 feet of salt and shale.
15 feet of salt.
10 feet of salt and shale.
30 feet of salt.
15 feet of salt and shale.
15 feet of salt.
20 feet of salt and shale.
50 feet of salt.
15 feet of salt and shale.
15 feet of salt.

Total, 330 feet.

Of this 330 feet it will be seen that 190 feet are nearly clear salt, while the remaining 140 feet are salt mixed with shale. In completion of this well the following pipe was used:

99 feet of 8-inch drive pipe.
168 feet of 6-inch casing.
775 feet of 3-inch tubing.

An analysis of brine supplied from twelve different wells of the Morton salt plant in South Hutchinson in 1906—shows the chemical component parts to be as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Specific gravity at 75° F. | 1.19980 |
| Sulphate of lime | .39139 |
| Chloride of calcium | .20757 |
| Chloride of magnesium | .03625 |
| Chloride of sodium (pure salt) | 25.49380 |
| Water | 72.67119 |
| | 100.00000 |

It may be of interest to know that there are but few men left in Kansas who were identified with the early development of the Kansas salt field. The following persons are the only pioneers who started in the business in 1888 who are still in close touch with the salt business of to-day: Frank Vincent, J. C. Baddeley, Samuel Mathews and T. W. Payne, all of Hutchinson; George and Daniel Cowie, of Kanopolis; Thomas H. Brown, of Sterling; and Jesse A. Ainsworth, of Lyons.

Others, still residents of Kansas, who were identified with the building up of the salt industry, but who are no longer associated with it, are: H. Whiteside, J. E. Conklin. Capt. John Welsh, Capt. W. R. Bennett, W. R. Randle, Edward Randle, Walter Underwood, Edwin S. Moore, D. C. McFarland and A. W. McCandless, all Hutchinson men; Joab Mulvane of Topeka; B. F. Blaker, of Pleasanton; T. J. Decker, of Turon; and George W. Moffet, of Lawrence.

Some of the men who were superintendents of the pioneer salt plants and who are still living in this state are L. D. Libbey, Joseph P. Farley, J. S. Gardner, H. O. Miller, Frank Cornwall, W. E. Kissick, Walter B. Hoagland, O. T. Sholes, and Edward Gardner.

The first traveling salesmen who sold salt exclusively for the Kansas salt field were A. L. Baker, C. P. Bachelder, Andrew Ford, William Allen, Charles Mapes, George P. Kelley, Charles Bush, S. L. Kelley, Frank Vincent, jr., H. O. Skinner and Elmer May.

J. A. Saunders and Charles Smith, of Bradford, Pa., were early drillers in the field. Other drillers were Palmer & Davis, Thompson & Son, I. B. Schmied, Lynch Hamilton, Percy Thompson, F. Williamson, and Edward Mullen.

Among the many men interested and helpful in the development of the salt business in Kansas the names of three railroad men should be recorded: H. G. Spurgeon, agent for the Santa Fe, who later became commercial agent for the Missouri Pacific at Joplin, Mo., P. J. Leimbach, Missouri Pacific agent, now commercial agent at Hutchinson; and O. P. Byers, agent for the Rock Island, now president of the Anthony & Northern railway.

### TYPICAL MEETING OF PIONEER SALT PRODUCERS.

The writer recalls a meeting of salt producers held in Hutchinson in the early '90's. Twenty-one gentlemen were present, representing different companies. Among them the writer now recalls L. H. Humphrey, R. R. Price, J. M. Mulkey, W. L. Moore, W. S. Conn, W. R. Randle, John Welsh, A. J. Renner, B. F. Blaker, E E. Barton, and Frank Vincent, all representing Hutchinson plants; T. H. Brown and Doctor Truehart, representing the Sterling plant; D. Espy and a Mr. Bowers, representing the Wellington plant; Mr. Brown, representing the Kingman plant.

The meeting convened at the old Commercial Club room at ten o'clock a. m. and continued until midnight. The question of bettering the condition of the producers was introduced and argued from every viewpoint. In figuring the production of all the plants there appeared to be a total capacity of more than one million barrels, while the records showed that there were less than half a million barrels marketed per annum. The proposition to be discussed was the curtailing of production at least one-half. It soon developed that not one producer was willing to curtail his production a single barrel, but was strongly of the opinion that his competitor should. In the pioneer days each manufacturer was very positive that his cost of production was a great deal lower than that of his competitor. No two could agree on any plan suggested for betterment.

It can be truthfully said that the meeting was not of the "peace and harmony" kind. Some of the language used during the discussion was not of a Christian type, nor would it look well in print.

Although salt was being sold at the time at less than cost of production, the meeting making no progress, R. R. Price presented a resolution —all the gentlemen concurring therein—that "salt be immediately reduced five cents per barrel." Whereupon the writer offered a substitute resolution that the question of fixing the price of salt be checked up to those who should survive the fierce competition. The meeting adjourned without day, and in no friendly mood, each producer confident that he would soon have the other fellow licked. Every man present vowed he would never again attend a salt meeting, but later history developed the fact that these same gentlemen met often afterwards, and always with about the same results.

## ROCK SALT.

### ROCK-SALT SHAFTS AT KINGMAN.

In the summer of 1887 a prospect well was drilled at Kingman, financed by several local citizens in the hope of finding oil and gas. In September the drill penetrated the rock-salt bed.

A company was organized in the early part of 1888, consisting of E. S. Cates, W. S. Grovesner, W. H. Graves, A. D. Culver, F. C. Leach, E. W. Hinton, P. J. Conklin, A. R. Darling, W. H. Child, G. W. Craycraft and E. E. Weir. The city of Kingman also assisted the enterprise by a donation of $5,000 in city bonds.

The company put down a small shaft, 4 by 8 feet, which was sunk to a depth of 800 feet. Later the shaft was sold to John R. Griffith, George E. Summers and John M. Smoot. On account of the small size of the shaft it produced but little salt, and was not a financial success; therefore it was finally closed down and abandoned. This was the first rock salt shaft operated in Kansas.

In the year 1889 a Chicago syndicate organized the Crystal Salt Company and sunk a shaft and erected a plant at Kingman. The size of the shaft was 12 by 12 feet, and was sunk to a depth of 800 feet. Extensive machinery was installed in the plant, which was put in operation in 1890. A few years later J. M. Mulkey, C. G. Easley, and others took it over by purchase and operated it for some years, subsequently selling it to the Kingman Mining Company, a corporation composed of Chicago men. Some of the Chicago pork packers were said to be interested in the company. Mr. E. C. Price, of Chicago, had charge of the sales department and D. B. Cowie was superintendent of the plant, which was operated until early in the year 1908, when it was entirely consumed by fire and has never been rebuilt.

### CRYSTAL SALT COMPANY, KANOPOLIS.

The Crystal Salt Company, with general offices in Denver, Colo., was organized in October, 1906, with Paul Lanius, president and treasurer; J. C. Hummel, vice president; and John S. McBeth, secretary. They at once commenced the erection of necessary buildings and began sinking a shaft at Kanopolis, Ellsworth county, producing their first lump and crushed rock salt in February, 1908. This company has been successful, although the plant has not been operated at its full capacity—500 tons per day.

In connection with the above it should be stated that James Cowie, sr., was one of the promoters of the Crystal Salt Company, and was managing director during the construction of the plant, holding that position until his death, July 5, 1911. He had been manager of the Royal Salt Company, of Kanopolis, but had resigned to promote the organization of the Crystal Salt Company. This mine's output is marketed by the Morton Salt Company.

### INDEPENDENT SALT MINE, KANOPOLIS.

A Chicago syndicate organized the Independent Salt Company in 1913, with R. C. Newton, president; Henry Verder, secretary and treasurer; and D. B. Cowie, superintendent of plant.

They commenced sinking a shaft and erecting buildings June 16, 1913. The plant was put in operation in May, 1914. The claimed capacity of the plant is one hundred tons per hour, but it is not run to full capacity. They turn out all grades of rock salt. The output of the plant is marketed by Ed. C. Price & Co., with offices in Chicago, Ill.

ROYAL SALT COMPANY, KANOPOLIS.

In the year 1890 J. S. Crowell, Gen. Warren Keiffer and S. E. Baker, of Springfield, Ohio, and H. C. Cross, of Emporia, Kan., organized the Royal Salt Company and commenced sinking a shaft at Kanopolis. James Cowie, sr., was manager and George Cowie constructing engineer. The plant was completed and put in operation about August, 1891, and has been operated successfully ever since. Their product has been marketed by the Western Rock Salt Company, of St. Louis, since 1894. A producing capacity of 500 tons per day is claimed but the plant is not operated to its full capacity.

BEVIS ROCK SALT COMPANY, LYONS.

In the year 1889 the Lyons Rock Salt Company, a Kansas corporation, organized, with Alonzo Fones, president; Joseph A. Blair, vice president; D. M. Bell, treasurer; and W. T. Nicholson, secretary. The company was not successful in interesting sufficient capital to erect their plant until in March, 1890, when Mr. Alfred Bevis, a capitalist of St. Louis, furnished the necessary funds to sink a shaft, erect buildings and install a plant. Work commenced on August 5, 1890. Salt was first struck January 27, 1891. During 1891, the company was reorganized as the Lyons Rock Salt Company of Missouri, with Alfred Bevis, president; J. F. Webb, vice president; and C. H. Longstreth, secretary and treasurer. In the year 1893, on account of the indebtedness of the company, the property was sold at sheriff's sale and brought in by Alfred Bevis, who operated the plant for about two years under the name of A. Bevis & Co. In the early part of 1896 the Bevis Rock Salt Company was organized, with Alfred Bevis, president; C. H. Longstreth, vice president; A. J. Biddle, secretary and treasurer, and has been successfully operating the plant up to the present time. This mine, producing all grades of lump and crushed rock salt, has probably produced a larger tonnage than any other mine in the state. A capacity of 100 tons per hour is claimed, but the plant is not operated to its limit. The output is marketed by a selling company, the Western Rock Salt Company, of St. Louis, Mo.

Mr. Jesse Ainsworth has been manager and superintendent of the mine from its first organization to the present time. Mr. William Weitz was for many years connected with the sales department, but for the past six years has been in charge of the rock-salt department of the Morton Salt Company.

As closely as can be estimated, the total annual production from the Kansas rock-salt field is about 190,000 tons.

PIONEER ROCK-SALT MINING MEN.

Mr. James Cowie, sr., was one of the first promoters of rock-salt mining in Kansas. Before coming to the state he was mining engineer for H. C. Frick in the Pennsylvania coal fields, and was considered one of the

most efficient mining engineers in the country. He came to Kanopolis in 1890 and commenced sinking a shaft for the Royal Salt Company. The plant was completed and put in operation in 1891, and Mr. Cowie continued as superintendent for a number of years. Associated with him were his two sons, Daniel B. and George.

A company organized to sink a shaft at Little River, Kan., placed George Cowie in charge of the work as manager and superintendent. The shaft was put down in 1910 and was completed in good shape, but it was never operated, neither were buildings erected nor was machinery installed.

D. B. Cowie was superintendent of the Crystal rock-salt shaft at Kingman for eight years. He is now superintendent in charge of the mine of the Independent Rock Salt Company, in Kanopolis.

Mr. Jesse Ainsworth came to Lyons, Kan., August 5, 1890, as superintendent of the Lyons Rock Salt Company. The entire plant was constructed under his supervision. He has remained through the reorganizations of this company and is superintendent in charge of the plant at this time.

WESTERN ROCK SALT COMPANY.

The Western Rock Salt Company, of St. Louis, Mo., is a salt sales company, which was organized in 1894. The officers are Alfred Bevis, president; S. E. Baker, vice president; Charles Longstreth, secretary; S. H. Hogsett, treasurer; and C. I. Pettibone, sales manager of the western department, with headquarters at Kansas City, Mo.

This company handles the output of the Bevis rock-salt shaft at Lyons, and of the Royal salt mine at Kanopolis.

Rock-salt shafts in Kansas which have been abandoned before completion are not numerous. Mention has already been made of the shaft sunk at Little River under the superintendence of George Cowie. Several years ago one was put down at Marquette also, and though it was sunk through the salt bed it was never finished and put in operation. Another abandoned shaft was at Ellsworth; it was abandoned, however, before reaching the salt formation. In 1891 a shaft was sunk at Lyons by D. P. Eels, of Cleveland, Ohio. It was put down through the salt bed, but was left unfinished.

The salt production of Kansas has become one of the great industries of the state; it has not yet reached its highest development, and what has been written in this article presents only its inception and its growth to the present time.

# THE KANSAS PENITENTIARY.

By FRANK M. GABLE,[1] of Lansing, Kan.

LEAVENWORTH COUNTY exerted a major influence in the councils of the new state of Kansas. The Penitentiary was considered a very desirable institution by the merchants of Leavenworth, for the state would be compelled to expend annually increasing amounts for the erection of the building and the purchase of supplies to maintain the prisoners. Other counties sought to have the Penitentiary located within their borders. Governor Robinson preferred that the Penitentiary, rather than the State University, be located at Lawrence. He delayed work on it after its location in Leavenworth county, hoping still to secure it for Lawrence.

In 1861 the Leavenworth members of the legislature chose the Penitentiary for their county, and rejected the State University. It required hard work to secure the final action making the definite location, but they finally suceeded.

Section 4 of the act on the subject is as follows:

"That said commissioners shall immediately proceed to locate the State Penitentiary at some eligible point within the county of Leavenworth, and for that purpose they shall select a tract of land of not less than 40 nor more than 160 acres of land, affording, if practicable, building stone, water and other facilities for the erection of a state prison, and secure the title to the same in fee simple to the state, either by purchase, donation or otherwise, so that the land may be secured at the smallest possible expenditure to the state. But in no event shall said commissioners pay for land a sum exceeding fifteen dollars per acre."

In 1861 Governor Robinson appointed M. S. Adams, C. S. Lambdin and Charles Starns commissioners under provisions contained in other sections of the act. In the fall of that year the commissioners made a selection for the site of the state prison. It was a tract of forty acres situated on Seven Mile creek, five miles south of Leavenworth. It was an ideal location. The creek is a considerable stream, flowing east, with waters, in those days, clear as crystal. Fish could be seen swimming ten feet below the surface. Seven Mile was so named because it was seven miles from Fort Leavenworth. The site chosen was where the military road from the fort to Westport, Mo., crossed the creek. This being a north-and-south road, was much used by emigrants and the government, and it was a stage route. The land had been the property of A. M. Budlong, but was purchased from a Mr. Whitney. The report of the commissioners for 1862 says:

"By reference to our last report it will be seen that we have purchased for the state forty acres of land for a site for the State Penitentiary, and

1. For sketch of Mr. Gable, see "Kansas Historical Collections," vol. 11, p. 589. This paper is a compilation by Mr. Gable, J. K. Codding and W. E. Connelley. Upon the invitation of the secretary of the Historical Society, it was the intention of Mr. Gable to write a paper on the Penitentiary and its various administrations during the different periods of his connection with it. Through untoward interruptions he was unable to perform the work satisfactorily to himself. However, he prepared the basis for this article. Warden Codding assumed the responsibility for material on his administrations, and Secretary Connelley put the paper into final shape, drawing from the Penitentiary reports, legislative documents and session laws.

F. M. GABLE.

from exhibit D of said report it will be seen that the purchase money of said land became due when the deed to said land was executed and delivered. The deed aforesaid was executed on the 25th day of November, 1861, and delivered to the commissioners on or about the 1st day December, 1861. No appropriation having been made to pay for this land at the last session of the legislature, it will be seen that the vendor is fairly entitled to receive from the state legal interest on the purchase money from the time it became due. We therefore recommend that one year's interest be allowed Mr. Whitney on the six hundred dollars due him from the state on account of said land."

In the report it is set out that no appropriation had been made for any of the expenses of locating or surveying the Penitentiary site, and that no provision for the payment for the services of the commissioners had been made. To defray these charges the legislature was requested to make an appropriation to cover items as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| For services of C. S. Lambdin as commissioner, and mileage... | $153.00 |
| For services of M. S. Adams as commissioner..... | 66.00 |
| For services of Charles Starns, as commissioner..... | 57.75 |
| For services of John McCarthy for surveying the land, etc..... | 29.00 |
| Total ..... | $305.75 |

The total sum necessary to be met by the legislature on account of the Penitentiary, as set out by the commissioners, is here stated:

| | |
|---|---|
| Total expense of Penitentiary for 1862 | $4,271.29 |
| Land for Penitentiary site, and one year's interest | 660.00 |
| Expense of locating the same, and other services of commissioners for 1861 | 305.75 |

In the absence of a state prison, the authorities followed the method of confining felons inaugurated by the territory, which had first placed them under guard in an enclosure at Lecompton. When the counties had provided jails for their own prisoners the territory arranged to have its prisoners confined in these county jails. The state had followed this plan, and the Leavenworth county jail had been made the temporary State Penitentiary. The report of the Commissioners for 1862 contains, as exhibit A, the statement of the number of persons confined there, as follows:

EXHIBIT A.

State prisoners confined in the Leavenworth county jail from the first day of January, 1862, to the first day of January, 1863:

| | Names of convicts. | When committed. | Duration of sentence. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Convicted in Leavenworth County.* | | | |
| 1. | Owen Wessels | Feb. 10, 1860 | 3 years | Pardoned Dec. 20, 1862. |
| 2. | Francis Lambert | Sept. 5, 1860 | 18 months | Discharged March 5, 1862. |
| 3. | Wm. Myers | July 22, 1861 | 9 months | Dicharged April 22, 1862. |
| 4. | Americus Patterson | July 22, 1861 | 9 months | Pardoned Jan. 2, 1862. |
| 5. | John Scotty | July 24, 1861 | 15 months | Dicharged Oct. 4, 1862. |
| 6. | John Mire | July 22, 1861 | 9 months | Dicharged April 22, 1862. |
| 7. | Catharine Friend | Dec. 17, 1861 | 10 years | |
| 8. | Jerome Payne | March 26, 1862 | 1 year | |
| 9. | John Smith | March 26, 1862 | 2 years | |
| 10. | Richard Neagles | March 25, 1862 | 1 year | Pardoned, Dec. 22, 1862. |
| 11. | George Johnson (colored) | March 26, 1862 | 2 years | |
| 12. | John Stanton | March 26, 1862 | 6 months | Dicharged Sept. 26, 1862. |
| 13. | William Sual | March 28, 1862 | 6 months | Dicharged Sept. 28, 1862. |
| 14. | William Mayers | March 31, 1862 | 10 days | Pardoned April 9, 1862. |
| 15. | David W. Robins | June 9, 1862 | 5 years | |
| 16. | Christopher Loab | June 5, 1862 | 3 years | |
| 17. | Charles Miller | Dec. 18, 1862 | 4 months | |
| 18. | Howard Root | Dec. 24, 1862 | 17 days | Pardoned Dec. 29, 1862. |
| 19. | Carl Horne | Dec. 30, 1862 | | Sentenced to be hung Feb. 13, 1863. |
| | *Convicted in Doniphan County.* | | | |
| 20. | Wm. Woodford | July 20, 1860 | 3 years | |
| 21. | John Hobaugh | July 20, 1860 | 3 years | |
| | *Convicted in Atchison County.* | | | |
| 22. | James Runkle | Oct. 21, 1861 | 6 months | Dicharged. |
| 23. | James Cameron | Oct. 21, 1861 | 1 year | Dicharged. |
| | *Convicted in Douglas County.* | | | |
| 24. | John Dudley | June 2, 1862 | 1 year | Pardoned Aug. 25, 1862. |
| 25. | John Duffuld (alias) | Nov. 24, 1862 | | Two charges 4 years each; 8 years. |
| 26. | Henry Douglas | Nov. 24, 1862 | 1 year | |
| 27. | George White | Nov. 24, 1863 | 1 year | Dicharged Aug. 10, [1863]. |
| | *Convicted in Johnson County.* | | | |
| 28. | Daniel Fleet | July 1, 1862 | 10 years | Pardoned Aug. 3, 1862. |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Convicted in Coffey County.* | | | |
| 29. John Porter | Aug. 23, 1862 | 1 year | Pardoned Sept. 8, 1862. |
| *Convicted in Miami County.* | | | |
| 30. Constentine Kirkland | Sept. 11, 1862 | 3 years | Pardoned Sept. 23, 1862. |
| *Convicted in Wabaunsee County.* | | | |
| 31. George Dumond | Sept. 24, 1862 | 4 years | |
| *Convicted in Shawnee County.* | | | |
| 32. Thomas Madden | Dec. 8, 1862 | 5 years | |

The above and foregoing is a correct statement of convicts confined in the Leavenworth county jail, as the temporary State Penitentiary of the state of Kansas, for the year 1862. There are now fourteen state prisoners confined in the jail.

JOHN P. MITCHELL,
*Deputy Sheriff and Jailor of Leavenworth County.*

JANUARY 1, 1863.

It was also pointed out in that report that it would be possible to employ the convicts in the work of getting out material for the construction of the Penitentiary, should the legislature make an appropriation sufficient to begin work on a building. The commissioners called attention to the fact that the judgment of the courts was that these convicts were to be confined for certain terms at hard labor, and that there was no labor they could perform while confined in a jail.

The legislature of 1863 passed an act "to provide for the erection and regulation of a Penitentiary, and making an appropriation therefor." It was approved February 21, 1863. Under its provisions William Dunlap, John Wilson and S. S. Ludlum were appointed "directors of the Penitentiary," the term "commissioners" having been dropped. The directors visited the state prisons in New York, Ohio, Michigan and Illinois for the purpose of informing themselves as to general features necessary to be embodied in a Penitentiary. They found that of Illinois the best model. It was undergoing the final touches of completion and appeared to have the latest appliances and arrangements in prison construction.

Upon their return from this tour of inspection the directors employed Erasmus T. Carr[2] as architect to prepare plans and specifications for the Kansas Penitentiary. The contract with Mr. Carr was made on the 22d of May, 1863. Mr. Carr immediately went to Joliet, Ill., and made an examination of the penitentiary there. He secured the plans and specifications of the Joliet prison, and, using these as a basis, prepared plans and specifications for a "Kansas State Penitentiary," which were found ample and satisfactory. They were adopted by the directors. So the Joliet prison is the model after which the Penitentiary of Kansas was constructed.

Having adopted plans, the directors advertised for bids for the construction of a portion of the building. They met in the office of the secretary of state, Topeka, September 3, 1863, for the purpose of receiving

2. For brief sketch of Mr. Carr, see Twentieth Biennial Report, Kansas State Historical Society, 1914-1916, p. 28.

PRISONERS WORKING IN ONION FIELD, KANSAS STATE PENITENTIARY FARM.

PRISONERS PLANTING TOMATOES, KANSAS PENITENTIARY FARM.

bids, but none were submitted. They adjourned until the 13th day of October, and still there were no bidders. The third day set was the 27th of October, 1863, when four bids were found on file in the office of the secretary of state. These were received and opened. The directors could not agree as to which was the lowest and best bid, and adjourned to meet in the office of S. S. Ludlum, at Leavenworth city, November 5, 1863.

They met pursuant to adjournment, but no agreement as to who was the lowest and best bidder was reached. A regular meeting of the directors was held on the 16th of November, 1863, when the contract was awarded to John A. McRae and Morrison & Elmsley, who were found to be the lowest bidders. These contractors were allowed ten days in which to give bond for the performance of their contracts. This they failed to do, and permitted their contracts to go by default. The directors finally awarded a contract for a portion of the building to John McCarthy and Calvin Adams, who entered into a written contract and "complied with the statutes."

The directors recommended that the site for the Penitentiary be relocated and placed near the city of Leavenworth. There is nothing to indicate that this was done, and it is probable that the state prison stands on the original location.

The directors renewed the contract with Leavenworth county for the board of the state prisoners, paying therefor the sum of seventy-five cents a day for each convict. They numbered thirty-five, and attention was called to the crowded condition of the Leavenworth county jail. The report of S. W. Jones, the prison physician, shows that the health of the prisoners remained good. The directors complained that they were unable to contract the labor of the convicts at any price, and ventured the prediction that they would remain unemployed until the contractors for the Penitentiary should begin work, when it was hoped that there would be some labor the prisoners could perform.

McCarthy & Adams began work on the Penitentiary in the summer of 1864. They put in the foundation of the first wing, known as the north wing, of blue limestone, found in the banks of Seven Mile creek. It was designed for 344 cells, each 7 by 4 by 7 in size. This wing was completed up to the water table. On account of conditions in Kansas growing out of the Civil War, work was then stopped for two years.

The fourth annual report of the directors was not made until the 30th of November, 1866. It was submitted by William Dunlap, M. R. Dutton and S. S. Ludlum, "Directors State Penitentiary." They began work immediately after the adjournment of the legislature, in March, 1866. They inserted advertisements in "four newspapers of general circulation in the state," calling for bids for building the Penitentiary, "including the north wing of the structure, and not to exceed one hundred cells." Edward Caldwell was the lowest bidder, and he being competent and responsible, the contract was awarded to him. He immediately assigned a one-half interest in the contract to R. V. Flory, and the contract was made in the name of Flory & Caldwell. There was an arrangement whereby the convicts, who had all been confined in county jails, were to be employed by the contractors in work on the building. For their services the state was to have sixty cents a day for each man employed. The buildings were to be completed on or be-

fore the 1st day of October, 1867, but this was conditional on the legislature making sufficient appropriations to pay for the work. The work was commenced on the 20th of June. A temporary prison was erected of wood on the prison land. It was eighty-seven feet in length by thirty-six feet in width. It contained cells for the accommodation of one hundred prisoners. It was provided with hot-air furnaces. It contained an office, bathroom, storeroom, workshop and kitchen, as well as sleeping rooms for guards and other necessary employees. This temporary prison cost $4,705.82. It was on the north side of Seven Mile creek, about one-fourth of a mile from the old wall put up by McCarthy & Adams.

The convicts at the beginning of the year numbered forty-five. These were in the jails of Leavenworth and Douglas counties. One hundred and three were received during the year. Fifteen were pardoned and the terms of twenty-five expired, leaving ninety prisoners in the temporary prison on the 30th of November, 1866.

When the temporary prison was ready for occupancy a force of guards and keepers had to be organized to manage and care for them at the new quarters. At the head of the force was George H. Keller,[3] who acted as warden, and who may have been appointed warden, but there is no record of his appointment until the following year. Maj. Henry Hopkins[4] was next in rank, acting as deputy for Keller. Gideon Armstrong and Major Hopkins brought the first prisoners to the temporary prison. Those able for duty were put to work by Flory & Caldwell, contractors for the erection of the Penitentiary. They were required to quarry stone, dress it, and lay it in the walls, make mortar, and perform generally those tasks necessary in putting up a large building. The state employed others in digging wells, grading the yard, and other labor found at hand. The convicts were worked ten hours. The contractors were allowed seventy-five cents a day for boarding them, a clear loss to the state of fifteen cents a day, as the pay of each prisoner was sixty cents.

The employees of the contractors were Charles Smith and William Patterson, foreman of the stonework; Charles Miller, blacksmith; F. M. Gable, Thomas Buchanan, T. M. Bauserman, S. Haas and John Cogan. These latter hauled the stone from the quarries to the walls. Charles Miller was afterwards United States marshal for Kansas.

The amount of work accomplished up to November 30, 1866, is shown in the report of E. T. Carr, the architect, as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| 4,463 cubic yards excavation, 55 cents | $2,454.65 |
| 4,377 perches yard walls, $4.50 | 19,683.00 |
| 1,318 perches superstructure, $8.50 | 11,203.00 |
| 638 perches lineal feet window jambs, $2 | 1,296.00 |
| 13 window guards, set, $5.50 | 71.50 |
| 3,446 feet cut stone, moved from quarry, 50c | 172.30 |
| 912 feet cell floors, set, 65c | 192.80 |
| 443 feet cell floors, cut and set, $1.70 | 753.10 |
| 25 window frames to 7 windows, complete, $35 | 245.00 |
| 3 perches cell foundation, $5.50 | 16.50 |
| Total | $36,467.85 |

3. For sketch of George Horine Keller, see "Kansas Historical Collections," vol. 10, p. 211.

4. A biographical sketch of Maj. Henry Hopkins, written by his wife, Mrs. Florence M. Hopkins, will be found in "Kansas Historical Collections," vol. 6, p. 276.

The architect submitted an estimate of the work to be done to complete the cell house, and the cost, which was $75,074.98. The enclosure was ten acres in extent, but the estimate did not contemplate the completion of all these things with the sum estimated.

*1867.*

The year 1867 saw the first regular prison organization at the State Penitentiary. The directors were: Theo. C. Sears, Leavenworth; M. R. Dutton, Grantville; and A. Low, Doniphan. The force immediately in charge of the prison were: Warden, George H. Keller; deputy warden, Henry Hopkins; clerk, Henry Hardaway; chaplain, Rev. D. P. Mitchell;[5] physician, S. W. Jones, M. D. This board was organized and assumed the management of the prison on the 12th day of March, 1867.

Many unfavorable conditions were found to exist in the prison. The accommodations at the temporary prison were insufficient for all the convicts. Some still remained in the jails at Lawrence and Leavenworth. As work on the Penitentiary had ceased until the legislature should make another appropriation, those convicts in the temporary structure had remained idle all winter. The furnishings for their cells were found inadequate and the beds were miserably filthy. The convicts were almost naked—clad in rags. All this resulted from the policy of the legislature, which wished to appropriate as little money as possible. It is expressly stated that these conditions were not to be chargeable to the former Board of Directors; that board had done the best it could with the means at its disposal.

The first work of the new board was to remedy the demoralization found existing. The deputy warden was directed to repair, renovate and purify the cells. The mattresses were mended, refilled and cleansed. Cloth was purchased and converted into clothing for the tattered convicts. Tools were secured, and the prisoners were set to work grading the grounds and improving the inner yard of the prison. New cells were placed in the temporary prison, to which the convicts in the Lawrence and Leavenworth jails were transferred. An office for the warden was provided.

Progress on the main building of the Penitentiary was not very satisfactory to the Board of Directors. The inadequate appropriations and peculiarly unfortunate provisions incorporated in the bills directing the expenditures hindered the work. The lack of coördination of authority and harmonious workings of the different departments of the state are mentioned as contributing causes. But some progress was

5. Rev. Daniel P. Mitchell was born near Phillipi, Barbour county, West Virginia, February 2, 1821. At the age of twenty-three he entered the Pittsburg conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. After several appointments in Pennsylvania he was selected by Bishop Ames for Kansas work, and hither he came early in 1863. His first appointment was Leavenworth, where he later became presiding elder of the Leavenworth district. He was pastor for two years of the Second M. E. Church at Leavenworth (during which time he served as chaplain of the Penitentiary); later he went to the First M. E. Church in that city. From Leavenworth he went to Topeka. His active service in the M. E. Church was thirty-eight years, and his last charge was Hutchinson. He died August 24, 1881, on the train near Newton. Elder Mitchell was always interested in politics, and was recognized as the head of the National Greenback party in Kansas. Mrs. Mitchell was a daughter of Rev. Henry Baker, a prominent member of the Baltimore conference, and was in every way a helpmate to her pioneering husband. She was a woman of marked intellectuality and great piety. They were the parents of eight children, some of whom have become prominent citizens of Kansas—Mrs. Lyman Beecher Kellogg, Mrs. George Thacher Guernsey, Rev. Charles B. Mitchell, now a bishop in the M. E. Church.

made. There began to appear the divisions in the labor provided, which resulted in the future shoe shops, tailor shops, carpenter shops, etc. These grew out of necessity of having shops of those trades to supply the needs of the convicts themselves. Those skilled in these trades, or capable of performing intelligent labor in them under competent masters, were separated from the mass of unskilled labor and set to work, respectively, at these occupations. Stonecutters of skill and ability soon developed, and for years thereafter this line was well represented at the Kansas Penitentiary.

In summing up the work accomplished for the year 1867 the architect submitted this tabulation:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1,961 cubic yards of excavation, at 55 cents | $1,078.55 |
| 4,959 perch yard wall, at $4.50 | 22,315.50 |
| 15 lineal feet sewer, at $4.50 | 67.50 |
| 1,623 superstructure, at $8.50 | 13,795.50 |
| 263 lineal feet window jambs, at $2 | 526.00 |
| 172⅔ lineal feet window hoods, at $1.75 | 302.16 |
| 2,700 superficial feet front and end battlements, at $1.15 | 3,105.00 |
| 2,227 superficial feet rear and tower battlements, at $1.13 | 2,516.51 |
| 120⁴/₁₀₀ squares roof, at $52 | 6,264.44 |
| 623 feet tin spouting, at 50 cents | 311.50 |
| 4 perch foundation for cells, at $5.50 | 22.60 |
| 825 feet cell floor, cut and set, at $1.70 | 1,402.50 |
| 21,593½ feet cut stone in cells above first floor, at $1.50 | 32,390.00 |
| 16 window guards, set, at $5.50 | 88.00 |
| 18 large windows, complete, at $35.50 | 639.00 |
| 4 small windows, complete, at $21 | 84.00 |
| 2,110 pounds wrought-iron anchors, at 30 cents | 633.00 |
| Total amount | $85,541.16 |
| Total amount of convict labor to be deducted, 5,799½ days, at 60 cents per day | 3,479.70 |
| Balance | $82,061.46 |

There was a deficiency of $5,290.12, consisting mainly of bills for supplies, but some of the guards had not been paid.

*1868.*

The legislature of 1868 passed the usual laws concerning the Penitentiary. The appropriations were insufficient. There was some dissatisfaction with the progress made on the prison, and, as is generally the case, those least responsible for causes for complaint suffered most. The Board of Directors appointed were Theo. C. Sears, Harrison Kelly and A. Low. George H. Keller failed of reappointment as warden, the place going to J. L. Philbrick.[6] Maj. Henry Hopkins remained as deputy warden, H. C. Haas was made superintendent of construction, and W. P. Miller was made clerk. The Board of Directors organized March 27, 1868, Sears being made "chairman," according to the record. Miller resigned as clerk on the 18th of July, and was succeeded by Freeman Bell. The books were found to be poorly kept, due to uncertainty as to who should decide many questions governing the charges. This grew out of divided authority. To correct this state of affairs was one of the first acts of the board. The legislature failed to make an appropriation for chaplain, and the board retained Rev. D. P. Mitchell, paying him for his services the sum of $750 out of the earnings of the institution.

This year the warden rented fourteen acres of land, which he had cul-

6. For sketch of John Lang Philbrick, see "Kansas Historical Collections," vol. 10, p. 276.

tivated to good advantage by the convicts. Products amounting in value to $673 were raised. The rental for the land was $7 an acre. The results were so satisfactory that the legislature was urged to buy land for that purpose, so that crops would be intelligently planned. This was the beginning of the prison farm.

The need of better provisions for female convicts became urgent this year, and the legislature was requested to give that matter serious consideration. And the first mention of a library at the Penitentiary appears in the report of the directors for 1868. There were in the library some five hundred volumes of "useful reading matter." This library must have been commenced in a previous year, for the report adds that 116 of the volumes had been added during the year.

The report of J. L. Wever, physician, emphasizes the need for a hospital at the prison. The sick were treated in their cells, much to the detriment of their proper care, and also to the ill effects on the prison generally.

The work accomplished this year is set out in the report of the architect, as follows:

EXCAVATION.

| | |
|---|---|
| Nine thousand four hundred yards, ex | 9,400 |

STONEMASON WORK.

| | |
|---|---|
| Two hundred and fifty perches of foundation for the cells | 250 |
| Two hundred and seventy-three perches in the cells | 273 |
| One thousand and forty-five perches of yard wall | 1,045 |
| Twenty-seven perches on main building | 27 |
| Ninety-five perches on work shops | 95 |
| Fourteen and one-half perches for Miller & Stevens steam-heating apparatus | 14½ |
| Seventy-nine perches for boiler and coal house | 79 |

STONECUTTING.

| | |
|---|---|
| Eighteen thousand two hundred and two feet of stone cut for cells | 18,202 |
| Three thousand four hundred and fifteen feet of flagging for main building | 3,415 |
| One thousand feet of cut stone for workshops and other buildings | 1,000 |
| Two thousand and thirty-four feet of cut stone sold and delivered at Leavenworth, at 90 cents per foot | 2,034 |

CELLS BUILT AND FINISHED.

| | |
|---|---|
| Seventy cells built and completed | 70 |
| Seventy-two cells left unfinished last year, completed | 72 |

STONE QUARRY.

| | |
|---|---|
| Twenty-seven thousand feet of dimension rock quarried | 27,000 |
| Ten thousand perches of rubble rock quarried | 10,000 |

LIME.

| | |
|---|---|
| Five thousand eight hundred and eighteen bushels lime have been burned; of these three thousand and eighteen were sold, at thirty-five cents per bushel | 5,818 |

BRICK YARD.

| | |
|---|---|
| Two hundred and twenty thousand burned; of these thirty-two thousand and one hundred were sold at about ten dollars a thousand | 220,000 |

CARPENTER WORK DONE.

The warden and deputy warden's quarters finished; stonecutting shop, wagon and blacksmith shops completed; boiler and coal house completed; corridor built in main building; temporary fence around the prison yard; completion of four hundred feet of sewer in prison yard; removing tailor, shoe and harness shops, kitchen, bakery, dining room, guard house, warden's office and stables.

BRICK WORK.

A substantial work shop, boiler and coal house and three cisterns have been completed.

WELL.

A well, furnishing good water at fifty-four feet deep and eight feet wide completed.

STEAM-HEATING APPARATUS.

A steam-heating apparatus has been erected at a cost of about seven thousand dollars ($7,000), according to plan and specifications, and has proved satisfactory.

IRONWORK.

| | |
|---|---|
| One hundred and seventy bedsteads have been completed | 170 |
| Fourteen hundred and forty feet of cell bolts and anchors completed | 1,440 |
| A contract for seventy-two cell doors was let at 9 cents per pound and fulfilled satisfactorily | 72 |
| Also two outside prison doors at 10 cents per pound, substantially built | 2 |

The year ended with 234 convicts at the prison. There is a table showing the occupation of these prisoners before conviction. Almost every calling is represented. More than 50 percent of the whole number were between 20 and 30 years of age. The average age was 25 years, 2 months and 29 days.

*1869.*

The Board of Directors for 1869 consisted of E. Hensley, A. Low and Harrison Kelly. J. L. Philbrick was retained as warden and Maj. Henry Hopkins as deputy warden. J. L. Wever was physician, but he resigned the first of November and was succeeded by William B. Carpenter. Rev. D. P. Mitchell was still the chaplain; clerk, Freeman Bell. Gideon Armstrong was turnkey. Mrs. S. M. Philbrick was made matron, but resigned on the first of October. As there were but two female prisoners in the Penitentiary at that time, her place was not filled.

This year the prison school was established. It proved a success from the first, and forty-five convicts who did not know the alphabet in March could read well in November, greatly increasing their self-confidence and self-respect. The continued growth of the library is noted in the reports, and interest of the prisoners in it constantly increased. The report of the warden contains the first description of the Penitentiary, here set out:

"The present or north wing of the prison, or, more properly speaking, cell house, is of the following dimensions: 240 by 50; height to the roof 30 feet, with "fire walls" 7 feet. The front wall is supported by eleven buttresses with a window 2½ by 16 feet between each, and the fire wall in front surmounted by battlements. At the north end there are two ventilating towers, one on each corner, 50 feet high, 12 feet in diameter; these are also surmounted by battlements. The whole is built of red sandstone, which makes a very substantial as well as beautiful building. On the inside of this building, lengthwise and in the center, the cells are built two tiers in width, the backs of the cells coming together, but separated by solid masonry. There are 43 cells on each side in each tier, and there are completed 172 cells, making two tiers high finished. It is designed to build as many more on the top of these, so that when the whole is completed they will be four tiers high, with 344 cells in this wing. Each cell is 7 feet long, 7 feet high and 4 feet wide, with a door 2 feet 2 inches wide and 6 feet high. This door is made of iron, the frame of flat bars same size, and filled with seven-eighths-inch round iron two inches apart, running the whole length of the door through the crossbars and riveted into the frame at the top and bottom, making a very stout door; in fact, heavier than is necessary to purchase in the future. The weight of the entire door might be reduced one-fourth and be just as safe. This would save one-fourth of the expense, as they are paid for by the pound. There is a ventilator with a top and bottom opening in each cell, which will run to the roof of the building, and when the other two tiers of cells are completed will be exceedingly useful in con-

ducting the foul air from the cells; but at present, or until these tiers are built, are entirely useless. There is a court, or area, on each side, between the cells and the outer walls of the cell house, running the whole length of the building, 13 feet 9 inches wide and 15 feet wide across each end. The cells are built of blue limestone, the jambs being one solid stone. There is used in constructing each cell 281 feet of cut stone, 2 barrels of cement, 8 feet of iron cell pipe, about 100 pounds of iron besides the door, and 50 pounds of lead—the present doors weighing 250 pounds complete.

The yard wall commences at the northeast corner of the cell house, running due north 52 feet to a watchtower now completed (excepting the battlement course), it now being 32 feet 6 inches high and 18 feet in diameter—the guardroom floor in the tower being 20 feet from the ground. The guardroom is reached by a flight of winding stairs on the inside of the tower, through a door from the yard. This door was manufactured out of solid iron in the prison shop. It is very strong and safe, and fastened on both sides. From the guardroom in the tower there is a door leading out onto an iron corridor, which extends from the wall running north and south to the wall running east and west, the tower being built into the wall and forming the corner, giving the guard access to

OFFICE BUILDING, KANSAS STATE PENITENTIARY.

both walls. The wall is built of rubble limestone, 6 feet wide at the base and 2 feet 9 inches at the top, finished with dressed limestone coping, projecting 6 inches on each side and on top of a course of punched stone projecting 2 inches on each side, the whole being 22½ feet high."

The discipline of the institution is spoken of as improving all the time. Few convicts were punished, most of them being obedient and respectful. The severe forms of punishment prevailing in state prisons were not in use at the Kansas Penitentiary, such as the ball and chain, the shower bath, the lash, the iron cap, the stocks, tying up by thumbs, etc. The warden said that the use of these barbarous methods would produce a harmful effect, in his judgment, and that he found moral suasion and just dealing his best agents for promoting good conduct.

The amount of work done on the building is not stated separately, but much was accomplished. The warden submitted an estimate for the expenses of the prison for the following year, amounting to $57,153.25. The suggestion that a hospital be established was not acted on by the

legislature. The need for it was repeated. The physician also said that there was no bathing apparatus connected with the prison. "This is a crying evil," he insisted. He urged the necessity of providing better means for cleanliness.

*1870.*

For the year 1870 the Board of Directors consisted of E. Hensley, Harrison Kelly and A. Low. Maj. Henry Hopkins was warden, with Gideon Armstrong as the deputy. George Fanning was turnkey, William B. Carpenter was physician, and the chaplain was Rev. Lydia Sexton.[7]

The contract labor system may be said to have come in with the Penitentiary itself. The first contractors hired from the state a number of convicts at sixty cents a day. As long as contracts for work in erecting the various buildings of the prison were awarded, the contractors secured some of their labor by hiring the convicts. Much of the labor available from this source, however, could not be utilized by the contractors. Many convicts, while not physically able to perform heavy manual labor, could do continuous work of a lighter nature. A man not strong enough to quarry stone might easily make shoes. The problem of finding employment for all the inmates constantly pressed on the prison management. The matter of expense to the state was also involved, for the cost of maintaining the institution was ever increasing. How to get some revenue from the labor of the prisoners was an ever-present question. Fifty-six convicts were employed by contractors in 1870, and the directors said they anticipated no trouble in making contracts at remunerative rates for as many convicts as could be spared from the state's work.

The state's work was increased this year. A shoe shop and a tailor shop were maintained by the authorities. Many convicts were employed in the daily work of running the institution—cooks, domestics, in work about the laundry, the barber shop, and in many other capacities and ways. The buildings had so far progressed that there was little need for awarding contracts for their erection or completion. Warden Hopkins took the work of completing the prison buildings. By convict

7. Lydia Casad Sexton was born in Sussex county, now Rockport, N. J., April 12, 1799. She was the daughter of Thomas Casad and Abigail Tingley Casad. Her father was a son of Anthony Casad, or Cozatt, of Somerset, N. J., who had come to America early in 1700, and whose wife was Miss Caty Coon. Abigail Tingley was the daughter of Joseph and Christian (Manning) Tingley. Joseph Tingley and his two sons, Ebenezer and Jeremiah, served in the Revolutionary War. In 1808 Thomas Casad died, leaving a widow and eight children. In 1811 Mrs. Casad married John Wintermoot, a Baptist minister, a widower with seven children. Later Mrs. Casad's children were placed in the homes of relatives or acquaintances, and Lydia, in 1815 or 1816, accompanied her brother to Fairfield, Ohio. On March 17, 1820, she married Isaac Cox, who died in November, 1822, leaving her with a son, John Thomas Cox, born February 7, 1821. In April, 1824, Mrs. Cox married Moses Moore. On January 28, 1825, their son, Finley Moore, was born, and on August 9 of that year Mr. Moore died. September 12, 1829, Mrs. Moore married Joseph Sexton. In 1843 they migrated from Ohio to Jasper county, Indiana, and in December, 1865, came to Spring Hill, Kan., where one of Mrs. Sexton's sons lived. They returned to Indiana the following spring, but came back to Kansas in August, 1869. While living in Indiana Mrs. Sexton received from the United Brethren Church her first license to preach, and from that time on was actively engaged in ministerial work. Upon taking up her residence in Kansas she became an itinerant preacher, and shortly received her appointment as chaplain of the Penitentiary. Mr. and Mrs. Sexton were the parents of three children, Theodore Jared, David Finch and Joseph Zadoc. Mr. Sexton died in Wilson county, Kansas, October 23, 1878. Mrs. Sexton's autobiography was published in 1885, at Dayton, Ohio, and she was then alive.

MAJOR HENRY HOPKINS,
Warden Kansas State Penitentiary.

labor much of the wall around the ten-acre enclosure had been put in. This wall is seven feet at the bottom, tapering to two feet at the top, twenty-nine feet high from the ground, and from seven to ten feet in ground, built of limestone. The exterior of the cell houses and administration building are built of sandstone. F. M. Gable took the contract to deliver all the sandstone for the administration building and south wing cell house. The south wing is a duplicate of the north wing. The administration building is built between the two cell houses, three stories in height, with four towers, one at each corner, two towers at the end of each cell house. These towers are built hollow, for the pur-

pose of drawing foul air from the structure. Their failure to do the work practically necessitated the putting in of a large fan in each end of the cell houses by Warden Jones in 1883, the directors concurring in the improvement.

The purpose of a penitentiary as was expressed in the report of 1870 is as follows:

"A penitentiary is organized for the incarceration of those violating the laws, and is two-fold in its purposes: First, a protection to society, by adjudging the offender guilty and unsafe at large; and secondly, if possible, to correct the wrong. The first requires impartial justice, and the second time for due reflection. The feeling is very general among the inmates of our state's prison that his punishment is inflicted from a personal spite held against him by society, or circumstances attending the trial had prejudiced the court against him. This to an extent is true, either in his favor or against him.

"If the individual is guilty and unsafe at large, let him be confined until it is safe to society for his release; and instead of the court fixing the term he must remain in confinement, leave it in the hands of the individual himself, and let his *good conduct* and his *advancement* in a *true, manly* course determine when he is fit to exercise the rights of a member of society. I mean this to apply to ordinary violations of law.

"The general class sent to prison are those without any trade or fixed habits of labor.

"With many the criminal life is attributable to this fact, and they should be learned, if possible, such a portion of some trade or work as will enable them to compete with the same as carried on in the outside world. In this course the community is equally benefited with the individual.

"To bring about this change every inducement and encouragement possible should be offered those who show a willingness to take advantage of the opportunity given for an improvement. Mental culture must not be lost sight of. Too much attention cannot be paid to the proper mental training of those committed to the state prison. Under proper management the mental will never interfere with physical culture, or the time allowed work detrimental to the financial results of the prison."

Thus it was the judgment of the authorities that reform in the convict might be aided by certain functions and agencies of the state.

The water supply of the prison up to this time had been cisterns constructed in the yard. It became totally inadequate. A different source had to be sought. At first it was supplemented by hauling from the creek in barrels. It was seen that this would not be practicable. A stone dam was thrown across the creek to hold a supply in reserve at all times. A windmill was installed with which to force the water from this body to the prison yard. A two-inch pipe was used. The distance was 600 feet, and the water had to be raised 80 feet in the transportation. Ordinary wind supplied about 600 barrels of water a day—as low as 400 barrels and as high as 800 barrels. A strong wind supplied 1,200 barrels to 1,800 barrels a day. This solved the water problem for some time.

This year saw the construction of the first sewer at the prison. A ten-inch earthen pipe was used. It ran from the prison to the creek, and something more than 600 feet in length. It served every purpose for which it was designed.

There was a total expenditure this year of $63,186.23. Material for building absorbed $14,976.10 of the amount.

*1871.*

The Board of Directors for 1871 was composed as follows: E. Hensley, H. Kelly, and R. W. Jenkins. Other officers were: Henry Hopkins, warden; John Johnston, deputy warden; J. D. Liggett, chaplain; William B. Carpenter, physician.

This year there was an unusual increase in the number of convicts, the roll showing 397 at the end of the year. Three-fourths of them were employed on the works of the state, principally in building the various structures required at the institution and completing those under way from former years. Various occupations were provided, among them stonecutting, wagon making, shoemaking, tailoring, manufacturing brick, lime, harness, horse collars, brooms and barrels.

At that time only the north wing was completed. It had a capacity of 344 cells, only 238 of which had been finished, and of this number six had no doors. The increase in convicts brought up the problem of housing them, and the prison was in danger of overcrowding. It was estimated that it would require three years to erect and enclose the south wing, and that would have to be done before a single cell there could be made available. There was still no hospital. The dining room was the old coal room, attached to the boiler and engine house. Only four female convicts were in the prison, no accommodations for housing and employing them having been provided. They were generally kept in jails in different counties.

The "silence system" of discipline was in force. The warden justified it by referring to the incomplete condition of the prison. He admitted that "to be compelled to sit, work and eat in close proximity to our fellow beings day after day and month after month without being permitted to speak one word with them was a severe punishment."

The school continued to do good work, and the library contained 800 volumes. The chaplain complained that there was no suitable place for religious services. The room provided was 75 by 24 feet, with a height of 12 feet. It was covered with a tin roof, and when it rained the noise was so great that nothing could be heard above the roar made by the falling water, and services had to be suspended until the rain ceased.

The overcrowding and lack of hospital facilities caused much sickness, chiefly remittent and intermittent fevers, dysentery, and bilious derangements. These maladies yielded to treatment, and but one death is recorded.

The total receipts for the year amounted to $94,359.26, and the disbursements were $94,115.32, leaving a balance of $243.94.

*1872.*

For 1872 the officers were as follows: Directors: Harrison Kelly, chairman; R. W. Jenkins, E. Hensley. Officers: Henry Hopkins, warden; John Johnston, deputy warden; Freeman Bell, clerk; E. T. Carr, architect; W. B. Carpenter, physician; Rev. J. F. Morgan, chaplain.

There were 333 convicts in the Penitentiary on the 30th day of November, 1872. They were employed as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Wagon and carriage making | 55 |
| Stonecutting | 35 |
| Shoemaking and tailoring | 38 |
| Carpenter shop | 6 |
| Harness making (under contract) | 12 |
| Cooper shop | 16 |
| Employed in quarries, on yard, wall and buildings, burning lime and brick, roustabouts in kitchen, dining rooms, shop runners, etc. | 171 |
| Total | 333 |

The goods manufactured by the convicts were attaining a standard production and finding ready markets. The contract system had not grown much, only harness making being carried on by contractors. Improvements in the dining room, bathing facilities and the chapel were made. A hospital was erected. The wall around the yard was completed to the coping, but it remained to construct three watchtowers. Not including prison labor, the improvements cost $21,492.46.

The matter of discipline was under consideration, and it was recommended that the legislature enact a rebate law, giving a prisoner with a perfect record three days a month for the first year or portion thereof, six days per month for the second year, and eight days per month for the remainder of his sentence.

At this time a small compensation was paid the prisoners. Some of them subscribed for magazines, sixty-five such publications being taken by them. The library increased to 1,200 volumes this year.

The subject of reform was more and more impressing itself as the primal object of imprisonment in the Penitentiary. Warden Hopkins must be credited with this perception, and he began to insist that it be made the policy of the institution. He became convinced that the state should seek to reclaim rather than punish the criminal.[8] But he did not deceive himself as to the difficulties to be overcome in this work.

The total expenditure of the Penitentiary for the year 1872 was $131,982.30.

*1873.*

The directors of the Penitentiary for 1873 were A. J. Angell, chairman; R. W. Jenkins, and H. C. Learned. The officers were Henry Hopkins, warden; C. J. Hanks, deputy warden; H. C. Fields, clerk; Rev. F. Morgan, chaplain; W. B. Carpenter, physician; E. T. Carr, architect; Mrs. Mary McSherry, matron; R. B. Millis, turnkey.

The directors urged that a state road be constructed from Leavenworth to the prison, as all material and supplies had to be hauled that distance, which was four and one-half miles. The water supply was proving unsatisfactory. Cisterns were the main dependence, and rains were uncertain. This year a well to be one hundred and fifty feet deep was begun in the prison yard. There was no certainty that it would be a

8. "A prisoner who had been looked upon as incorrigible once said that one of the most solemn impressions of his life was made upon his mind by major's [Major Hopkins] saying: 'I intend to use every man here so that I shall not be ashamed to meet him in this world or at the judgment bar of God.'"—Henry Hopkins, "Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 6, p. 281.

success, and in case of failure the legislature was urged to take the matter of water into serious consideration.

This year the contract system was continued. The following bids were received and opened, October 15, 1873:

LEAVENWORTH, KAN., Oct. 15, 1873.

*Major Hopkins, Warden:* We will contract for the labor of from ten (10) to one hundred (100) men, as we may need them, at thirty-five cents per day. Two-thirds of the men so employed to have at least two years to serve. The men would be employed in cabinet work. Power to be furnished. (Signed) J. L. ABERNATHY.

*Proposal for Convict Labor.*—I will employ fifty (50) with the privilege of two hundred (200) men for fifteen (15) years. When the number exceeds fifty (50) and a vacancy occurs, it shall not be filled unless asked for by me. I will pay thirty-five cents (35 cts.) per day for first one year. Ten hours actual labor shall be counted a day's work. Forty cents (40 cts.) per day for next two succeeding years. Forty-five cents (45 cts.) per day for next succeeding seven years, and sixty cents per day for remaining five years. The state to provide all necessary shop room, all main shafting, the blower and all necessary tubing or pipes leading to the forges; heat the shops, furnish all needed runners or roustabouts, not to exceed one for each ten men employed, all necessary motive power, to grade and tie the track from railroad to shops, and use best endeavors to have railroad company iron it. I am to have exclusive privilege to manufacture wagons and carriages of all kinds, cars and furniture; to have the refusal of any surplus labor over two hundred men for any kind of manufacture when not needed by the state. Payment to be made the first day of the second month succeeding the one in which the labor was performed.

I reserve the right to throw up the contract at expiration of first year by giving sixty day's previous notice, and at any future time by giving three months' notice. I will take from the state all tools at appraisal. At whatever time the contract shall end, the state to take all tools and machinery at such price as may be agreed upon by both parties to the contract; and in case of failure to agree, each party shall select one man and these two shall select a third, and their valuation shall be final settlement. I shall not be required to employ in shops any men whose term of service is less than three years.

OCTOBER 15th, 1873. (Signed) S. L. NORTH.

*Proposal for Convict Labor*—The undersigned proposes for convict labor as follows:

To employ from fifty to two hundred men with the privilege of employing all other convicts not needed by the state for a term of years, and agree to pay therefor at the rate of from thirty to sixty cents per day per man, the average price to depend upon and to be determined by the details of such contract as may be entered into.

(Signed) N. J. WATERMAN.

LEAVENWORTH, Oct. 15, 1873. (Signed) A. CALDWELL.

Upon the back of the foregoing bid is the following indorsement:

"Price to be graded as follows:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| "2 years at | ..... | 30 cents per day. |
| 2 years at | ..... | 35 cents per day. |
| 2 years at | ..... | 40 cents per day. |
| 2 years at | ..... | 45 cents per day. |
| 2 years at | ..... | 50 cents per day. |
| 5 years at | ..... | 60 cents per day. |

"State to furnish motive power."

In 1873 there were severe panics and a great money stringency. These were factors in causing proposals so disadvantageous to the state. The directors were in doubt as to the legality of the bids in the form in which they were submitted, and they were finally rejected. What to do with the prisoners became a question. The tools and shops had been sold to the contractors. For the state to resume operations on its own account would require an immediate outlay of $7,000 for tools and $30,000 to $40,000 for raw material. These amounts could not be raised. The contractors, McAfee, Waterman & North, composing the Kansas Wagon Company, then working the prisoners, submitted a proposal to employ the prison labor for six months from the 5th of November, 1873, at the price of twenty-two cents per day per man. This was accepted by the directors.

The receipts of the Penitentiary for the year, including the appropriation made by the legislature of $70,000, amounted to $139,607.34. The expenditures were $129,516.62, leaving a balance of $10,090.90 in favor of the institution. The cost of boarding the prisoners was 13⅛ cents a day each. The cost of boarding, clothing and guarding them, exclusive of overhead charges, was 54½ cents per day each. December 1, 1873, the prisoners were classified as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| White males | 273 |
| White females | 1 |
| Colored males | 57 |
| Colored females | 2 |
| Total | 333 |

During the year 147 prisoners had been received and 140 had been discharged. The year ended with 340 prisoners in the Penitentiary.

The question of prison discipline was a serious one for the warden. His report shows that he labored with it constantly and made every effort to devise ways and means for the humane treatment and the comfort of the prisoners.

*1874.*

For 1874 the directors and officers of the Penitentiary were: Directors: A. J. Angell, chairman; H. C. Learned, O. J. Grover. Officers: Henry Hopkins, warden; C. J, Hanks, deputy warden; H. C. Fields, clerk; Rev. B. L. Baldridge, chaplain; W. B. Carpenter, physician; J. W. Lansing, hospital steward; H. S. Pike, kitchen steward; R. B. Millis, turnkey; S. T. Ferree, assistant turnkey; Mary McSherry, matron; E. T. Carr, architect; Charles Schmidt, general superintendent of buildings; Frederick Lange, engineer.

The contract system became firmly fixed in the prison policy of Kansas during this year. The legislature had passed an act governing the various features of contract labor at the Penitentiary. As this system became the policy of the prison management for many years, the various phases of it will be shown by setting out here the documents underlying it at the time. The following advertisement was inserted in the *Daily Leader*, Pittsburg, Pa.; the *Tribune*, Chicago; and *Democrat*, St. Louis, Mo.:

CONVICT LABOR TO HIRE.

OFFICE KANSAS STATE PENITENTIARY,
LEAVENWORTH, KAN., April 1, 1874.

Sealed bids will be received for the labor of two hundred convicts, or what is not required to do the work at the prison, until two o'clock p. m., June 1, 1874. Three hundred and forty convicts now in the prison. Wagon and carriage making now carried on. Contracts will be made for five or ten years. Ten hours will be a day's labor. All shops new and principally brick. A new 65-horsepower engine and boiler now set. State will furnish fixed machinery, line shafting, blower and pipes. Ordinary branches of manufacturing will be allowed. Coal for fuel had from twelve to eighteen cents per bushel.

Full information and specifications furnished on application to A. J. Angell, chairman Board of Directors, or to the warden of Penitentiary, Leavenworth, Kan. The right is reserved to reject any or all bids.

A. J. ANGELL,
*Chairman Board of Directors.*

On the first day of June, 1874, the proposals were opened and considered. They were as follows:

LEAVENWORTH, KAN., June 1, 1874.

*A. J. Angell, Esq., Chairman Board of Directors, Kansas Penitentiary:*

DEAR SIR—In accordance with your advertisement of April 1, 1874, for convict labor, I make the following bid: Of from forty-five (45) to sixty-one (61) cents per day, for from twenty-five (25) to seventy-five (75) men for first year, with privilege to increase the number for the ensuing nine (9) years. The said bid made in accordance with certain privileges to be to me granted. (Signed) S. L. NORTH.

LEAVENWORTH, KAN., June 1, 1874.

*A. J. Angell, Esq., Chairman, Etc.:*

SIR—In compliance with your advertisement for proposals, of April 1, 1874, we make the following proposition for convict labor:

To employ from fifty to two hundred men, with the privilege of employing all the men not required for state work, for a term of ten years, at the following prices per man per day:

First four years at forty-five cents per day.
Two years at fifty cents per day.
Two years at fifty-five cents per day.
Two years at sixty cents per day.

Details of contract to be agreed upon.

(Signed) A. CALDWELL.
N. J. WATERMAN.

LEAVENWORTH, KAN., June 1, 1874.

*To the Chairman Board of Directors, Kansas State Penitentiary:*

GENTLEMEN—We propose to hire the labor of one hundred convicts for ten years, we reserving the right to abandon the contract at the expiration of one year by giving the Board of Directors ninety days' notice of their intention so to do. We propose to employ the convicts hired by us at manufacturing shoes, and they are to be men efficient for that business. Shop room, power and main shafting to be furnished by the state, and shops to be warmed by the state, but all machinery and tools to be furnished by us. The shop to be in good repair when turned over to us, and leaks of the roof, when occurring during the continuance of the contract, to be stopped without delay. The state is to keep the convicts under good discipline, and they are to be diligent during working hours. No convict to be transferred from one shop to other labor without our consent, unless needed by the state, when we are to have reasonable no-

tice of the intended removal; and we to have the privilege of employing all convicts that have worked at shoemaking, unless needed by the state. We not to be charged with the time of any man when he is not at work, except when shaving, bathing, seeing the doctor, or receiving visits from friends. We are to have the right of entrance into and egress from the prison at all times; also such foremen as we may have employed in our shop; it being understood that the rules and regulations of the prison must be strictly complied with while inside. We will pay for the labor of the convicts employed by us fifty cents per day per man, ten hours to constitute a day; payments to be made monthly as per printed circular of the warden.

We will commence work as soon as our machinery can be brought here and set up, and will as soon as possible train into employment sixty men, after which time (not before the first of August next) we will pay for sixty men, as a minimum number, during the continuance of this contract, whether we work them or not. We not to be changed from one shop to another without our consent.

(Signed) HANCOCK, ROACH & CO.

Two contracts were entered into on behalf of the state by the Board of Directors. Alexander Caldwell and N. J. Waterman secured one of these contracts. They were desirous of having S. L. North and J. B. McAfee associated with them, and the directors consented to the arrangement. The contract was drawn in the name of all the parties, and is as follows:

This agreement, made and entered into this third day of June, one thousand eight hundred and seventy-four, between the Board of Directors of the Kansas State Penitentiary, on behalf of the state of Kansas, party of the first part, and Alexander Caldwell, Noble J. Waterman, Josiah B. McAfee and Stephen L. North, parties of the second part, witnesseth as follows:

ARTICLE I. The party of the first part doth hereby hire and let to the parties of the second part the labor and services of from sixty (60) to two hundred (200) convicts in said Penitentiary for the term of ten (10) years, the number of convicts to be increased to two hundred (200) by said parties of the second part, with the privilege of employing, under this contract, the labor and services of all the convicts not required for state work, or required to fill contract of Hancock, Roche and Kirby, this day entered into.

ART. II. The said party of the first part agrees to furnish within the prison-yard walls shop room necessary to work the convicts employed under this contract, to advantage, but not to exceed two hundred and fifty (250) square feet to each convict occupying working space in the shop; also to furnish, at the expense of the state, the line shafting and pulleys on said shafting; also the necessary blacksmith forges and blower, and air-conductor pipes from said blower to said forges; and also to furnish, at the expense of the state, the motive power necessary to run the machinery used in manufacturing under this contract, and to heat the shops so as to be comfortable to work in; and yard space for raw material to keep the convicts employed under this contract for at least thirty (30) days; also to furnish one elevator suitable for hoisting carriages into the third story of the second shop on the east line from the northeast corner of yard.

ART. III. The said party of the first part further agrees to keep said convicts under good discipline at the expense of the state.

ART. IV. If from any cause there is at any time a deficiency of convicts to fill this contract, the parties of the second part shall not have any claim or demand for damages against the state on account thereof.

ART. V. The said party of the first part shall at all times have the right and authority to forbid any mode, manner or process of doing work under this contract which shall subject the convict to any unusual danger to his person, or which is or shall be unhealthy for an able-bodied man.

ART. VI. The said party of the first part agrees to furnish said shop room at the commencement of this contract, in good order and repair, and to keep it in good repair during the continuance of this contract, it being understood that the parties of the second part shall repair damages caused by their negligence.

ART. VII. The said parties of the second part agree to pay to the warden of the Kansas State Penitentiary, for the labor of each and every convict employed under this contract, at the following rates per day per man, viz.: For the first four (4) years, forty-five (45) cents per day; for the next succeeding two (2) years, fifty (50) cents per day; for the next succeeding two (2) years, fifty-five (55) cents per day; and for the next succeeding two (2) years, sixty (60) cents per day. Ten (10) hours shall be a day's labor under this contract.

ART. VIII. The said convicts are to be employed by said parties of the second part in manufacturing wagons, buggies, carriages, farm implements, railroad cars, or in the manufacture of such other articles as said parties of the second part may hereafter decide to engage in; and said parties of the second part shall have the exclusive right to manufacture the articles specified in this article, and also the exclusive right to manufacture all other articles except boots and shoes; provided, said parties of the second part shall employ all the surplus convict labor in the prison, the state reserving the right at all times to manufacture all articles that may be necessary for the use of the Penitentiary.

ART. IX. The said parties of the second part shall have the privilege of going to and from said shops at all proper times, to instruct the convicts in the manufacture of said articles, and to take in and out materials and manufactured articles. The said parties may also employ suitable persons to superintend the work done under this contract, and such a number only as may be necessary to instruct the convicts in their work; and while in said prison said parties and their employees shall comply with all rules and regulations now existing or which may hereafter be adopted for the government of the same.

ART. X. If at any time, by default of the parties of the second part the number of convicts called for from time to time under this contract shall not be employed, said parties of the second part shall pay for them the same as if they had been worked. The parties of the second part shall not be charged for the time of any of said convicts who may be prevented from laboring by sickness or by the direction of the warden or by any officer acting under his authority.

ART. XI. All material, tools, implements, machines and formen shall be furnished, and the convicts instructed as to their labor, at the expense of the parties of the second part, except such machinery as is hereafter specified to be furnished by the state.

ART. XII. The parties of the second part do hereby agree to pay for the labor and services of each convict employed under this contract, by the fifteenth (15th) day of each and every month succeeding the one in which the labor and services were performed.

ART. XIII. The party of the first part, or the legislature, shall have the right to change the reformatory rules, discipline and regulations of the prison, but such change shall not diminish or increase the price of said labor as fixed herein, nor divert for the use of others, by contract or otherwise, the labor of said convicts, so as to deprive said parties of the second part of the same under and during the existance of this contract. Nothing contained in this article shall be construed or

held to limit the power of the directors to contract at any time the labor of any surplus convicts, when the existing contracts are supplied, and when the parties of the second part shall decline to employ the labor of such surplus convicts.

ART. XIV. In assigning convicts to the different contractors, from time to time, the following rules shall be observed.

*Rule 1.* The said parties of the second part shall be entitled to and bound to employ the number of convicts from time to time called for by them, at no time to be less in number than sixty (60), if there is a sufficient number in the prison subject to be assigned for that purpose.

*Rule 2.* If there is a deficiency of convicts, those subject to assignment on contracts shall be assigned among the contractors as nearly equal as the warden may be able to determine, in accordance with the proportion due each contractor.

*Rule 3.* Convicts who are skilled in any mechanical labor, or have been accustomed to perform any work done under this contract, shall be equitably assigned and apportioned by the warden among the contractors who have such mechanical labor or work to be performed under their contract, when the same can be done without injustice to the state.

*Rule 4.* No convicts shall be transferred from one contract to another without the assent of the warden and contractor, whether the contracts are held by the same or different parties.

*Rule 5.* The assignment of prisoners on contracts shall at all times be subject to the right of the warden to withdraw them for the purpose of instructing in the prison school, religious services or holidays that may be permitted and that the discipline of the prison may require.

*Rule 6.* Prisoners so assigned may also be withdrawn temporarily by the warden, with the consent of the Board of Directors, at any time whenever their labor may be required by the state in the erection of or repair of buildings, improvements of any kinds, or for any other purpose connected with the prison in case of an emergency; the contractor at all times to have the right to retain the minimum number specified in his contract.

ART. XV. The party of the first part agree to furnish the runners necessary to clean shops, carry in and out water for bathing, washing and drinking, and to keep the refuse cleaned out of the shops and to remove the same from the yard without expense to the parties of the second part, and to do all other police duty for the state; and all refuse cleaned out of the shops shall become the property of the Penitentiary.

ART. XVI. It is mutually agreed by and between both parties to this contract that the parties of the second part shall have the right to annul this contract at any time after the expiration of two years, by having previously given six (6) months' notice of their intention to do so.

ART. XVII. It is also mutually agreed by and between both parties to this contract that the convicts employed under this contract shall be allowed time to shave, bathe, see the surgeon, and receive the visits of friends, in accordance with the rules of the prison, without any deduction for lost time on that account. And it is further mutually agreed by and between said parties to comply with all provisions and requirements of "An act to regulate and govern the letting of prison labor," passed by the legislature and approved on the ninth day of March, A. D. 1874.

ART. XVIII. The parties of the second part shall have the right to make such changes and assignment of the convicts inside of the shops as may be necessary to work them to the best advantage; all such changes, however, to be approved by the warden.

ART. XIX. It is further agreed that whenever any of the convicts assigned to said parties of the second part under this contract shall be dis-

charged, or shall prove inefficient in the labor to be performed by him under this contract, their places shall be supplied by other convicts.

ART. XX. This contract shall take effect when the parties of the second part shall have executed to the state of Kansas a good and sufficient bond for the faithful performance of the same, in the sum of twenty thousand dollars ($20,000).

ART. XXI. It is mutually agreed by both parties that if this contract is not annulled before five years, that at the termination of this contract the machinery and tools used by the parties of the second part in shops at the Penitentiary shall be taken by the state at prices fixed on by appraisers. Said appraisers shall be appointed as follows: The party of the first part shall choose one, and the parties of the second part shall choose another, and the said two parties so chosen shall choose a third party—any two of whom shall settle between the parties hereto any questions proper for them to settle under this contract.

Witness our hands and seals, this 3d day of June, A. D. 1874.

(Signed) A. J. ANGELL, [Seal.]
*Chairman Board of Directors Kansas State Penitentiary.*

(Signed) A. CALDWELL, [Seal.]
(Signed) N. J. WATERMAN, [Seal.]
(Signed) J. B. MCAFEE, [Seal.]
(Signed) S. L. NORTH, [Seal.]

The contract made with Hancock, Roche and Kirby is set out as follows:

This agreement, made and entered into this third day of June, one thousand eight hundred and seventy-four, between the Board of Directors of the Kansas State Penitentiary, on behalf of the state of Kansas, party of the first part, and John Hancock, David Roche and Ellwood Kirby, parties of the second part, witnesseth as follows:

ARTICLE I. The party of the first part doth hereby hire and let to the parties of the second part the labor and services of thirty (30) convicts in said Penitentiary for the term of ten (10) years from the date of this contract, the number of convicts to be increased by the said parties of the second part not to exceed seventy-five (75) convicts under this contract; and it is further agreed that whenever any of the convicts assigned to the said parties of the second part under this contract shall be discharged, or shall prove inefficient in the labor to be performed by them under this contract, their places shall be supplied by other convicts.

ART. II. The said party of the first part agrees to furnish, within the prison-yard walls, such shop room as shall be necessary to work said convicts to advantage, to furnish line shafting, pulleys and motive power for propelling the machinery used by the parties of the second part in working said convicts, and also to sufficiently heat said shop to be comfortable.

ART. III. The said party of the first part further agrees to keep said convicts under good discipline, at the expense of the state.

ART. IV. If from any cause there is at any time a deficiency of convicts to fill this contract, the parties of the second part shall not have any claim or demand for damages against the state on account thereof.

ART. V. The said party of the first part shall at all times have the right and authority to forbid any mode, manner or process of doing work under this contract which shall subject the convict to any unusual danger to his person, or which is or shall be unhealthy for an able-bodied man.

ART. VI. The said party of the first part agrees to furnish said shop room at the commencement of this contract in good order and repair, and to keep it in good repair during the continuance of this contract, it being understood that the parties of the second part shall repair damages caused by their negligence.

ART. VII. The said parties of the second part agree to pay to the warden of the Penitentiary the sum of fifty (50) cents per day for the labor of each and every convict employed under this contract.

ART. VIII. The said convicts are to be employed by said parties of the second part in manufacturing boots and shoes.

ART. IX. The said parties of the second part shall have the privilege of going to and from said shop at all proper times to instruct the convicts in the manufacture of said articles, and to take in and out materials and manufactured articles. The said parties may also employ suitable persons to superintend the work done under this contract, and such a number only as may be necessary to instruct the convicts in their work; and while in said prison said parties and their employees shall comply with all rules and regulations now existing or which may hereafter be adopted for the government of the same.

ART. X. If any or all of said convicts at any time are unemployed on account of any default of the said parties of the second part, any and all such time shall be paid for as though they had been worked. The parties of the second part shall not be charged for the time of any of said convicts who may be prevented from working by sickness, or by the direction of the warden or by any officer acting under his authority.

ART. XI. All materials, tools, implements, machines and foremen shall be furnished, and the convicts instructed as to their labor, at the expense of the parties of the second part.

ART. XII. This contract shall not be assigned without the assent of the party of the first part.

ART. XIII. The parties of the second part do hereby agree to pay for the labor and services of each and every convict employed under this contract by the tenth (10th) day of each and every month succeeding the one in which the labor and services were performed.

ART. XIV. The party of the first part, or the Legislature, shall have the right to change the reformatory rules, discipline and regulations of the prison; but such change shall not diminish or increase the price of said labor as fixed herein, nor divert for the use of others, by contract or otherwise, the labor of said convicts so as to deprive said parties of the second part of the same under and during the existence of this contract. Nothing contained in this article shall be construed or held to limit the power of the directors to contract at any time the labor of any surplus convicts when the existing contracts are supplied.

ART. XV. In assigning convicts to the different contractors from time to time, the following rules shall be observed:

*Rule 1.* The said parties of the second part shall be entitled to and bound to employ the number of convicts from time to time called for by them—at no time to be a less number than sixty (60)—if there is a sufficient number in the prison subject to be assigned for that purpose.

*Rule 2.* If there is a deficiency of convicts, those subject to assignment on contracts shall be assigned among the contractors as nearly equal as the warden may be able to determine, in accordance with the proportion due to each contractor.

*Rule 3.* Convicts who are skilled in any mechanical labor, or have been accustomed to perform any work done under this contract, shall be equitably assigned and apportioned by the warden among the contractors who have such mechanical labor or work to be performed under their contracts, when the same can be done without injustice to the state.

*Rule 4.* No convicts shall be transferred from one contract to another without the assent of the warden and contractor, whether the contracts are held by the same or different parties.

*Rule 5.* The assignment of prisoners on contracts shall at all times be subject to the right of the warden to withdraw them for the purpose

of instruction in the prison school, religious services or holidays that may be permitted and that the discipline of the prison may require.

*Rule 6.* Prisoners so assigned may also be withdrawn temporarily by the warden, with the consent of the Board of Directors, at any time whenever their labor may be required by the state in the erection of or repair of buildings, improvements of any kind, or for any other purpose connected with the prison in case of emergency, the contractor at all times to have the right to retain the minimum number specified in his contract.

ART. XVI. The parties of the first part agree to supply in the shop water necessary for soaking leather for manufacturing, and for drinking and bathing purposes for the convicts, and to keep the refuse cleaned out of the shop, and to remove the same from the yard without expense to the parties of the second part, and all refuse cleaned out of shops shall become the property of the Penitentiary.

ART. XVII. At the expiration of one year from the date of this contract, the said parties of the second part shall have the right to annul this contract by giving the said party of the first part nintey (90) days' notice in writing previous to the expiration of the first year; but if such notice is not given by the expiration of the first year, then the said parties of the second part agree to continue this contract for the full term from the date hereof.

ART. XVIII. It is mutually agreed by and between both parties to this contract that the right is reserved by the said party of the first part to manufacture any article that may be necessary for use at the Penitentiary; and it is also further agreed that the convicts employed under this contract shall be allowed time to shave, bathe, see the surgeon, and receive the visits of friends, in accordance with the rules of the prison, without any deduction for lost time on that account; and it is further mutually agreed by and between parties to comply with all provisions and requirements of "An act to regulate and govern the letting of prison labor," passed by the legislature and approved on the ninth day of March, one thousand eight hundred and seventy-four (1874).

ART. XIX. This contract shall take effect when the parties of the second part shall have executed to the state of Kansas a good and sufficient bond for the faithful performance of the same, in the sum of fifteen thousand dollars ($15,000).

Witness our hands and seals, this 3d day of June, A. D. 1874.

(Signed) A. J. ANGELL. [Seal.]
*Chairman Board of Directors Kansas State Penitentiary.*
(Signed) JOHN HANCOCK. [Seal.]
(Signed) DAVID ROCHE. [Seal.]
(Signed) ELLWOOD KIRBY. [Seal.]

The amount realized from this contract labor cannot be definitely determined. The report of the Board of Directors for 1874 has this item: "Amount received from manufacturers, boarding U. S. prisoners, prisoners' labor, etc., $40,811.68." The appropriation made by the legislature was $73,261.06. Notwithstanding these two sources of income, the prison management finished the year with a deficiency, the total being: receipts, $119,971.34, disbursements, $136,108.12, and the deficiency being $16,-136.71.

The prison population increased during the year from 340 to 425. The cost of boarding the prisoners showed a slight increase, being thirteen and nine-tenths cents per prisoner per day. The total cost of each prisoner to the state per day for board, clothing, guards, etc., but not

counting the overhead charges of investment in the plant, was fifty-five and eighty-five hundredths cents.

Warden Hopkins seems ever to have had in mind the problem of prison discipline, as it was necessary that he should have. His reports show this. That he was a humane man and ever trying to discover the prisoners' viewpoint will be shown by this extract from his report for 1874:

"The discipline of former years has been maintained in the prison during the one just closed. While in a number of instances it has been made necessary to mete out punishment to correct individual violators, general quiet has reigned among the prisoners, and a manifest disposition with a large majority to accept the unpleasant situation brought upon themselves by their own misdeeds. In a large number of instances, though it cannot be said that he alone is responsible for being placed in such situation, yet by a properly directed effort on his part it could have been avoided, and I would not attempt to justify or palliate the circumstances that brought the individual into his present position. In almost every misstep in life the general tendency is to throw the blame on some one else, and in my daily contact with even those who have committed crime I find the same tendency. Human nature, whether inside of prison walls or not, we find to be about the same under similar circumstances, actuated by the same impulses and from the same motives, and find men the most successfully governed by not losing sight of this fact. Prison rules are necessarily stringent and arbitrary in their character, exacting from each prisoner absolute obedience to the very letter. Many breaches of the discipline of a prison occur from the force of daily habits before coming to prison, and which in the *citizen* is not looked upon as wrong, and it is a more difficult task for an individual to conform to the prison requirements than is at first supposed, even by the most careful. It is found necessary, in the prison government, to exercise daily forbearance; for until after long and continued effort by the prisoner, he often unintentionally infringes upon the prison discipline.

"It is generally considered by the casual observer a very easy matter to conform to the rules at once, and we are liable in many instances to misjudge the motives, when it occurs that a prisoner does not, without faltering, walk in the path marked out for him; put ourselves in his place and measure our own actions by the same rule, and we can, in a small degree, comprehend some of the difficulties and trials he has to contend with. To be in company with and intimately associated with an individual, on the same level as our own, daily, and not permitted to join in conversation, to hum or whistle a tune, or to look at one another, or at any object other than the work engaged in performing, with the constant impression on the mind that the eye of the keeper is ever upon him, watching every movement, is a trying position, to say the least. The tendency of prison life is to deprive the individual of his independence, and just so far as *dependence* supplants it, does he become what is commonly termed a good convict. He is not the controller, in the slightest degree, of his own actions, but constantly at the mercy and subject to the will of another; and I do not comprehend how it could be otherwise, or that discipline could be maintained without such rules and instructions. It is undoubtedly true that the character of the one directing and governing is reflected in the general character and bearing of those controlled as a body. The disposition and feelings of a body of men, as congregated in our prisons, are generally discernible in their countenances. It is the discipline of a prison, and not so much the character of the labor performed, that requires to be watched with the greatest care. Let the discipline become loose and neglected, and all other departments of the prison will in the same ratio deteriorate. Careless officer makes careless prisoner. It is but justice to say that the prisoners, with but comparatively few exceptions, are obedient, and do their work with cheerful alacrity."

*1875.*

For the year 1875 the directors and officers of the Penitentiary were: Directors: H. W. Gillett, chairman; H. C. Learned, O. J. Grover. Officers: Henry Hopkins, warden; C. J. Hanks, deputy warden; H. C. Fields, clerk; O. M. Eddy, assistant clerk; Rev. J. B. McCleery, chaplain; W. B. Carpenter, physician; Dennis Mooney, hospital steward; A. Skinner, kitchen steward; R. B. Millis, turnkey; Jane E. Johnson, matron; E. T. Carr, architect; Charles Schmidt, general superintendent; Dan Storrs, engineer.

The contract system having been finally established in the Penitentiary by the ten-year contracts made in 1874, there is little mention of the contract system in the report of the directors for 1875. It is stated that "the contractors have called upon us for more men, and we have those that we could spare if we had the shop room necessary to work them in." The erection of additional shops is urged. The receipts of the prison for the year 1875, including the appropriation made by the legislature, amounted to $141,938.99. The expenditures were $132,435.83, leaving a balance in favor of the state of $9,503.16. The prison population at the end of the year was 379. The contractors were engaged in the manufacture of wagons, carriages, agricultural implements and ladies' and misses' shoes.

The legislature fixed the time of credit or diminution of sentence this year. For good behavior the first year the term was shortened one month. This ratio was increased yearly until the full time of a twenty-five-year sentence was made thirteen years and nine months.

*1876.*

For the year 1876 the directors and officers of the Penitentiary were: Directors: O. J. Grover, chairman; S. J. Crawford, H. D. Mackay. Officers: Henry Hopkins, warden; C. J. Hanks, deputy warden; H. C. Fields, clerk; Rev. J. B. McCleery, chaplain; W. B. Carpenter, physician; Dennis Mooney, hospital steward; Archibald Skinner, kitchen steward; S. F. Ferree, turnkey; Jane E. Johnson, matron; William Patterson, superintendent of buildings; Dan Storrs, engineer.

The appropriation made by the legislature for the support of the Penitentiary for the year 1876 was $56,626.84. Other receipts increased the total resources to $117,934.45. The expenditures amounted to $110,905.10, leaving a balance of $7,029.35.

The prisoners on the 30th day of November, 1876, numbered 406. The warden spoke encouragingly of their conduct. The majority were easily governed. Less than one-fourth of the total number were set down as unruly. Heedlessness had brought most of the prisoners to the Penitentiary. In the beginning they had not been bad. It was his judgment that a large percent could have been reclaimed and saved to society by some juvenile institution such as a reform school. The evils of having the young convicts associated with the older and hardened criminals was recognized by Warden Hopkins. The prison contractors employed 250 convicts, as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Kansas Manufacturing Company | 200 |
| Kellog & Burr | 50 |

The first company manufactured wagons, and paid the state forty-five cents a day for each convict employed. Kellog & Burr manufactured shoes, and paid fifty cents per day for each convict. The directors congratulated the people of the state on some features of this contract system, as the following extract from their report will show:

"When we consider the financial pressure that has weighed down every business enterprise of either a public or private nature all over the country, to that extent that many of the older and long-established prisons, where their labor had become systematized and their workshops fully completed and the market for their productions were of easy access, were only paying from 30 to 40 percent of current expenses for the last two and three years, and that we have been paying about 60 percent of current expenses, besides all the labor that has been used by the state work on permanent improvements, we feel that the state is to be congratulated upon its success in that respect. Not only in that respect is the state fortunate, but in having had built up within its own borders one of the most extensive manufacturing establishments in the West. The Kansas Manufacturing Company, of Leavenworth, are now working two hundred prisoners in manufacturing wagons and carriages, and are making very superior wagons and selling them at from ten to twenty dollars below the price other wagons were selling for before they put theirs in the market, thus compelling other manufacturing companies to reduce their prices also, and making a net saving to the people of the state of at least ten dollars on every wagon sold within its borders; and upon careful inquiry we are satisfied that there are sold annually to our own people, at the very least, five thousand wagons, making a clear saving to the tax-payers of the state of not less than fifty thousand dollars, besides the hundreds of thousands of dollars sent here in payment for wagons and carriages from other states and territories.

"In this connection we have to report that the company that have been making shoes here, and employing from thirty to sixty men, since the failure of Hancock, Roche & Kirby one year ago last September, have discontinued work, which will necessitate the advertising and re-letting the labor."

*1877-1878.*

In 1877 begain the biennial terms of the officers of the Penitentiary. The officers for this biennium were: Directors: O. J. Grover, chairman; H. D. Mackay, William Martindale. Officers: Henry Hopkins, warden; Samuel K. Cross, deputy warden; George H. Anthony, clerk; Rev. J. B. McCleery, chaplain; W. B. Carpenter, physician; Charles Finley, kitchen steward; S. T. Ferree, turnkey; Sarah A. Kyle, matron; William Patterson, superintendent of buildings; Dan Storrs, engineer.

The directors emphasized few features of prison administration in their report. For the first time, indeterminate sentences for prisoners were seriously considered. It was argued by the directors that "the criminal is restrained from liberty because he is a dangerous man." But it was admitted that he "should be set at liberty just as soon as it is rationally certain that it would be safe to do so." Doubt was expressed as to whether the public mind was prepared to accept so radical a change in the criminal procedure. Warden Hopkins was beginning to discern the true work of the Penitentiary. The reforms which have come in prison management in not only Kansas, but the whole country, may be found in embryo in his splendid reports. While they may appear in the reports of the wardens of the penitentiaries of other states, it is more than probable that many of the ideas underlying modern prison manage-

ment originated with Warden Hopkins. It is believed there can be nothing more convincing of the truth of the foregoing statement than the warden's own words, taken from his report for this biennium:

"Other important subjects in connection with a proper treatment of the criminal class suggest themselves. I have long been convinced that 'time sentences' are not the best in all cases, but could not present a fully developed plan of procedure on the 'indeterminate-sentence' system. Am satisfied, however, that experience, in time, will suggest an improvement on the present system of 'time sentences.' I believe it best that a limit should be fixed, beyond which imprisonment should not extend. In fixing that limit, age, education and previous habits of life, together with the magnitude of the crime committed, should be duly considered. I would think best that murder in the first and second degrees and rape should be excluded; but for the commission of ordinary crimes let the sentence be at hard labor in the Penitentiary not to exceed four, seven or ten years, and not less than a certain period, which may be fixed by the court passing sentence. Transmit with the prisoner to the Penitentiary a statement of the crime committed, the circumstances as fully as possible, evidences of guilt, names of witnesses and their general character and residence, and a general statement of his antecedents and home training, if possible. I believe, also, that the value of the property in question should be taken into account. Have the discipline of the prison what it should be; officers of character, ability and special fitness to enforce it; keep a correct record of the prisoner's daily life in prison, his attainments in education, proficiency in his trade or employment, and moral development.

"Let there be a board of, say, five members, the tenure of office of at least three being at least five years, or longer would be better, the other two being one member of the state supreme court and the attorney-general; and let this board once or twice each year take into consideration those meritorious cases who have served the minimum sentence. Let them examine carefully the records transmitted to the prison at the time of the prisoner's reception into it, and the record made by him since his incarceration; and if the evidence thus produced is sufficient to satisfy the board that he would become a good citizen, let them recommend him to the governor for pardon and release.

"In this way you would place the man's own destiny in his own hands, to a very large degree. Of course many would, under cover of hypocrisy, mislead and deceive. But is it not true that if a man practice correct habits a period of years, even though he may not be sincere, it becomes a fixed habit? It may require a longer period from *insincere* motives at first than it would from an innate desire and determination from *honest* motives. To form a habit requires only time.

"Would we under that system turn out less bad men than under the present? and would its influence on those of criminal tendencies outside be more repressive than under our present system? This I consider a very important consideration in a proper solution of the problem of crime.

"There are three objects to be attained in the management of institutions of this kind:

"First: To make the prisoner pay his way.

"Second: His reformation.

"Third: To exert proper influence on the outside world in deterring others of like tendencies from committing crime.

"I may not have given them in the proper order, but simply name them as occurring to my mind. To earn a livelihood and pay our way in the world are certainly the first steps in reformation—the *influence* will follow.

"In the matter of a proper treatment of discharged prisoners on the part of the community lies a problem not yet solved. Many ask the question, How will my friends receive me when I go out into the world again?

It certainly cannot be expected that the community will at once receive them with open arms. In some cases it might be well; but in a large majority it would be an injury, not only to the individual, but to the community. That this result is a part of the punishment attached to a violation of law should be thoroughly taught him while undergoing sentence, in the right spirit, so that he may be fully prepared to meet it when discharged.

"I must admit the doubt with which they are received by the outside world tends to turn them again into the same path they followed before going to prison; but cannot they be prepared to meet this seeming coldness, and overcome it, by a proper training while in prison?

"I believe a failure in this respect lies more in an improper training and education while in prison than in any fault of the community. The fault may not be altogether with the prison official, or the discipline, but, on the part of the prisoner, by a stubborn resistance to receive his punishment in the right spirit, and to profit by his experience.

"There is such an almost universal feeling among convicted criminals that they have been wronged in being sent to prison that it is a very hard matter to make impressions for good. There is such a great lack of proper appreciation of right and wrong and early moral teachings among that class in the community from which the criminals are received, that otherwise cannot be expected.

"To attain a high standing in and have the confidence of the better class in community, he must show, by a correct life after discharge, that he is worthy. To do this requires time and much self-sacrifice. The individual, like water, "will find a level," and I believe that communities everywhere will recognize what is good and noble, and give confidence where it is merited; so that the power is and must be in the individual himself to attain position and merit confidence.

"Like begets like," as a general rule, and we should not blame others for that which we do not possess, when we have had the opportunity to gain it. I cannot understand why it should be necessary to do more for the man *after* he has fallen than should be done to *prevent* him from falling. We wait until he has *fallen* before commencing work. If the same efforts were put forth to correct him *before* his getting into the Penitentiary that are *after*, our population in prison would be largely decreased. The old adage that "an ounce of prevention is more effective than a pound of cure" is forcibly applicable in this case, and there is some grave error in the treatment of criminals if it requires so much effort to save them after discharge.

"By treatment I do not mean simply the modes of discipline, or its application in prison, but more particularly his subjection to that discipline by duration under restraint and training. As has been stated before, there are a greater number lost by *too short* than by *too long* sentences.

"To fix and determine by statute just how long each and every one shall be retained in prison to accomplish a reformation is an impossibility. It would require a keener foresight and penetration into the future than human nature is heir to. I have no doubt, taking into consideration simply individual reformation, that in *some* cases a conviction would be all that was necessary to deter them from a repetition of crime in the future. But more than this is necessary; and hence I conclude that the individual must thus suffer, and only by persistent effort and spotless life prove that he is worthy to be received into the higher walks of business and social circles.

"During the past year a very large proportion of those received into the prison have been of that class known as "tramps," and are generally young, able-bodied men, capable of performing any kind of manual labor. Their general excuse is, 'they could not find work.' But on close inquiry it proved generally to be a disposition to try to live without work, or

as *little* as possible. If it were possible to infuse into this dependent and roving class a love for home, a determination to provide some place they could call their own, a property interest in the country, it would be much better than to build up jails and penitentiaries for their accommodation.

"One great trouble at this time is the lack of a proper adaptation of the labor of the country to its changed condition. Too exclusive attention has been paid to the finance of the country, and too little to a proper direction and application of labor. While in time it may adjust itself, yet something ought to be done to assist while passing through that period of adjustment. This class should be *compelled,* if they cannot be *induced,* to labor, and stopped from preying on other people; for the losers are in almost every case those who are trying honestly to help themselves."

Only the financial statement for the last year of the biennial period will be shown. The appropriation made for the year 1878 by the legislature was $102,345. Convict labor produced $49,432.63 in cash and $6,098.57 in acounts due. The total resources were, therefore, $157,876.20. The total expenditures amounted to $151,777.63, leaving a balance of $6,098.57.

The report on prison population shows that on June 30, 1878, there were 500 convicts in the Penitentiary.

The library then contained 2,100 volumes, and the report of the chaplain shows that in the two years the convicts read 24,109 volumes—that is, the 2,100 volumes were read to the extent of a total of more than ten times each.

The report of the physician, as well as that of the warden, revealed the fact that the tendency of the prison management was toward reform much more than toward punishment. Nothing can be more conclusive of that view than the following extract from the physician's report:

"This brings me to a subject demanding our earlist attention. It has been our misfortune, among the maladies that have laid hold of some of our inmates, to have one type of disease that with us is unmanageable, for reasons hereinafter assigned.

"The loss of reason is a dreaded calamity, giving rise to the necessity of immediate action, and also to the necessity of placing the party afflicted under immediate treatment, to insure success; for the hope of recovery rests mainly in rational treatment in the earlier stages of the disease. And during this stage almost all forms of mental derangement, either of the intellectual or emotional faculties, may with much hope be expected to be restored to health and reason; but if delayed by any mishap whatever, for a longer or shorter period, and the mania becomes more general, a more complicated case is presented and less grounds for success may be entertained. Thus it is that men becoming insane here are, under existing circumstances, cases nearly uncontrollable, embarrassing us and proving absolutely detrimental to the prosperity, interests and good government of the prison.

There are a great many phases of insanity, and the causes which give rise to them numberless; and as the features of this malady in a great measure take their impress from the surroundings, you must readily discover, with intelligent reasoning, that, surrounded as they are by their narrow limits—bars and walls—and obliged to wear and see worn their prison clothing, it is utterly impossible to recall the rational spark and establish mental equilibrium. The question may arise with you, What are the circumstances concerned in the development of these frequent

cases of insanity? I will proceed to give you my views on this subject, supported by those who have devoted a lifetime to the observation of like cases. It has been a prevalent idea among medical thinkers that many forms of mental and physical degeneracy are the results of the transgression of one or more of the natural laws given to govern this beautiful living fabric of ours, the body; and this is undoubtedly true. Ignorance of the consequence of the transgression of these laws, or of how far they may go and not produce such results as certainly follow, or a blind persistence in the indulgence of their morbid passions, bring the victims to the brink of ruin ere they are aware of it. Again, the abuse of important functions of many a highly organized constitution has not improbably entailed upon an innocent *progeny* enfeebled mental ability, developing in after life just the type of person to revel in vice and be educated to all the cunning tricks of that class of the community with which *we* have to deal; and although their constitutions, temperaments, habits and phases of disposition are numberless, yet are they all the result of the transgression of one or more of these great and immutable laws of nature—a departure from a rational mean to the uttermost bounds of the extreme. As I remarked in a former report, the man confined here for a series of years, or perhaps for life, who has moved in the outside world in any grade of life, has had his social companions. Being placed under the silent regimen, whatever his previous education, he becomes a prey to *ennui* and the practice of secret vices; and fostering his morbid propensities gives an incentive to every germ of evil in his nature, which, being well nurtured, culminates in making him, if not a raving maniac or a demented being, a bold, defiant, cunning, intriguing, or a vicious and revengeful character, untrustworthy, uncompromising, and hopeless of reform. The insane prisoner—perhaps from disappointment in receiving certain clemencies at the hands of the court, or from the dreaded consequences pending a sundering of the family ties, or the disgrace attached to his name and family from the penalty of transgressing the law—broods daily for a longer or shorter period, magnifying his fancied wrongs until they become herculean; and there being a predisposition, *it* becomes stimulated, and, being well nurtured, insanity supervenes. There being no hospital or ward or other facility for the isolation and treatment of this class of patients, we are compelled to keep them confined in the close cell. With the *same* walls surrounding them, the inevitable bars before them, the same monotonous sound of the bell calling the men to and from their work and meals, the *same* measured tread of the tramping columns resounding in their ears, every sight and sound reminding them of *that* which has been uppermost in their minds so long as to produce this state of affairs, it can readily be seen—*the fact is conclusive*—that the man who becomes insane *here* can never be restored to healthful reason while surrounded by these same influences. Moreover, it has a decidedly pernicious bearing upon the minds of those who are yet sane. Forming the opinion from observation that their fellow prisoner is really insane, the question arises, "What has been the cause of his misfortune? It has been some mistreatment at the hands of the officers. He is a convict, and no one respects him or expects to *treat him* as a human being. Well, we are like him; it may be *our* turn next, and eventually *we* may become like him." Such and sundry are their soliloquies. And now the infection having caught, these men begin to examine their fancied wrongs and to watch for such slights as such persons *only* are *capable* of imagining; and in the end other maniacs are added to our list. And thus the number may go on multiplying, *slowly* it may be, but steadily, to an indefinite number.

"On the other hand, others conclude such an one is dissembling, and one of these, seeing that his fellow prisoner is promptly withdrawn from labor, sets his fruitful imagination at work to originate a case of insanity for his own benefit, and a relaxation from labor, and *many* are

these attempts. So that it is plainly to be seen that the retention of insane prisoners where they are in full view daily of those who are capable of rendering the state such service as shall liquidate their penalties, and who are possessed of healthy mental action, is not only detrimental to the recovery of insane, but pernicious to the welfare of the same, and a positive hindrance to the prosperity of the institution. They must be isolated from the others, not only out of sight, but out of hearing. Nothing else *at all* will suffice. For many a well-balanced mind has finally succumbed to the constant presence and ravings of maniacs, and, *vice versa*, mental equilibrium cannot be established amid the thousand sounds of an establishment of this kind.

"The medical treatment for insanity itself has became a science. It requires special preparation of everything in its treatment, whether medical or sanitary. Everything should be complete, and thoroughly understood; and every one, from medical adviser to the humblest attendant, requires special education, preparation, and adaptation to the calling, for it is unlike any other hospital practice. So how shall we, who have none of the required facilities, be expected to succeed in the treatment of such unfortunates? If left remaining, their derangement must ultimately result in permanent lunacy or death.

"With this view of the matter before us, what wonder that the numbers that go to make up this great class, whether in prisons and penitentiaries, or the thousands upon thousands who are yet at large, and the myriads who from birth or youth are deaf, dumb and blind; the lame, the halt and the imbecile that crowd our houses for the indigent—the poorhouses or county infirmary, that common receptacle for all manner of vice as well as misfortune, under no restraint whatever, congregated together like beasts of the field, without regard to sex or mental responsibility—what wonder then, that all the forms of mental and physical degeneracy are daily on the increase, and with all the facilities for meeting and grappling this horrible array of maladies that are degenerating the human race, the evil is steadily marching on?

"You ask, Is not the subject overdrawn? I say to you, sirs, in all candor, not one particle. Man is a creature of passions. *Attributes* that like *fire*, when under control, may be all that is desirous for our mutual benefit; but, when masters of ourselves, wreck the whole fabric and destroy all things in contiguity. You ask, Where will this dissertation end? I reply right here, if what I have said shall be food for the reflection of yourselves, and all who may intelligently consider it, I shall have satisfied myself at least that I have given my explanation of why men may go mad in the Penitentiary; and that as our numbers shall go on increasing, why insanity may be expected to go on increasing—to what degree no man may with any degree of certainty predict—and why a separate and isolated provision *should* be made, where their wants may be attended to with full humanitarian measure. For are they not human beings like ourselves? If they *have* fallen into the slough of iniquity, is it not our duty to assist in devising ways and means for their recovery. If they *are* criminals, have not their crimes been, though deliberate, the offspring of perverted reasoning? And what is perverted reasoning but a phase of insanity? And is not all crime traceable, sooner or later, to some insane idea, born of vice and nurtured in iniquity, chargeable to the one committing the crime, or to his progenitors? Many are the proofs of hereditary influence, *positive* in character, in which fast living and dissipation, in all their phases, have been handed down from parent to child; the bent of whose inclination or development of character may not be like that of his parent, but whose every act is none the less chargeable to that parent as the true primogenitor.

"These are matters which engage the attention of every Christian heart, of every good and earnest citizen who desires the protection of his life and property, which may be destroyed by those who deliberately and premeditatedly take the one or destroy the other, or in the blindness of

passion in strife or for revenge for some real or fancied wrong, commit some one of the many breaches of the law, and after due examination and judgment by the decree of the court are sent to the state's prison, or, mayhap, hanged on the gallows. If we would stay this tide of destruction we must begin with the youth of the land. They must be enlightened as to right and wrong—must be taught to respect the rights of their fellows, and the law of the land; and if *they*, knowing these things, *nevertheless* disobey said laws, a place should be provided where they may have time to reflect upon their misdeeds, given good understanding, and eventually brought into the paths of reform; and this entirely separate and apart from the old and hardened in sin. For when they are congregated together, as with us, the young (who are easily impressed) with those who have served years with Satan, these youths will not only be easily imbued by their sinful lessons, but the old will delight to teach them, even in the face of the discipline of the prison. Many instances are known to us where when the young were brought up for correction their breaches of discipline were easily traced to older heads. They *should* be provided for in separate institutions, or departments at least, which might be feasibly established auxiliary to this institution, as a department of reform. There could be furnished from our number, to-day, nearly one hundred between the ages of fifteen and twenty—enough in all reason to call for the earnest attention of the next legislature, whose state institutions are their special care and pride.

"For the unfortunate insane, I entreat that they be taken away from us and placed in a retreat prepared for them, entirely away from the prison. For the sake of the unfortunates themselves and their fellow prisoners, separte them entirely. No other course will answer at all. I speak from years of experience, and I have the support of many eminent physicians—many who are now upon the stage of action, and many who have gone before, whose opinions should have weight with the intelligent people."

*1879-1880.*

For this biennial period the officers of the Penitentiary were: Directors: William Martindale, chairman; H. E. Richter; Matthew Howell. Officers: Henry Hopkins, warden; Samuel K. Cross, deputy warden; A. McGahey, clerk; Rev. J. B. McCleery, chaplain; W. B. Carpenter, physician; E. T. Carr, architect; Charles Finley, kitchen steward; W. P. Miller, turnkey; Sarah A. Kyle, matron; William Patterson, superintendent; Dan Storrs, engineer.

During this biennial period work on the coal shaft was carried on, but not completed. The contract-labor system was extended, and arrangements to manufacture stone and marble articles in the coming year were perfected. The new firm, for this purpose, was Burdett, Heiss & Spooner.

There was employed a special superintendent for the coal shaft. Work was commenced June 27, 1879. The coal shaft at Leavenworth had been previously sunk, and the various formations encountered in the work at the Penitentiary corresponded to those found in the Leavenworth mine. The work was done by the convicts. At the time the report was made the shaft had passed through 114 feet of rock and 186 feet of clay and shale. It was estimated that there remained to be cut through 92 feet of rock and 315 feet of shale before striking coal.

The report of the warden shows that he was still making exhaustive studies of criminology as revealed by conditions manifesting themselves

at the Kansas Penitentiary. The following extract will be found of interest in this relation;

"I desire to call attention to the rapid increase of our prison population in the past few years. Crime has *apparently* increased much more rapidly than has the population of the country. This is not only true of this, but equally true of other states; and if this is true, what are the influences that have brought about this result? The increase in prison population in a few of the state prisons, between 1873 and 1878, is as follows:

"Illinois increased from 1,300 in 1873 to 1,900 in 1878; Missouri increased from 841 in 1873 to 1,300 in 1878; Indiana increased from 751 in 1873 to about 1,100 in 1879; Ohio increased from 867 in 1873 to 1,598 in 1878; Iowa increased from 276 in 1873 to 533 in 1879; Kansas increased from 333 in 1873 to 691 in 1880; Nebraska increased from 39 in 1873 to 128 in 1878.

"The population of these states has not increased in the same proportion as have the criminals.

"We also find it to be true that *our* increased population has not been from the roving class, but eight out of ten coming in during the last two fiscal years have been residents of the state from one to twenty-one years, averaging a fraction over five years' residence.

"The question arises, Is our prison system sufficiently deterrent? Does it exert that influence which would deter men from committing crime? It is only the fear of punishment—the terror of the law—that holds in check the criminal classes. If they are sure that they will be sent to the Penitentiary for doing a certain act, they nine times out of ten will not do that act, if the Penitentiary is a place to be feared. I will here mention the case of a young man who served out a sentence in this prison and was discharged last spring. He was convicted of the crime of grand larceny and sentenced to serve five years. He was placed upon the witness stand at the time of his trial, and swore that he was not guilty, and knew nothing about the affair. On his discharge from prison I stated this circumstance to him and asked if he was guilty of grand larceny as charged, and of which he was convicted? He replied that he was guilty, and that he deliberately swore what was false at the time of his trial. I asked, "Why did you do this?" He said, "I did so to escape the Penitentiary." I asked, "Would you have done so if you at that time had known what the discipline and treatment at the Penitentiary were?" He answered very emphatically that he would not. The question involved in this is, Do the criminal classes sufficiently fear the punishment inflicted for violation of laws? In this man's case it was the fear of going to the state's prison that caused him to swear to a lie, and I am fully convinced of a thorough reform in his case. Is our prison system and treatment throughout the country sufficiently deterrent? So far as its effects for good upon those coming under its immediate influence, I have no doubt of its good effects in a majority of cases; but is its correcting influence to stop at the prison door? Many are corrected by kind treatment. This is not generally the case with the real and dangerous criminals. With them it is more the *fear* of *punishment* that deters them from the commission of crime. If all who are criminals and of criminal tendencies could be brought under the influence of a proper prison discipline, then our system is correct; but as there are more to come in than in, should not an influence go out that would reach that class to deter? We hear many who visit the prison remark, "Well, it is not so dreadful a place, after all." This conclusion is reached by a majority of those visiting the prison.

"No one not connected with a prison better understands how it is conducted in its discipline than those who make crime a business. They make it a part of their daily study to inform themselves of this fact.

"I do not undertake to say that our present system *is* wrong; but I fear we may be like the clock's pendulum, swinging to the other extreme, and it is well to investigate carefully and see if we are not considering this matter for the good only of those *in the prison.* This view would be circumscribed and narrow. Let us look the field carefully over before coming to any conclusion. I believe it would promote the state's interests if there were a department of state created to gather statistics of crime, insanity, pauperism, and other matters equally important and connected with this subject, or require this of some department now organized. It could be made a part of the duty of our present State Board of Charities, and would answer the purpose if their duties and requirements were fully prescribed by statute."

On June 30, 1880, there were 691 convicts in the Penitentiary.

*1881-1882.*

For this biennium the directors and officers of the Penitentiary were: Directors: H. E. Richter, chairman; W. W. Guthrie, J. S. Waters. Officers: Henry Hopkins, warden; John Johnston, deputy warden; A. McGahey, clerk; Rev. A. B. Campbell, chaplain; W. B. Carpenter, physician; W. P. Miller, turnkey.

The Penitentiary during this period suffered from the short-sighted legislation, so much of which has been forced on Kansas by the cheap political demagogue. The wages of the assistant keepers and watchmen were reduced from $400 and $500, respectively, to $300 and $400, respectively. Most of the competent officers found it impossible to live on the reduced salaries and were compelled to resign. They were replaced by incompetent men. The convicts were not long in finding out the difference in competent and incompetent help. The discipline of the prison was seriously jeopardized. To avoid complete demoralization the directors were compelled to evade the law and restore the old compensation by additions of fuel, rent and provisions as supplementary to the reduced salaries.

The coal shaft was completed in 1881. Coal was reached on the 18th of January of that year. The vein was twenty-two inches thick, and it was found at a depth of 713 feet and 9 inches. Mining the coal began July 1, 1881, and up to June 30, 1882, 584,304 bushels had been taken out. This exhausted about nine acres of the coal lands. The mine had been thus enlarged so that 200 men could be employed there. Sinking the shaft and making the mine ready had cost $35,777.57. To operate the mine for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1882, had cost $9,170. The cash earnings of the mine to that date had amounted to $27,808.45. In addition, state institutions had been furnished coal which, at seven cents a bushel, amounted to $14,142.88. The coal mine proved a profitable enterprise.

At the close of the fiscal year—June 30, 1882, the end of the biennium—there were 687 convicts in the Penitentiary.

*1883-1884.*

For the term made up by these years the directors and officers were: Directors: H. H. Lourey, chairman; J. C. Watts, Albert Perry. Officers: W. C. Jones,[9] warden; Frank M. Gable, deputy warden; James C. Pusey,

9. For sketch of Captain Jones, see "Kansas Historical Collections," vol. 10, p. 448.

clerk; George F. Nealley, surgeon; Rev. N. P. Hotchkiss, champlain; W. P. Miller, turnkey; Captain ——— Morgan, yardmaster.

The complete change in the official force resulted from the election of George W. Glick, the first governor elected by the Democratic party. A clean sweep in the force employed at state institutions under Republican rule was made so far as possible.

The coal mine occupied the energies of the prison management, most of the labor not contracted being used in the production of coal. In the first year (1883) 733,433 bushels were mined. The following year 877,857 bushels were produced. An air shaft was completed and connected with the mine. Some of the coal could not be marketed.

The report of the directors recommended the installation at the prison of an electric-lighting system. Gasoline had furnished the lights to that time and for some time afterwards.

The term (for 1883-1884) closed with 751 convicts in the Penitentiary. The warden recommended the erection of additional cells, as the prison was crowded beyond its capacity.

The first investigation found necessary at the Penitentiary grew out of the administration of that institution by the officers appointed by Governor Glick. The investigation did not occur until the year 1885, when the Republican party had been returned to power. A committee of investigation was appointed by the legislature of 1885. It was a joint committee. The senate members were George J. Barker, George S. Green and R. M. Crane. The house members were W. H. McBride, J. Jay Buck, G. E. Beates and John Hargrave. The committee visited the Penitentiary on the 29th day of January, 1885, and made an examination of the institution and the books and papers thereof. They found that the warden was guilty of neglect, but not of intentional wrong. He had, during the last year of his term, entrusted the financial management of the Penitentiary to his clerk, James C. Pusey. He had filed a letter of authority with the state auditor, empowering Pusey to sign his (the warden's) name to settlements with the state. Pusey had embezzled about $5,000. That sum was as near as the committee could come to the total amount. Following is an extract from the report of the committee:

"The irregularities in the books and papers of the institution first began to appear in July or August last, and previous to that time there is no evidence that any money was lost to the state. The lack of restraint on Mr. Pusey, and his uncontrolled management of the financial affairs at this time, seem to have begun to bring forth their legitimate fruit. Beginning with August, 1883, the practice of allowing Mr. Pusey to make the warden's settlements with the auditor and treasurer commenced. During the fourteen months succeeding, Mr. Pusey made eight regular monthly settlements, and three settlements on waterworks business. The records of the auditor of state show that at first Mr. Pusey's settlements for Warden Jones were only occasional, but later increased, and during five consecutive months last summer Mr. Pusey made the regular settlements. These settlements were made with the auditor and treasurer upon the written request of the warden (copies of which are hereto attached, marked exhibit B).

"The defalcations occurred as follows: The detailed statement of expenditures of the institution for the month of July, filed August 6, 1884, amounts to $15,933.17; the statement of cash received by the institution for sale of coal, etc., showed the sum of $10,662.07, leaving an amount

due from the state of $5,271.10. Warden Jones had cashed directors' vouchers amounting to $69.30, making a total amount due from the state of $5,340.40. Both of these statements were sworn to by the warden and approved by the Board of Directors as correct, according to law. On August 6, 1884, Pusey was sent by the warden to make this settlement. Previous to starting from the Penitentiary he told Warden Jones that the amount due from the state was $4,340.40—just $1,000 less than the actual amount as shown by the detailed statement and by the books of the chief clerk. Mr. Pusey went to Topeka, drew the full amount due from the state, procured a certificate of deposit for $4,340.40, which on his return to the Penitentiary he turned over to Warden Jones, appropriating the balance of $1,000 to his own use.

"On the 23d of August the warden again sent Mr. Pusey to Topeka to make settlement on waterworks vouchers. This settlement was made on a statement properly sworn to by the warden and approved by the directors, showing an amount due from the state of $4,525.58. In this case Mr. Pusey informed the warden that the amount due from the state was $4,325.58. He came to Topeka, made settlement with the auditor, drew $4,525.58 from the treasury, and returning, turned over $4,325.58—$200 less than the amount drawn.

"The warden's detailed statement of expenditures for the month of August shows an indebtedness of $13,378.55. The cash receipts during the same month were $12,393.70, leaving a balance due to the Penitentiary of $1,084.85. To this was added directors' vouchers, cashed by the warden, amounting to $41.80, making a total of $1,126.65. Mr. Pusey was again detailed to make settlement, and just previous to his departure for Topeka informed the warden the amount due was $126.65. The state records show that he drew $1,126.65, but on his return to the Penitentiary he turned over to Warden Jones only the amount of $126.65, thereby pocketing the sum of $1,000.

"Included in his detailed statement, filed September 5, amounting to $13,379.58, as sworn to by the warden and approved by the directors, was an account in favor of Owen Duffy for the sum of $2,782.36, when, as a matter of fact, Mr. Duffy had not furnished one dollar's worth of goods to the institution. This account was evidently prepared by Mr. Pusey and approved by the warden and directors as correct. The stub of the warden's check book shows that on September 18 a check was issued in favor of Owen Duffy for $2,782.36, covering the amount of this fraudulent account in the detailed statement. On this stub is a marginal note in Mr. Pusey's handwriting, as follows: 'Check changed to Geo. Innes. See blotter.' On the blotter the following entry appears:

"CLOTHING, ETC.

"Owen Duffy, Cr.:

| | |
|---|---|
| By 1,088½ yards of prison stripe, at $1 | $1,088.50 |
| By 1,710 yards of 5½-oz. flannel, at 26c | 444.66 |
| By 200 blankets, at $3.95 | 790.00 |
| By 340 yards ticking, at 28c | 459.20 |
| Total | $2,782.36 |

"With marginal note in red ink: 'This should be made to Geo. Innes. See account for Owen Duffy.'

"The cash book of the institution shows a payment of $2,782.36 to Owen Duffy on September 18, and Mr. Innes' name appears in reference to this transaction on the books only in the marginal notes. The testimony of Auditor McCabe shows that the only voucher ever filed by the warden to cover this transaction was one purporting to be signed by Geo Innes & Co. It is admitted, both by the warden and the directors, that no such bill of goods was ever furnished the institution, either by Mr

Duffy, Mr. Innes or anybody else, and that the whole transaction was fraudulent from its inception.

"In other instances Warden Jones gave Pusey checks, payable to his (Pusey's) order, for the settlement of accounts in regard to which the warden had made no examination, but took Pusey's word for the correctness of the amount. These accounts were in some instances either not settled at all, or the money in Mr. Pusey's hands exceeding the amount to be paid was by him appropriated.

"The system of making petty coal sales, in vogue at the institution, gave Mr. Pusey scope for the exercise of his peculiar talent. A person desiring to purchase coal would make his application to Mr. Pusey, and after paying for the amount of coal desired, would receive from Pusey an order on the weigh clerk for the same. On the presentation of this order the coal would be delivered to him and the order taken up by the weigh clerk. No record was made of the issuance of the order. At the close of each day's transactions these orders were returned to Mr. Pusey by the weigh clerk, and as there was no record of them, Mr. Pusey made such use of them as he saw fit. If the orders were destroyed, the money need not be accounted for, and many of such orders must have been by him destroyed.

"Since the discovery of Mr. Pusey's fraudulent transactions, however, this system has been changed, and the orders are now delivered by the weigh clerk to the warden instead of to the clerk.

"The total amount of Mr. Pusey's embezzlement, including as nearly as can be ascertained the petty coal steals, is about $5,000. The following tabulated statement will exhibit the various amounts specifically, with dates:

| | |
|---|---|
| Aug. 6—On settlement with state, not accounted for by Mr. Pusey | $1,000.00 |
| Aug. 23—On settlement with state, not accounted for by Mr. Pusey | 200.00 |
| Sept. 18—Received by Pusey on Geo. Innes & Co. voucher (forged) | 2,782.36 |
| Received by Pusey from error in settlement of account with G. Samish, not accounted for | 150.00 |
| Check of Warden Jones for payment of draft for Ripley & Kimble, retained by Pusey | 447.23 |
| Salary drawn by Pusey in excess of amount due him | 83.33 |
| Received on coal sales, not accounted for by Pusey (amount admitted by the warden) | 328.70 |

"In this connection it is but just for the committee to say there is no evidence or suspicion tending to show that the warden acted corruptly in any instance. His duties have been many and onerous, and he placed too much confidence in and reliance on the clerk, for whose appointment he was in nowise responsible, his appointment having been virtually dictated to the Board of Directors by the then governor of state."

Pusey was caught several months later and served a term of eight years in the prison. Shortly after he was released from prison he died.

*1885-1886.*

The directors and officers for this term were: Directors: H. E. Richter, chairman; O. S. Hiatt, Arch Shaw. Officers: John H. Smith,[10] warden; John Higgins, deputy warden; Endsley Jones, clerk; W. A. Crawford, chaplain; George F. Nealley, physician; Dan Storrs, engineer; W. L. Morgan, turnkey; Mrs. S. A. Kyle, matron.

10. John Harvey Smith was born in LaPorte county, Indiana, January 10, 1841. He was a soldier in the Civil War, enlisting in company A, Fifteenth Indiana infantry, and was mustered out at the end of three years as captain of the company. In 1864 he married Mary L. Mastin, of LaPorte; in 1865 they came to Kansas, settling at Paola. He was elected to the legislature in 1876, and in 1877 was appointed deputy United States marshal, serving four years. He was always identified with the Republican party, and served it in many capacities; in 1890 he was secretary of the Republican state central committee. Captain Smith died suddenly at Topeka, March 4, 1895, leaving a widow and three children.

There were a number of inferior officers whom it is unnecessary to enumerate here.

Notice was given by Alexander Caldwell, April 5, 1886, that he would, on the 5th day of January, 1887, end a certain contract with the state for convict labor entered into on the 19th day of December, 1882.

The directors' report shows necessity for additional cell room. Also that for $5,800 there had been installed an electric-lighting system for the Penitentiary.

The amount of coal mined during the two years amounted to 2,295,031 bushels, valued at $158,425.53.

The legislature, at an extra session in 1884, had authorized the building of waterworks for the Penitentiary and had made an appropriation therefor. The works were completed during the term, and furnished an ample supply of water.

It is well to keep in mind something of the financial transactions of the Penitentiary. For the year ending June 30, 1886, the receipts were $220,785.07. The total expenditures were $169,579.71, leaving a balance of $51,205.36.

On June 30, 1886, there were 869 convicts in the Penitentiary.

*1887-1888.*

The directors and principal officers for this biennial period were: Directors: H. E. Richter, chairman; O. S. Hiatt, J. S. McDowell. Officers: John H. Smith, warden; John Higgins, deputy warden; Endsley Jones, clerk; W. A. Crawford, chaplain; George F. Nealley, physician; Dan Storrs, engineer; W. L. Morgan, turnkey; Mrs. S. A. Kyle, matron.

The cancellation of the contract for prison labor by Alexander Caldwell caused the directors to make new contracts for prison labor. These contracts were as follows: Kansas Manufacturing Company, eighty men for the manufacture of wagons; John Sorrenson, fifty men for the manufacture of furniture; H. D. Burr, forty men for the manufacture of boots and shoes. These contracts were for five years from February 1, 1887. The state was to receive sixty cents per day per man, ten hours to be a day's work.

In the report of the directors there appears again the recommendation for the indeterminate sentence for convicts. The use of the Bertillon system of anthropometric measurements of criminals was also recommended for the Penitentiary.

The coal mine continued to be profitable. The output of coal for the two years amounted to 3,400,722 bushels.

The legislature had provided for the erection of a building for the female convicts, which was completed and occupied. It was 50 by 80 feet, two stories high, steam heated, and lighted by electricity.

An insane ward had also been provided for by the legislature. It was almost completed, and was a building 50 by 100 feet, two stories high, with a basement, and was capable of accommodating sixty prisoners. It was of stone, brick lined, steam heated, and lighted by electricity. A new cell house was under way. It was 245 feet long, 60 feet wide, with walls 45 feet in height. The receipts for the year ending June 30, 1888,

HOUSE ON WOMAN'S INDUSTRIAL FARM, KANSAS PENITENTIARY.

were $182,958.32. The disbursements were $147,938.91, leaving a balance of $35,019.41. At the end of the biennium there were 887 convicts in the prison.

*1889-1890.*

For this biennium the directors and principal officers were: Directors: William Martindale, chairman; W. H. McBride (only two). Officers: George H. Case,[11] warden; John Higgins, deputy warden; S. O. McDowell, clerk; William B. Poinsett, chaplain; George F. Nealley, physician; Dan Storrs, engineer; O. W. Hiatt, turnkey; Mrs. Helen Van Tilborg, matron.

As showing about the yearly financial transactions of the Penitentiary, the figures of the warden for the year ending June 30, 1890, are quoted. The total receipts were $196,390.97 and the total expenditures were $153,587.46, leaving a balance of $42,803.51. There were 860 convicts in the prison at the end of the biennium.

The period covered by these two years seems to have been uneventful. The reports are dry and barren. Little of the life of the institution is

11. George H. Case was born in Mansfield, Ohio, August 9, 1841. When he was thirteen years of age his parents moved to Fairfield, Iowa. He was educated at the University of Fairfield and was teaching school in Jefferson county when the war began. On April 14, 1861, he enlisted in company E, second Iowa infantry, and served three years. After the war Mr. case served as recorder of Jefferson county, Iowa, for two years, after which he was clerk of the district court for two terms. Four years later he moved to Mankato, Kan., and opened the banking house of Case, Vance & Co. In 1880 he was elected state senator for the thirty-fourth senatorial district, and was again elected in 1884. He was married August 2, 1869, to Clara D. Johnson, and to them were born four children.

shown. The reports are in a strange contrast to the fine portrayals written by Warden Hopkins, breathing solicitude for the reform of the unfortunate class committed to his care.

*1891-1892.*

The minor officers will be omitted from this article for this time, for the reason that they were numerous and were constantly increasing. The principal officers and the directors for this biennium were: Directors: William Martindale, chairman; H. V. Rice, John S. Gilmore. Officers: George H. Case, warden; John Higgins, deputy warden; George H. Williams, clerk; William B. Poinsett, chaplain; George F. Nealley, physician; Dan Storrs, engineer; O. W. Hiatt, turnkey.

During this term there was an additional clerk. McDowell was succeeded April 1, 1890, by H. S. Leonard, who resigned July 1, 1891. Williams was selected to fill the vacancy.

Contracts for prison labor were let on the first day of February, 1892, as follows: L. Kiper & Sons, 50 men at 67 cents per day; Helmers Manufacturing Company, 65 men at 66 cents per day; H. S. Burr & Co., 50 men at 65 cents per day.

Some of the contracts formerly made were still in force. For the year ending June 30, 1891, this contract labor brought in $37,388.56. For the year ending June 30, 1892, the earnings of this labor were $40,836.24.

For the two years the total receipts from all sources were $373,200.27, and the total expenditures were $297,409.47, leaving a balance of $75,790.80.

The Kansas Manufacturing Company did not renew its contract with the state for prison labor. The tools and appliances of the company were stored, by agreement, in the Penitentiary.

There were improvements and enlargements made in various parts of the prison to accommodate its growing needs.

The coal mine was operated as usual, but for the previous term, as in this one, no particular enthusiasm appears concerning it as a prison institution. The truth is that during the incumbency of Warden Case there was no progress made in the matter of prison reform. This may have been in no way his fault, but there appears a listless and diffident spirit at the state prison. There was an effort to make a fine financial showing, but it is to be feared that the inner life of the institution was not given the attention and solicitude of former days.

*1893-1894.*

The directors and officers for the biennial period were: Directors: W. J. Hurd, chairman; T. J. Butler, George Hollenback. Officers: S. W. Chase,[12] warden; M. H. Markum, deputy warden; E. W. Prather, chief clerk; Rev. F. A. Briggs, chaplain; C. M. England, physician; Dan Storrs, engineer; A. B. Chaffee, turnkey; Mrs. A. C. Chaffee, Matron.

The People's party had come into power in Kansas, and there was a complete change of officers at the Penitentiary. The Populist uprising

12. Very little biographical material can be found relative to Mr. Chase. He was born in Jennings county, Indiana, May 25, 1841, and came to Kansas November 6, 1872, settling in Cowley county, where he still lived in 1899.

in Kansas was both a protest and a crusade. It was a manifestation of socialism—idealism. The rights of men and women are considered important matters. Few of the ideals proclaimed were immediately realized. They were grounded, however, in the old principles set up in territorial times, and in the time most of them prevailed after the stormy reception usually accorded reforms. A curious phase of the matter lies in the fact that they were enacted into the laws for the most part by the old parties who at first so utterly condemed them.

It is refreshing to find again in the reports some discussion of the improvement of men and women and a solicitude for penal reforms. These were worth to the state a thousand times more than a hard and stony balance sheet showing financial competency based on iron discipline and the merciless suppression of the better impulses of unfortunates, criminals though they happened to be.

The reforms accomplished at the Penitentiary were perhaps few enough, for it takes years to modify materially a rigid prison system. It was necessary to retain the infamous practice of contract labor, and even to make concessions to hold the contractors. But there was nothing to take its place. The proceeds for this labor for the first year were $40,056.71, and for the second year $22,688.04.

The average prison population for the first year was 883 and a fraction, and for the second year 844 and a fraction. The directors discussed the prison diet, and stated that the beef for the Sunday dinner had been roasted. This was the first appearance of roast beef on the tables of the convicts, and it was duly appreciated.

Among ather things, the directors said that "to effect the reformation of the criminal, by all the best modern humanitarian methods," was one of the purposes of the Penitentiary. The indeterminate sentence was again urged, reference to the recommendations of Warden Hopkins being specifically made.

The amount of coal mined was around a million an a half bushels for each of the years of this biennium.

The political status of Kansas changed. Hon. E. N. Morrill, Republican, was elected govenor to succeed Hon. L. D. Lewelling, Populist. By the Kansas political plan of rewarding party workers, the directors and officers of the Penitentiary were all appointed from the Republican ranks as rapidly as it was possible to do so. To secure the wardenship it was necessary to oust Warden Chase, and to this end charges were filed against him. An investigation was ordered by the legislature. In May, 1893, J. W. Yarroll had been appointed chief clerk of the Penitentiary. It does not appear what the shortcomings of the clerk were, but on the 8th day of June, 1894, he tendered his resignation. The directors refused to accept it, saying in their report, "fearing that such acceptance might possibly be considered as an honorable conclusion of his official connection with the board." The board then removed him. Yarroll filed the charges against Warden Chase. These charges were as follows:

*Charge and specification No. 1:* That the said Seth W. Chase did willfully and knowingly, in violation of law, take from the appropriation for boarding, moneys, and invested the same in the following manner, to wit:

On or about June 3, 1893, $40 for hogs; on or about June 26, 1893, $22 for hogs; on or about October 23, 1893, $473.45 for hogs; and that the said Seth W. Chase has and does persistently refuse to make any recounting for the said hogs (see Gen. Stat. 1889, page 1994, par. 6427) on the monthly inventory as provided by law, so that there may be a proper record kept of the said transaction in the office of the chief clerk of said Penitentiary.

*Charge and specification No. 2:* That the said Seth W. Chase did, in the month of November or December, 1893, make a settlement with the Armour Packing Company, of Kansas City, Kan., of a claim against said packing company for a rebate of one-half cent per pound on ten thousand (10,000) pounds of bacon, claimed by the Board of Directors of said Penitentiary, on a basis of one-fourth (¼) cent per pound, and that the record of said Penitentiary does not show any settlement of the above transaction, as the said Seth W. Chase has at no time made any statement of money received or manner of settlement of the above claim to the chief clerk.

*Charge and specification No. 3:* That the said Seth W. Chase did, in the month of May, 1893, place upon the pay roll of said Penitentiary and continue to carry the name of his daughter, C. G. Chase, as an "assistant keeper," contrary to the law and rules governing the said Penitentiary.

*Charge and specification No. 4:* That the said Seth W. Chase knowingly and willfully, in violation of law, allowed certain officers employed at the Kansas State Penitentiary to take their meals at the hospital kitchen, and to obtain from the Penitentiary store and butcher shop, farm and cow barn articles for the use of their families. (See page 46, section 5, Laws of Kansas, 1893.)

*Charge and specification No. 5:* That the said Seth W. Chase did, on or about May 8, 1893, appoint to the position of assistant matron of said Penitentiary one Miss Lou Williams, a woman of ill repute, thereby causing public scandal, to the detriment of the discipline of said Penitentiary and the good name of the state.

*Charge and specification No. 6:* That the said Seth W. Chase has by usurpation of authority granted him as warden of said Penitentiary, at divers times, by threats and abusive language unbecoming a gentleman and fellow officer, attempted to coerce the chief clerk of said Penitentiary.

JOHN W. YARROLL, *Chief Clerk.*

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 21st day of May, 1894.

R. C. OSBORN, *Notary Public.*

My commission expires Oct. 6, 1897.

It was shown that these were irregularities more than charges. They were inspired by a spirit of revenge. But they were good material for political purposes. The legislature did not hear all the witnesses. However, Governor Morrill removed Warden Chase, as will appear in the account of the next biennium. For the action of the legislature, see House Journal, 1895, page 633 and following.

*1895-1896.*

For this period the directors and officers were: Directors: T. W. Eckert, chairman; M. M. Beck, Lair Dean. Officers: J. B. Lynch,[13] warden; D. W. Naill, deputy warden; A. J. Schilling, chief clerk; Rev.

13. James Bruce Lynch was born April 2, 1854, in Gratton, W. Va. While still a child his parents moved to Ohio, and when he was thirteen years of age they moved to Kansas. In 1874 he married Martha Bargar. They were the parents of three children: Mrs. Mathis, of Topeka; Mrs. E. S. Ray, of Pueblo; and Eula Lynch. Mr. Lynch was in the employ of the Santa Fe railroad from 1878 until his death, October 30, 1911, with the exception of the six years from 1892 to 1898.

John Moorhead, chaplain; G. A. Morrison, M. D., physician; O. W. Hiatt, turnkey.

Warden Chase was removed by Governor Morrill. J. B. Lynch was appointed warden, on the 5th day of June, 1895, but did not take charge of the Penitentiary until June 21.

The reports of the directors and officers deal mainly with finances, and nothing of prison reform and humanitarian recommendations appear. The directors were compelled to take notice of the growing sentiment against the prison labor contract system, but entered into a defense of that system in their report. They admitted that the legislature of 1897 would be called on to consider the matter. The convict earnings for the year ending June 30, 1895, were $24,636.98. For the following year they were $22,935.69.

The total income and receipts from all sources for the year ending June 30, 1896, amounted to $155,672.49. The expenditures were $151,600.29, leaving a balance of $4,072.20.

The production of coal at the prison mine fell below one and one-half million bushels each year.

*1897-1898.*

This biennium fell to the Populists. Hon. John W. Leedy was elected governor, and he appointed to an oversight of the Penitentiary those of his own political faith. They were as follows: Directors: A. A. Newman, president; M. L. Drake, C. E. Allison. Officers: H. S. Landis,[14] warden; F. M. Gable, deputy warden; W. T. Tipton, chief clerk; Rev. H. E. Ballou, chaplain; E. W. Doan, physician; W. D. Campbell, turnkey; John Gray, superintendent of coal mine.

It is difficult to determine the exact conditions of the prison at this time. Reports were evidently colored by political bias, for partisanship was at a white heat in those days. However, there was probably much truth in what the directors said when they reported the following:

"We found the affairs of the prison, through the incompetency or gross mismanagement of the outgoing administration, in a deplorable condition. The cloth and leather bought for convict clothing and shoes were of an inferior quality, and did not wear nearly as long as they should have done, and the discipline of the institution was very lax. The convicts employed in the mine threw away and destroyed in the "gob" many suits of clothes which our mine officers found upon assuming charge of the mine. The natural consequences of such poor business methods and incompetency followed, and at the time the present administration took charge of the prison (February 1, 1897) many of the inmates were thinly clad and shivering in the wintry winds; and besides this, for the greater majority of the inmates there was no change of clothing possible, as the state did not possess a sufficient supply of even an inferior quality of clothing. We immediately set to work to remedy this state of affairs, and in order to do so it was found necessary to call upon the legislature for a transfer of funds to replenish the clothing, sanitary and other necessary funds. We therefore asked and received at

14. Harry S. Landis was born in Lebanon county, Pennsylvania, in 1855. He was educated in the common schools and in the Millerville State Normal School. He came to Kansas in 1877, locating in Shawnee county, and in 1880 moved to Barber county. He served as county superintendent of that county for four years, and was elected on the Peole's party ticket as district clerk in 1890 and to the state senate in 1892. Mr. Landis is married and is the father of six children.

the hands of the legislature a transfer of $6,800 from the sustenance fund to various other funds, as shown in chapter 33, Session Laws of 1897."

For the year ending June 30, 1898, the total receipts were $164,345.05. The expenditures were $148,972.26, leaving a balance of $15,372.79.

On the 30th of June, 1898, there were 943 convicts in the Penitentiary.

The contract system still prevailed, but was slowly dying out. The contractors employed labor as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Manufacturing furniture | 79 men |
| Manufacturing horse collars | 28 men |
| Manufacturing boots and shoes | 38 men |
| Total | 145 men |
| Runners for these contractors | 8 men |
| Total employed by contractors | 153 men |

The contracts for this labor were entered into in June, 1896, and the state was paid fifty-two cents a day for the labor.

The effort to secure the passage of a parole law by the session of the legislature held in 1897 failed. The warden urged that such a law be passed.

In 1890 the governor of Oklahoma arranged for the confinement of the Oklahoma convicts in the Kansas Penitentiary. Warden Landis recommended a modification of the contract for that purpose between Oklahoma and Kansas.

There was one reform accomplished in this biennial period which must be mentioned. It was the discarding of stripes in the clothing of the prisoners. Stripes were discontinued in this connection July 4, 1897. The garments from that date were solid gray in color. Concerning the effects of this change the warden says:

"We have had one year in which to note the moral effect of this change. I am compelled to say that it has met and surpassed our most sanguine expectations. I doubt whether anything has ever been done in this prison that exercised so salutary and so lasting an influence on the discipline and voluntary good conduct, as evinced by the punishment report, to which I cite you. During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1897, with the old uniform, with 856 prisoners, there was lost in punishment 1,664 days; while during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1898, with the new uniform, with 911 prisoners, there was lost only 1,145 days. The stripes are still resorted to, though rarely, as a badge of punishment and disgrace for perverse prisoners, and invariably every protestation of future good conduct is made in order to obtain the uniform again. The increased care they take of their uniforms since the change is notable."

*1899-1900.*

Hon. W. E. Stanley, Republican, was elected governor to succeed Leedy. That changed the political status of the directors and officers of the Penitentiary, and for the next two years they were: Directors: John S. Gilmore, president; T. C. Ballinger, E. A. McFarland. Officers: J. B. Tomlinson,[15] warden; W. A. Thomson, deputy warden; A. L. Barnes,

15. Joseph B. Tomlinson was born in Highland county, Ohio, January 22, 1861, the son of Paul Tomlinson, a native of North Carolina, and Lydia A. (Daniel) Tomlinson, whose father went from West Virginia to Ohio in 1820. The Tomlinsons were Quakers

clerk; Henry Stauf, storekeeper; Rev. R. A. Hoffman, chaplain; C. E. Grigsby, M. D., physician; J. H. McFarland, captain of guards; Dan Storrs, engineer; Archie Fulton, superintendent of coal mine.

Two industries were established at the Penitentiary during this biennial period, which were destined to destroy the contract labor system there. These were the manufacture of brick and binding twine. The twine factory required the erection of new buildings and the installation of much machinery.

With this term appears the beginning of a better administration of affairs than had ever before prevailed. This resulted from several causes. There was a growing humanitarian sentiment in Kansas. There was a demand that state institutions be brought up to the standard of older states. And not least was the fine executive ability and solid integrity of President Gilmore. He advocated the adoption of a civil-service system for the Penitentiary management, and the removal of employees from the political influences causing constant change. The contract labor system was favored in the reports, but largely for the reason, apparently, that it seemed impossible under the law to devise means of employing all the convicts otherwise.

The parole system was inaugurated during this term. It seems to have been put in force at the instance of the recommendations found in the splendid reports of Warden Hopkins, a long extract being quoted from his report for the ninth biennial period. Twenty-eight men were paroled by Governor Stanley up to June 30, 1900, and the system was reported to have done much good.

The warden reported that he would soon put into use the Bertillon system of measuring criminals.

The cost of the brick plant, including the material already on hand belonging to the state, and also the prison labor, was $9,680.35. It began operation July 1, 1899, using shale from the bottom of the coal mine. The output was mostly building brick, but some paving brick, pressed brick and fire brick were made.

The twine plant was put in with an appropriation of $40,000 made by the legislature of 1899. The expenditures for operation for the year ending June 30, 1900, amounted to $111,863.64. This included the item of $95,033.06 for raw material. There were sold to July 1, 1900, 766,465 pounds of twine, for $80,093.34. On hand at the same date were 383,900 pounds, valued at $31,194.54. It is admitted that this twine enterprise was an experiment, and it was carried on under all the disadvantages of an experiment. The twine manufacturers, and many of the dealers, threw every possible obstacle in the way of its success. But success was hoped for.

*1901-1902.*

For this biennial period the directors and officers were: Directors: Ed. C. Ellett, president; Mark Tulley, W. H. Haskell. Officers: E. B.

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and ardent abolitionists. In 1881 young Tomlinson came to Kansas and located at Minneapolis, where he taught school and studied law. He was admitted to the bar in 1883 and opened an office in Minneapolis. In 1894 he was married to Miss Mary A. Rees, and they are the parents of two children, Lydia and Victor Rees.

Jewett,[16] warden; J. W. Dobson, deputy warden; J. C. Brown, clerk; A. J. Hill, storekeeper; Rev. J. D. McBrian, chaplain; C. E. Grigsby, M. D., physician; O. W. Hiatt, captain of guards; Dan Storrs, engineer; Archie Fulton, superintendent of coal mine.

The report of Warden Jewett is one of the best ever submitted concerning the state prison. There was much to be discussed, for this was a very active biennium. Much was accomplished, though the financial statement showed a deficit for each year. This was in consequence of the determination of Warden Jewett to get down to bedrock with his bookkeeping. He would not juggle with his figures. He asserted that the Penitentiary had not been self-sustaining for several years, notwithstanding the favorable balances reported. But this did not show a lack of substantial progress in and with the institution. Why should such an institution make money for the state? Legislatures holding tightly the purse strings might think this a necessary result, but the Penitentiary was entering on a broader mission, and a deficit might be the best evidence of substantial progress in its true office.

For the first year of this period contract labor earned for the state $20,878.03; for the second year it earned $16,496.57.

Staiger's Island was purchased by the state, or the south 844 acres of it. This cost $12,670, the price being $15 per acre. The land was underlaid with coal, and it adjoined the land already owned by the state. The deeds were placed in escrow in a Leavenworth bank to await an appropriation by the legislature for the purchase money.

Additions were made to the brick plant. The state had been furnished 1,552,884 brick for the construction of the State Hospital at Parsons.

There was continued progress in the twine plant. The primary object of the plant was to keep down the price of binding twine in the state, even if the plant had to be operated at a loss to accomplish this. Those not interested in the use of twine objected to any money being lost in the operation of the plant, while the wheat raisers favored a price lower than was made by institutions outside the state, regardless of a profit. Between these opposing sentiments it was rather a difficult matter for the warden to steer a satisfactory course. But he seems to have done so.

Warden Jewett interested himself in the improvement of the prison school. He recognized its value as an agency for the reformation of the convicts, and he encouraged it.

The report of Warden Jewett is full of hope and promise of those humanitarian reforms so long and faithfully urged by Warden Hopkins. The reformation of the man was of more importance in his judgment

16. Edward Barzilla Jewett was born at Steubenville, Ohio, December 11, 1847, and is the son of William Todd Jewett and Hetty Beaty Jewett. He received his education in the district school and in a Presbyterian college in Illinois. He studied law and began its practice in Ottawa, Ill., where he remained until 1872, when he came to Kansas. He went at once to Wichita, where his parents were living. They had come west in 1870 and the following year had gone out to Sedgwick county, being pioneers in the part of the Arkansas valley in which they settled. From Wichita Mr. Jewett went to Cottonwood Falls, where he opened a law office. While there he was struck by a bolt of lightning which paralyzed his lower limbs, and he was unable to carry on his practice. He returned to the home of his parents, and after his recovery took up his residence in Wichita, where he has since remained. Mr. Jewett is a staunch Republican and has filled many public offices. He was a member of the state legislature of 1909, where he was instrumental in securing the appropriation with which to start the erection of Memorial Building.

than the punishment of the criminal, though he by no means overlooked the latter contingency in his prison management.

*1903-1904.*

The board of directors of the Penitentiary for this biennial period was composed of Mark Tulley, president; W. H. Haskell, C. L. King. The officers were the same as in the previous biennium.

The good work of Warden Hopkins continued to bear excellent results. The legislature of 1903 passed an act providing for indeterminate sentences for convicts. The act went into effect June 1, 1903, and up to June 30, 1904, twenty-six prisoners had been paroled. Of these but three violated the parole. Warden Jewett believed this a good showing. He was of the opinion that the law would be a success. Governor Stanley had on the 26th day of May, 1899, issued the first conditional pardon to a convict. This was in the nature of a parole, though the terms of the two releases were different. Counting the conditional pardons and the paroles under the new law, there had been released 192 prisoners. There had been but twenty-one violations of these conditional pardons and paroles. "The result is in favor of the law," reports Warden Jewett.

The legislature had called for a complete report on the twine plant, which was made by the clerk of the Penitentiary. The showing was in favor of the plant, and it was published in the House Journal and in the papers. That the plant was a practical business venture for the state was the judgment of Warden Jewett.

Concerning the brick plant the warden reported that it had passed the experimental stage and might be pronounced a successful business venture.

The coal mine continued to be profitable, and the legislature had completed the purchase of the coal lands on Staiger's island.

Convict labor for 1903 earned $16,161.20, and for 1904 it earned $16,666.59.

*1905-1906.*

The directors and officers for this official period were: Directors: John Seaton, president; T. C. Ballinger, W. I. Biddle. Officers: W. H. Haskell,[17] warden; J. W. Dobson, deputy warden; J. C. Brown, clerk; Rowland Davies, storekeeper; Rev. J. D. McBrian, chaplain; C. E. Grigsby, physician; O. W. Hiatt, captain of guards; Dan Storrs, engineer; Archie Fulton, superintendent of coal mine.

The legislature of 1905 made provisions for the enlargement and improvement of the twine plant. It was designed to increase the output and add to the quality and standard of the twine produced.

17. William H. Haskell was born in Cortland county, New York, November 2, 1853. He is the son of Moses and Hannah (Edmonds) Haskell, both of New York. The father died when William was but three years of age, and his mother dying when he was but a few years older, he was thrown upon his resources when but eleven years old. He graduated from the State Normal School at Cortland, N. Y., after which he taught in the public schools for several years. In 1872 he moved to Toledo, Ohio, where he was bookkeeper for the Wabash Railway Company, and later for the First National Bank of Toledo. In 1879 he moved to Gaylord, Kan., and became interested in the general merchandise business. In 1901 he was appointed as a member of the state prison board, and three years later he was elected to the office of state senator, serving for one term. After his service as warden of the Penitentiary he located in Kansas City, Kan., and helped to organize the Haskell Investment Company. His wife was Miss Antoinette L. Coy, of Toledo. His sons are, Frank C., employed with the Armour Packing Company, and Mason L., a salesman of cattle at the Kansas City stockyards.

The parole system was working successfully and to the satisfaction of the authorities.

The Bertillon system of measurements had been introduced, as had also the imprints of fingers. William McClaughry, of the federal Penitentiary, instructed the attendants in the methods of these systems.

The legislature of 1903 and 1905 had each made appropriations for a building for female prisoners. This building was nearing completion. Convict labor continued to be a source of income at the Penitentiary. It produced $23,680.77 in 1905 and $26,982.02 in 1906.

An examination of the reports for this biennium brings something of disappointment. They are brief and somewhat technical, being in strange contrast to the open, frank and very interesting reports of previous officers.

*1907-1908.*

For this official period the directors were the same as the previous one, and the officers were practically the same, the warden being W. H. Haskell.

There is an improvement in the tone and extent of the reports for this biennium. The directors speak of the improvement made at the prison with pride, and announce that the Kansas Penitentiary then stood in the first rank of prisons. "We can safely affirm," they say, "although a place of restraint, it has been conducted on merciful lines as far as it is possible; the warden and Board of Directors moved by a spirit of toleration which would result in the reformation of those not entirely lost to all sense of future manhood and citizenship, always bearing in mind that proper discipline should be maintained."

The twine plant was improved, and it turned out a superior product. It had been compelled to fight for the recognition of that product against unfair competition and misrepresentation. However, the institution, as well as the product, gained favor in the public mind, and they were both enthusiastically supported by the wheat growers.

Trouble with the water system had been overcome. The cold-storage plant provided by the legislature of 1907 had been completed. The night school was showing good results. The wisdom of buying the south part of Staiger's Island was confirmed. The farm, consisting of 576 acres, was well cultivated and gave a fair return of all farm products.

There was a fire in the storehouse of the twine plant, and damage to the amount of $3,249.72 sustained. The financial statement showed earnings in excess of expenditures for both years.

In the tables of receipts are items of convict labor. For the year ending June 30, 1908, these items amounted to $25,760.32.

*1909-1910.*

The directors and officers for this biennial period were: Directors: T. C. Ballinger, president; E. E. Mullaney, E. R. Ridgely. Officers: J. K. Codding,[18] warden; C. M. Lindsay, deputy warden; George Ruede, clerk;

18. Julian K. Codding was born in Cook county, Illinois, January 16, 1861, a son of John S. Codding. John Codding had lived in Kansas a short time in 1856, so it was but natural that he should later return to establish a home here. This he did in 1872, settling with his family in Pottawatomie county. Young Julian received his education in the Westmoreland schools and the State Normal School, and was for some years a

Rowland Davies, storekeeper; Rev. Thomas W. Houston, chaplain; Sherman L. Axford, M. D., physician; J. S. Crouch, captain of guards; Dan Storrs, sr., engineer; Archie Fulton, superintendent of mines; John Higgins, parole officer; William Duckett, record clerk; John L. Cline, superintendent of twine plant; B. E. Stone, superintendent of tinker shop.

J. K. CODDING,
Warden Kansas State Penitentiary.

Warden Haskell served the first year of this biennium. J. K. Codding took charge July 1, 1909.

Additions of more than two hundred acres were made to the area of land to be mined for coal.

A change in the method of handling the output of the twine plant placed that institution on a most satisfactory basis, both as to finances

teacher in Pottawatomie county. He studied law and opened an office in Westmoreland; from there he moved to Wamego. He took an active interest in politics, and was one of the local leaders of the Republican party in his county. He was a member of the state senate of 1901 and represented his district in the legislature of 1905. In 1886 he was married to Mamie B. Henry, a native of New York, who came to Kansas with her parents when a child. Mr. and Mrs. Codding have four children, Julia K., Lynne, Harold and Lorina.

and in the estimation of the people. The warden was unable to fill all orders received for twine. The shortage was 350,000 pounds. The entire product of the plant had not before been sold for want of demand.

The brick plant was improved and the output of brick much increased.

The parole law was proving very satisfactory. A summary was prepared showing the workings of the system for the whole time the plan had been in force at the Penitentiary. This table gives the following figures. The period covered is from May 26, 1899, to June 30, 1910:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Total number of paroles | | 965 |
| Total number discharges while on parole | 609 | |
| Returned for violation of parole | 113 | |
| Delinquent | 62 | |
| Died | 15 | |
| | | 799 |
| On parole, June 30, 1910, and reporting | | 166 |

The system of contract labor at the Penitentiary was definitely and completely abandoned during this period. All the contracts for prison labor expired in 1909, and, by direction of the legislature, they were not renewed. Thus passed away another relic of barbarism, as the result of the growth of humanitarian ideas in Kansas.

This biennial period is notable for the beginning of the great reform at the Kansas Penitentiary. It seems to have resulted chiefly from the efforts of Warden Codding. He was, in the humanitarian sense, the worthy successor of Warden Hopkins. The report of Warden Codding is one of the greatest papers on prison management and reform ever published up to that time. It created interest all over America, and marked the author as one of the leaders of the country in the field of prison work.

The Oklahoma prisoners were taken from the Kansas Penitentiary January 30, 1909, and placed in the Oklahoma Penitentiary, which was then ready to receive them.

*1911-1912.*

The directors and officers for this period were: Directors: Thomas W. Morgan, president; E. E. Mullaney, treasurer; J. H. Hazen, secretary. Officers: J. K. Codding, warden; C. M. Lindsay, deputy warden; E. C. Landis, chief clerk.

The other officers were nearly the same as in the preceding prison-management term.

The directors purchased additional acreage of coal rights for the mine, and they recommended the purchase of land in fee simple for use of the institution for farming purposes.

It now became apparent to the directors that the Kansas Penitentiary was out of date. It had grown with the state and was a patchwork of incongruities. It was not possible to remodel it to make it a perfect institution. It was recommended that $350,000 to $500,000 be appropriated to build a new Penitentiary, broad, ample, liberal throughout.

Warden Codding continued his good work with zeal and excellent results. His immense capacity for work, his insight into human nature

and human affairs, his firmness and his sympathy for men laboring under adverse conditions, all tended to make him the ideal warden. A perusal of his report will show this—and much more in his favor.

*1913-1914.*

The Penitentiary was placed by the legislature under a new supervision, the governing body being called the Board of Corrections. This was suggested, doubtless, by that fad which had been sweeping over the country for some years, to put all departments of state government under the control of "boards," "bureaus" and "commissions." It is to be hoped that this whim has nearly run its course in Kansas. It has contributed little to efficiency in state affairs.

The Board of Corrections consisted of the following: W. L. Brown, president; C. M. Harger, treasurer; J. E. Porter secretary. The officers for this biennium were: J. D. Botkin,[19] warden; J. V. Fitzgibbon, deputy warden; E. C. Landis, chief clerk; George Skidmore, superintendent of coal mine; D. L. Temple, chief engineer; John L. Cline, superintendent of twine mills; Elizabeth Simpson, matron; J. T. Faulkner, M. D., physician; Harmon Allen, chaplain.

There were a host of minor officials. George H. Hodges, Democrat, had been elected governor in 1912, and the Board of Corrections and these officers were principally from the Democratic party.

On the 12th of April, 1913, the twine plant was destroyed by fire. This was the most disastrous fire which ever occurred at the Penitentiary. It cost $58,565.95 to rebuild the burned plant.

The coal mines produced an average of 51,346 tons of coal per year for the biennial period.

It is set out in the report of the warden that the prison farm contains 2,350 acres, of which 1,600 are on the island. It did not return much revenue and was not made to yield anything like what it should.

Warden Botkin was convinced that the prison should be replaced by a new one. He said:

"This prison was built fifty years ago. It was necessary for the infant state to be economical in its expenditures for public buildings. Besides, no one at that period understood the modern idea of prison construction. It is no reflection upon the intelligence and humanitarian spirit of our state to affirm that this Penitentiary is antiquated and out of harmony with present-day conception of the purposes of prison life."

The administration of Warden Botkin was successful. He carried on with vigor and intelligence the work left to his hand by Warden Cod-

19. Jeremiah D. Botkin was born in Logan county, Illinois, April 24, 1849, the son of Richard and Nancy (Barr) Botkin. In 1866 the Botkins moved to Linn county, Kansas, settling four miles east of Mound City. Here Mr. Botkin grew to manhood, taught school, united with the Methodist Church, and made his first efforts at preaching. In 1870 he returned to Illinois and entered the M. E. conference there. While absent from Kansas he attended De Pauw University, and in 1882 was transferred to the Southeast Kansas conference. Upon his return to the state he became identified with public affairs and was a candidate for governor in 1888 on the Prohibition ticket. In 1894 he took the stump in the interest of the People's party and reform, and was that year a candidate for Congress from the third district. He was defeated, but two years later was elected by a large majority. Mr. Botkin has been married three times; first to Miss Carrie Kirkpatrick, who died early; second, to Miss Laura Waldo; they had one child, a son, Ralph Waldo. Mr. Botkin's third wife was Mrs. Mary E. Monroe, and they have had three children, Mildred Ninde, Frances Willard and Paul Oliver.

ding. He was imbued with the ideas developed in the modern methods of prison life and management.

Governor Hodges was succeeded by Hon. Arthur Capper. Soon after Governor Capper assumed control of affairs, charges against Warden Botkin were filed. These charges were mostly for political offenses. The Topeka *Daily Capital*, July 3, 1915, contains these charges, and says: "Charges have been rife of misconduct and of political mismanagement at the Penitentiary." B. D. Jones charged that he had been removed by Warden Botkin from the position of cell-house officer, and "that the only causes had for the removal of this affiant were those of a political nature, and this affiant was removed for political causes only." It was also charged that Warden Botkin had borrowed money of convicts, and had been prevailed on to take a convict, one B. J. Gifford, to Kansas City,

KANSAS PENITENTIARY GROUP.

GROUP OF WOMEN PRISONERS, KANSAS STATE PENITENTIARY, LANSING.

where this convict escaped. There were other charges, and a careful reading of them fails to show, at the worst, more than indiscretions, irregularities and undue credulity in Warden Botkin. Nothing derogatory to his integrity and his character as a minister and an honest, well-meaning man was charged or attempted to be shown. He was, however, discharged.

Following the removal of J. D. Botkin, J. K. Codding was on the 17th day of September, 1915, reappointed for a period of four years.

During the closing months of Mr. Botkin's administration considerable dissension had existed among prisoners and officers, and during the holidays a strike occurred in the mine, which was promptly quelled by the officers. The removal of some of the objectionable officers later by the State Civil Service Commission and the quelling of the mutinous prisoners in the mine had a wholesome effect on the prison body and the institution in general.

In April, 1916, the women were removed from the women's ward, attached to the Penitentiary, to a farmhouse a mile from the parent institution, and the criminal insane, who had been housed in a small building and in prison cells with the prisoners, were transferred to the women's ward, with its sixty-three roomy, modern cells. This change saved the building of a hospital for the criminal insane, and the women were benefited by outdoor work and living on a farm; also it made it possible to give to the criminal insane in the women's ward the care they deserved and needed.

During the school period of 1915 and 1916 the foundation was laid for the manual-training department and for extension work from the Agricultural College at Manhattan. Chaplain Harmon Allen proved very efficient in carrying forward this work.

In the reorganization of the official force, the former deputy warden, C. A. Tolman, became farm superintendent; R. L. Kimball, secretary to the warden, became deputy warden; and C. M. Lindsay, deputy warden from 1909 to 1913, became assistant deputy warden.

By the use of the new civil-service law Warden Codding has gathered around him an excellant corps of competent officers.

The removal of the criminal insane to the women's ward made possible the use of the old "crank house" as a home for the degenerate and vicious, and all prisoners unfit to associate with the general prison body. These, together with the mutineers, were classified as No. 2's and kept in the abandoned "crank house." They are fed the same food and given the same treatment as the main body of prisoners, except that they are denied some of the privileges, such as attending shows, ball games, talking and working with the general prison body.

The segregation of this body of unfit made possible the classification at this institution into No. 1's, the main body of prisoners; trusties, prisoners who by good conduct, obedience to rules and general fitness for citizenship are granted special privileges; and No. 2's, above described. One hundred and fifty trusties occupy one cell house with no locks on their doors, and no officers other than an inmate officer selected from their own ranks.

During the fiscal year ending July, 1917, a system of coöperation in the handling of the prison between the officers and the best of the prisoners was inaugurated. The plan has worked so well that the official force has been reduced from eighty-seven to seventy-five officers, although an increased amount of work is being done on the farm, in the mine, in the women's ward, etc. This saving in number of officers has been brought about by using proper prisoners for inmate officers. Half of the guarding of posts is done by inmate officers. They are acting as cell-house officers, clerks and in various capacities with the most gratifying results. These inmate officers, working under the direction of paid officers and in close harmony with them, have had a tendency to do away with many defects that existed in the old system. It is doubtful if there

PENITENTIARY DINING ROOM.

is another institution of like character in the world where the so-called "honor system" is working as it is in the Kansas Penitentiary.

The inmate officer is greatly benefited by his service to the state and the responsibility placed upon him. The state is a gainer—first, because the taxpayers are saved the salary of an officer; and second because the prisoner who does his full part as an inmate officer will be a better citizen when released from the institution.

The following extracts from Mr. Codding's reports for 1910 and 1912, and from his addresses and magazine articles, give an idea of the warden's conception of what a modern penitentiary should be and why it should be.

In his report of 1910 Mr. Codding says:

"The Penitentiary presents two problems: one dealing with 'the man'; the other with coal, brick, twine and kindred subjects. 'The man' is of more interest and value to the state than all the coal mined, brick made or twine manufactured.

"By the decree of court 'the man' has been found unfit to exercise his rights as a free citizen, and his punishment is that he be deprived of his liberty for an indeterminate period. Under our laws the only punishment that can be assessed is his loss of liberty—the most precious gift

given him by his Creator—the loss of which is the greatest punishment that can be inflicted on any rational human being. While the state has a right to take away a man's liberty and imprison him in the Penitentiary, it has no right to take away his reason, his health or his opportunity to reform. On the contrary, it is the duty that the state owes to the man and to the society to which he is to return, that it help him to be a better citizen."

In his report of 1912 Mr. Codding says (quoting A. W. Butler, of Indiana):

"The convict is a man. His nature is essentially that of every one of us. In considering prison systems let us not forget the man—the spirit—the soul. The same things that act upon free men act upon prisoners. The same teaching and preaching, the same kindness and humanity which reaches the boy in the high school will reach the boy in the reformatory or the man in the prison.

"This definition of the prisoner is the modern as well as the correct one. The convict's presence in the Penitentiary is proof that he is a defective, a delinquent or degenerate, and that organized society has sentenced him to the Penitentiary primarily because it considers him a misfit, and secondarily because it desired that he should be repaired if possible and returned to civil life fit to discharge the duties of citizenship as soon as possible.

"In the repair of broken men and the remaking of defective ones, it is necessary that they should have—

"*First:* Productive labor, and plenty of it.

"*Second:* Discipline, wisely and firmly administered.

"*Third:* Proper bodily care, such as wholesome food and medical treatment.

"*Fourth:* Such mental and spiritual training as is possible under the limited opportunities afforded by a penitentiary.

"*Fifth:* Prison recreations, not solely for the purpose of giving pleasure to the prisoners nor as a prison fad, but for the same reason that we give them work, discipline and wholesome food."

In his published addresses and magazine articles Mr. Codding has said:

"The modern penitentiary should not be a place of punishment. It should be a repair shop, a hospital, where the morally and physically, as well as the mentally and spiritually sick should receive attention. It should be a reformatory instead of a deformatory.

"All prison progress depends upon the proper classification of the prisoner as to whether he is curable or incurable, and his release should depend upon his fitness to return to civil life. The cure of the criminal is important. Seventy-five percent of the men paroled from the Kansas Penitentiary are making good. No matter how many prisoners are cured by their prison experience, no matter how well trained they may be in prison school, Sunday school, prison workshop or farm, the real object will not be attained. The cure of the criminal will never cure crime. The problem of curing the criminal is one for the prison warden or superintendent, administration board and prison officials; but the cure of crime rests solely with the communities who furnish the crimnal. Not until we do as much for the boy in the community who is a criminal in the making as we do for the criminal already made, will we cure crime."

The warden is conducting the Penitentiary on the theory that the handling of the criminal should be along scientific and practical lines; that a prison sentence should be a benefit to the prisoner as well as to society, and maintains that the greatest drawback to-day to the modern handling of the Penitentiary is the fact that the public does not give the

ex-convict the chance he ought to have; that he has served a term in the Penitentiary, even though he is well qualified for civil life, bars him from many positions and casts a stain upon him that will not wipe out. It is a saying among prisoners that it is worse to be an ex-convict than it is to be a convict.

Mr. Codding says that it is conceded that the old prison system was wrong; that during the past fifty years, under harsh and brutal prison methods, crime has greatly increased per hundred thousand, but whether the new penology is right, time only will tell.

A number of men like Codding are willing to experiment until the right way is found. Codding maintains that the method in use during the past two years, wherein the school, the Sunday school, manual training, the work out of doors, the "honor system," and coöperation between prisoners and officers in the handling of the institution has been its policy, is fundamentally right and will stand the test of time.

From March 1, 1913, to July 1, 1916, Charles M. Harger and J. E. Porter served as members of the Board of Corrections. W. L. Brown, who served from March 1, 1913, to July 1, 1915, was the third member of the board, and was succeeded by Mrs. J. M. Miller, who served until May, 1917.

In July, 1916, Hon. A. Q. Miller, of Belleville, editor of the *Telescope*, and O. A. Keach, of Wichita, were appointed members of the board and continued until July 1, 1917, when, under the new administration act, Governor Capper became chairman, and by his appointment E. W. Hoch, of Marion, Wilbur N. Mason, of Baldwin, and Charles W. Green, of Kansas City, constituted the other members of the Board of Administration. James A. Kimball, of Salina, was appointed business manager. This board now forms the governing body of the Penitentiary.

# NOTES ON THE EARLY INDIAN OCCUPANCY OF THE GREAT PLAINS.

By WILLIAM ELSEY CONNELLEY, Secretary Kansas State Historical Society.

THE early Indian occupancy of Kansas has never been treated in an exhaustive manner. Much that has been written on that subject is of an incidental nature, connected with the expedition of Coronado. There has been, it is true, some effort to exploit primal Kansas in the interest of the Kansas Indians. We know that the Caddoan tribes were residents here long prior to the coming of the Siouan stock, to which the Kansas belong. The extent to which the Kansas Indians peopled or occupied Kansas soil is now well enough known. It was not nearly so extensive as has been represented. The Kansas tribe had in fact good title to only a small portion of the territory of the state to which it gave name. So far as the record shows, the Caddoans were the aboriginal owners and occupants of the greater part of the soil of Kansas. One of the objects of these Notes is to arrive at some approximation of the age and extent of the Caddoan occupancy of this state.

Notwithstanding the researches of various agencies and institutions for many years, there remains much uncertainty concerning the Caddoan linguistic family of North American Indians. There has been no serious effort of consequence to assemble all the facts which have been established. This is the more to be regretted since all accuracy of statement in accounts of the early exploration of a number of states must rest on the correctly defined habitat of the Caddoan family in the primal days of American exploration. This article is not inspired by any thought that the uncertainty surrounding the various Caddoan tribes in the early times can be removed. It is intended to examine critically the record affecting only a small part of this very interesting Indian group.

Perhaps it was not intended by Powell in his linguistic classification, published in the seventh annual report of the Bureau of Ethnology, that his conclusions should be final. For certain it is that the areas assigned the Caddoan family are incorrect if they are intended to represent the habitat of the different divisions when they were first visited by Europeans. Reference to Powell's linguistic map will show three areas or tracts assigned to the Caddoans. The largest of these extends from the Gulf of Mexico to the watershed between the Red and Arkansas rivers. On the east it is bounded by Attacapan, Chitimachan, Tonikan, Natchesan and Siouan possessions. The Siouan territory bounds it on the north to a point far up the Canadian—about the ninety-ninth meridian. Thence the western boundary descends almost due south to the land of the Karankawan family, which territory the boundary of the Caddoans follows due east to the Gulf, striking that water in the region of Matagorda bay. These bounds enclose most of Louisiana, east Texas, southwest Arkansas, and much of southern Oklahoma. The small Adaizan group is assigned a place inside these lines, but the area is insignificant when the

country given the southern Caddoans is considered, and it is only necessary to here mention the fact of its existence.

The midle area set off to the Caddoans by Powell is a wedge-shaped tract extending approximately from the eastern borders of Colorado to within a few miles of the Missouri. It is situated principally along the Platte river. On the west it strikes the headwaters of the Smoky Hill, extending thence northeastwardly to the Platte.

The third area marked off to the Caddoans is a circular tract located in the western central part of North Dakota.

This assignment of Caddoan territory was perhaps not intended by Powell to be taken for the primal possessions of the Caddoan family. What the bounds of the country of this people were in the time of its greatest expansion there is nothing to show. That the Mississippi river was the eastern line up to the appearance there of the Sioans must, we believe, be admitted. The expedition of De Soto found the Quapaws (Siouans) established along the Mississippi about the mouth of the Arkansas. The best authorities place the site of their principal village at the time in what is now Phillips county, in Arkansas. They were even on the east bank of the Mississippi more than a century later, though at this later date, as well as at the earlier, they were on both sides of the Mississippi about the mouth of the Arkansas. To the west they were undoubtedly in contact with the Caddoans, and remained so far down into historic times, as is shown by Powell's linguistic map. There is nothing to indicate how far up the Arkansas these southern Siouans had gone in that day, but probably only a few miles. They hugged the great "Father of Waters" to a comparatively recent date. The narrow strip occupied by them on the western shore they had wrested from the Caddoans.[1]

On the west the Caddoan people were bordered by the tribes of the Shoshonean family. This is so shown on Powell's map, but as to what tribes occupied the country west of these southern Caddoans at the time of the Coronado expedition, we must up to this time remain much in doubt. It is certain that the tribes of the Caddoan family in the sixteenth century dominated the territory assigned them heretofore in this paper. The Tonkawan linguistic family was a small one. It has been assigned a small territory west of the Caddoan country. At the middle of the sixteenth century it probably bordered that country, adjoining it for some distance and for some considerable period of time. The Tonkawas met Coronado in 1541, and were by him called Querechos. They have changed their habitat but little since that day, except to seat themselves permanently at some agency or on a reservation, though they are marked down as a migratory people.

The Comanches (Shoshonean) owned the country and inhabited it, adjoining the Caddoan about the headwaters of the Kansas river. They were called Padoucas by some of the neighboring tribes and by the French. They had a village there in 1724, which was visited by Bourgmont and his party, accompanied by a portion of the tribe of Kansas

1. See "Handbook of American Indians," issued by the Bureau of Ethnology, for a discussion of the Quapaw and for a list of authorities, part 2, pp. 333 and following. It quotes from a De Soto narrative the description of an extensive Quapaw town.

Indians living then in their old town at the mouth of Independence creek, in Atchison county. So the western line of the Caddoan country remained down to a recent date where it had been found by the early Spanish explorers—approximately the western boundary lines of Kansas and Nebraska as they stand at this time.

This paper has little concern with the habitat of the northern tribes of the Caddoans. These tribes seemed to have been sundered from their kindred by the intrusion of the Siouans, driven westward by the Ojibway. There were several of them—ten as stated by Powell—"who had been driven from their country lower down the Missouri river (near the Ponka habitat in northern Nebraska) by the Dakota."[2] These tribes are now consolidated into one tribe—the Arikara.

Powell does not pretend to enumerate the tribes of the Caddoan family, contenting himself with a list of the "principal tribes." And when we come to consult our next best authority, "The Handbook of American Indians," a scholarly and indispensable work, we fail to find that definite certainty we could wish. Perhaps the information does not exist. Four lists are given, neither of which contains the Waco tribe, which is undoubtly Caddoan. This omission is the more bewildering as three of the lists are rolls of probability. The list set down as "undoubtedly Caddoan" is as follows:

1. Arikara.
2. Bidai.
3. Caddo.
4. Campti.
5. Choye.
6. Kichai.
7. Nacaniche.
8. Nacisi.
9. Nanatsoho.
10. Nasoni (Asinai, Caddo?).
11. Natasi.
12. Pawnee.
13. Wichita.

For the other rolls the student is referred to page 183 of the above-named work.

Aside from necessary limited statements, this paper will deal principally with the Pawnee and Wichita tribes of the Caddoan family.

It is most probable that the Caddoan family projected itself to the northward from the Gulf-coast country. The Caddos could not remember any tradition in their tribe of a residence at any other point than that on the Red river. True, there is recorded by James R. Mead[3] a recent tradition that they came originally from the region of the Hot Springs, Ark. This signifies that they may have lived there some time after their disturbance incident to the coming of the white man.

The Wichitas told Mr. Mead that they came originally from the far Northwest, using dogs as pack animals. They halted on the Arkansas river, in southern Kansas, for a time. They were then in possession of bone and stone implements, and they were entering upon agriculture as a supplement to hunting in order to secure an existence. Chief Towakoni Jim was the spokesman in the recitation of this tradition, and Mr. Mead was evidently convinced of its historical accuracy.[4] Whatever the value

2. Seventh Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology, p. 60.

3. "Kansas Historical Collections," vol. VIII, p. 173.

4. The Creeks have a tradition that they descended the Pacific coast. At the mouth of the Columbia they divided, one band going up that stream, descending the Missouri, crossing the Mississipi and stopping in Alabama. The other band continued down the

of this legend, it has one element of great probability. That the Wichita Indians had dwelt on the Arkansas river at a time long prior to that when Mr. Mead found them there is established by the researches made in the documents of early Spanish exploration. And there is, in addition to this documentary evidence, the probability that they had formerly lived on the site to which they returned when driven north by the disturbances incident to the Civil War. This site is now occupied by the city of Wichita, Kan. It marks the northern limits of Wichita migration.

That Coronado found the Wichitas and found them on the Arkansas and Little Arkansas, exactly where they settled when driven north in the Civil War, is capable of proof. A careful study of the Coronado narratives will establish this fact. The country of the Wichitas was Quivira, and they were the Quivirans. Their identity is made certain by the character of dwelling they erected. It was a grass house, or a framework of poles closely thatched with grass from the ground to the pinnacle of the roof.[5]

As to when the Wichitas departed from Quivira there is little to guide the student. That they remained on the Arkansas for more than a century after the departure of Coronado seems to be established by the accounts of the explorations of Humaña, Oñate, and Peñalosa, though doubt has been cast on the narrative of the latter. It is said they were forced to migrate southward by the appearance of the Osages on the Great Plains. That the tribes of the Siouan family pushed westward into the country of the Caddoan tribes there is ample evidence. It was in historic times that the Osages reached the prairies of western Missouri and southern Kansas. It is more than probable that the Wichitas were troubled by incursions of the Siouans of the South—the Quapaws, evidently the Escanjaques of the Spaniards. It is more than likely that the Quapaw or Arkansas Indians pushed the Wichitas out of Quivira. The course of the Wichitas was to the south, and they moved slowly. They ranged from the Cimarron to central Texas, and they were ever in touch and communication with their kindred, the Pawnees.

The Wichitas were fierce warriors in the days of the plains exploration and traffic. They were expert horsemen, and their scurrying bands along the horizon resembled clouds of the desert as they disappeared behind a veil of scintillating dust. They were known as Pawnee Picts to the traders, and were as much dreaded as the Comanches.

Before the period of land cessions the Wichitas had departed from Kansas. Their famous land, Quivira, had fallen to other tribes who knew nothing of its past glory. That half-mythic kingdom had extended northward from the Arkansas to the divide between that stream and the Kansas, and perhaps the Osage. Over this part of Kansas they roamed and

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coast to some point in California, when it struck eastward, coming in contact with the Zuni and other pueblo-dwelling Indians. Passing on, they settled on the Gulf coast in Mexico. When Cortez entered their country they left it, following the coast approximately, though diverging to the northward all the time, finally reaching the Red river. From this point they continued eastward after some generations, crossing the Mississippi, and finally finding and joining that body which had gone up the Columbia. This tradition was given William E. Connelley by Chief Pleasant Porter at Muskogee, Okla., in the summer of 1905.

5. For a description of the dwelling erected by the Wichitas see "Handbook of American Indians," part 2, p. 947 and following.

hunted, while their fields of corn and vegetables were along the banks of the Arkansas and the Little Arkansas where Wichita now stands.

THE PAWNEES.

The Pawnees constituted the best-known group of the Caddoan family. They called themselves Chahik-si-chahiks, "men of men." Dunbar tells us that the name Pawnee was probably derived from their word for *horn* —pa-rik-i. It is an ancient term, and it once embraced the Arikaras and the Wichitas. At that time all these groups made one tribe or confederacy. The name referred to the scalp lock, which was plastered with grease and paint to cause it to stand up like a horn. The Pawnees were separated into four bands or subtribes, the names of which are as follows:

1. Xau-i, or Grand Pawnee.
2. Kit-ke-hak-i, or Republican Pawnee.
3. Pit-ahau-e-rat, or Tapage Pawnee.
4. Ski-di, or Loup Pawnee.

The significance of the name of only the Tapage Pawnee is now known, and it is interpreted as "Noisy Pawnee." This band was also known as the Smoky Hill Pawnee, having resided on the Smoky Hill as late as 1830, possibly. In 1836 they pointed out on that stream the remains of their towns.

Concerning the origin of the Pawnees, Dunbar obtained the following information from them:

"The traditions of three of the bands, the *Xau-i, Kit-ke-hak-i* and *Pit-a-hau-e-rat,* coincide in stating that the Pawnees migrated to the Platte river region from the south, and secured possession of it by conquest. The period of this migration is so remote that they have failed to retain any of its details, except in a very confused form. The language affords some evidence that their residence in the valley of the Platte has been of some duration. *O-kut-ut* and *oku-kat* signify strictly *above* and *below* (of a stream), respectively. Now their villages have usually been situated upon the banks of the Platte, the general course of which is from west to east. Hence each of these words has acquired a new meaning *i. e., west* and *east.* So, also *Kir-i-ku-ruks-tu, toward* or *with the Wichitas,* has come to mean *south.* Such developments are perfectly natural in the history of a language, but require time. The Wichitas, I am told, have a tradition that the primitive home of themselves and the Pawnees was upon the Red river below the mouth of the Washita. This would place them in close proximity with the Caddos. The Wichitas also attempt to explain their own southern position by alleging that having had reason to be dissatisfied with the migration, or its results, they attempted to return to their old home. The Pawnees also state that the Wichitas accompanied them on the migration, but left them long ago and wandered away to the south, though silent as to the reason. This much may be safely claimed—that the separation must have occurred long since, as is indicated particularly by the marked divergence of the Wichita dialect."

The separation of the Wichitas from the Pawnees resulted in each tribe occupying an adjoining and well-defined territory. Coronado found them so situated. The Wichitas, as has been shown, lived at that time on the north bank of the Arkansas in a country called Quivira, and which extended to the watershed of that stream to the north. If the Coronado narratives are to be trusted, the Pawnee country embraced

the valley of the Kansas river, and was known as Harahey. In addition to the Kansas river country, the Pawnees owned and occupied the Platte valley. Their occupancy extended to the Missouri river. Their traditions say that they secured the valley of the Platte by conquest. Dunbar says that they expelled "the Otoes, Poncas, Omahas and *Ski-di.*" This must be an error, for the Siouan tribes did not cross the Missouri until after the Pawnee and other Caddoan tribes were firmly seated in the Platte country. The Ski-di was one division of the Pawnees themselves, and there may have been a war or a warlike feeling between these kindred bands, as frequently happened. The Pawnees were found in historic times on the Platte river in locations now well known to all students.

Into historic times the habitat or country of the Pawnees extended from the Niobrara to the Cimarron, on which stream Irving saw the ruins of one of their towns in 1832. The expedition of A. P. Chouteau and Julius De Munn to the upper waters of the Arkansas was in 1815. The next summer as Chouteau was descending the Arkansas he was attacked by two hundred Pawnees and forced to seek shelter on an island, which is just west of Hartland, in Kearny county, Kansas. From this incident the island was called Chouteau's Island. It was in territory claimed by the Pawnees, and rightly so claimed. In 1720 the Pawnees had erected a village on the North Platte expressly to protect their western boundary. This town was attacked by Villazur about the middle of August, 1720, but the Pawnees defeated the Spanish forces, which retreated to Santa Fe.

That the Ski-di lived east of the Mississippi at one time there is good reason to believe. The Dhegiha group of the Siouan family have a tradition to that effect. This tribe of the Pawnees must, then, have crossed the Mississippi west into their own country—at least into a Caddoan country—with the Dhegiha Siouans. The Pawnee or Caddoan territory must then have embraced the Great Plains country as far westward as the bounds heretofore set for it, and must have extended eastward to the Mississippi, and in at least one place eastward beyond the Mississippi. To the north in that day is must have extended to the Platte. And this is based on the historic fact that the Caddoans had migrated north and northeast, occupying these bounds long before the Dhegiha Siouans left the Ohio valley. While there must have been, of course, a prior occupancy of this Caddoan territory, there is no historic evidence of it, and archæology has not been closely enough studied to reveal it or the identity of the people of that early age. Brower says he traced, by archæology, these Caddoan peoples from the Ozark mountain region to the valley of the Kansas river. Du Tisné found a Pawnee town on the Grand or Neosho river in the vicinity of the Grand Saline, a short distance below the present Vinita, Okla. So the Caddoans must have held possession of the greater part of what is now Kansas down to about 1780.[6] It was not far from that year that the Kansas Indians

6. As showing the extent and location of the Pawnee country, even in historic times, the following quotation is made. It confirms the location of the Pawnee village on the Neosho near the present Vinita, Okla., at the time of the Du Tisné exploration:

"From the Osages to the Panioussas there are forty leagues to the northwest (Margry

ascended the Kansas river to the mouth of the Blue. In doing so they invaded Pawnee territory. The Pawnees claimed far below the mouth of the Blue river, as against the Kansas tribe, to 1842 at least. Fremont found a Kansas village, but recently destroyed by the Pawnees, on the Vermillion in that year.

Maj. A. L. Greene, of Beatrice, Neb., was long agent of the Otoes. He became familiar with that part of their history which they could recall by aid of the songs and traditions of their sages and medicine men. In a series of historical sketches published in the Beatrice *Express* about the year 1898, he called the Blue river valley the ancestral home of the Pawnees. That the Pawnees occupied this valley down to the date preserved in the memory of the Siouans is proven by the Otoe traditions, one instance of which Major Greene recites as follows:

"A great many years ago a large Pawnee Indian village or town occupied what is now the site of Blue Springs [Gage county, Nebraska], located there doubtless on account of the noble spring, from which the present town derives its name. The Blue river was a great resort for beaver and abounded with fish in those days, while deer and antelope were plentiful upon the rich bottom lands of the river and its tributary creeks. The corn and the pumpkin patches of the Pawnee squaws were scattered throughout the neighborhood, wherever a creek bend assured alluvial soil and partial protection from the ponies. Hundreds of ponies pastured on the wide bottom east of the village and over the prairie slope where Wymore now stands. At that time the Otoes lived near the mouth of the Upper Nemaha, and were at enmity with the Pawnees. Strings of Otoe scalps adorned the Pawnee medicine bags, and scores of Otoe ponies had been trailed to the Pawnee town.

"On one occasion, in the fall of the year, when the Pawnees were about starting on their customary buffalo hunt, a war party of Otoe braves, hideously painted and befeathered, were concealed in a thick growth of timber and underbrush east of the river, probably on what is now known as Johnson creek. Securely hidden among the thickets, they awaited the departure of the Pawnee braves. Every movement in the village was watched by a keen-eyed spy, who, crawling and skulking, approached very near. Ponies were being laden with tent poles, and rawhide panniers filled with dried pumpkin and shriveled corn; the buffalo chasers were being gaily decked with feathers, and all was excitement and hustle. No one dreamed that danger was at hand. Soon the long file of the hunting party, with its following of loose ponies, colts and dogs, might be seen wending its way to a camping place near the

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Papers, v. 6, p. 311, says *southwest*) over prairies and hills covered with wild cattle. There are four rivers between the Osages and the Panioussas. It is necessary to cross the most considerable of them, which is a branch of the Arkansas and filled with rapids; the other rivers flow into that of the Osages. This branch of the Arkansas is twelve leagues to the east of the Pani village, situated on the border of a stream upon a hill surrounded by prairies, to the southwest of which is a wood which is of great use to them. The village has 130 lodges and 250 warriors. A league to the northwest, upon the border of the same stream, is another village of the same nation as strong as the first. They are able to assemble 300 horses, which they much esteem and which they are not willing to part with. This nation is not civilized, but would be molified by making them presents. M. Du Tisné added also that there were many other Pawnee villages on the way to the west and northwest, but that they were little known. Following the report of the savages, the great village of the Padoucas is fifteen days' journey away. They make upon them a war to the death. At two days' journey from the Paniouassas, in the west by southwest, they have a salt mine of rock salt. M. Du Tisné placed there the arms of the king on the 27th of September, 1719; but he ran the risk of his life, for that nation was upon the point of breaking his head at the instigation of the Osages, who had told them that he had come to them with the intention of bringing a war and making them slaves. He proposed to them that they allow him to go to the Padoucas; but they opposed him because they were their enemies; they told him that the villages of the Mentos were seven days' journey from the Osages upon the side to the southwest."—"La Harpe's Journal Historique de L'Etablissement des Francais a la Lousiane"; Paris, 1831; p. 170 *et seq.*

headwaters of Indian creek, which was usually the extent of the first day's travel on a hunt. All had left the village except the old men and women, and perhaps a few invalids and children, when the Otoes burst upon it. No mercy was shown to old or young, as the spiked war club and scalping knife did their bloody work. Scarcely had the attack begun when a Pawnee from the hunting party, having forgotten something that caused him to return, came riding into the village. He was instantly killed and his pony badly wounded. An attempt was then made to catch the frightened animal, but it galloped off at full speed and soon overtook the hunters. Of course its return riderless and wounded caused great excitement, and a large party of braves started back at once as fast as they could ride. On reaching the village they saw at a glance what had occurred, and they were not long in striking a trail, which they followed rapidly, overtaking the Otoes in a large draw near the east side of what is now Island Grove township. A fierce battle ensued.

"The Otoes were surrounded and fought desperately, but they were outnumbered two to one. No quarter was given or asked, and only one escaped the slaughter to return and report the fate of his companions.

"The draw where the battle took place was pointed out to the writer by an old man of the Otoe tribe, who also related the foregoing particulars."

THE SIOUANS.

The Siouan linguistic family of North American Indians is separated into a number of groups or principal divisions. The Dakota group had little or nothing to do with Kansas soil. Those groups having to do with Kansas are the Chiwere and the Dhegiha. The tribes of the Chiwere group are:

1. Iowa.
2. Otoe.
3. Missouri.

The Dhegiha group is composed of the following tribes:

1. Omaha.
2. Ponca.
3. Quapaw.
4. Osage.
5. Kansas.

The Dhegiha Siouans had more to do with Kansas than did the tribes of any other group or division of that great stock. The Kansa or Kansas tribe gave name to the principal river of the state and to the state itself. The Osages came into Kansas at a late date, but became owners of a large part of the state. The early history of the Dhegiha is most interesting, and it is more definite and certain than that of most other Indian groups or tribes.

It is well known that the habitat of the Siouan tribes of the Great Plains and the Northwest was originally east of the Alleghanies, in the Piedmont regions of Virginia and the Carolinas. They were but recently removed from that country, speaking from a comparative historical standpoint, when they were seen by the first European explorers of America. It is, of course, impossible to determine even an approximate date when they set out in their migration to the westward. It was of such recent occurrence, however, that well-defined traditions remained in the Dhegiha tribes of this movement to the west. One of the most potent factors or causes of the migrations of primitive peoples is the quest for food supplies. If they are convinced that greater quantities of food can be obtained in another country they will go there, or make an effort to do so. If food of a better sort develops in an adjoining country they will move in

that direction. This general tendency may be modified to some extent by wars with other tribes, and not infrequently by wars with kindred tribes.

It is much more than probable that the westward movement of the Siouans was a food quest. The buffalo spread eastward from the great Mississippi valley. When it crossed the Alleghanies we may never be able to tell. It was finally impressed on the Siouan mind that the buffalo was found in ever-increasing numbers as the hunters traveled west; that is, if the Siouans traveled westward from their country along the eastern base of the Blue Ridge they found an increasing supply of meat—easier conditions of life. It is believed that this was the cause of their breaking over the barrier of the Alleghanies and emerging upon the interior valleys. On this point W. J. McGee says in the Fifteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, page 187:

"There is little probability that the Siouan habitat, as thus outlined, ran far into the prehistoric age. As already noted, the Siouan Indians of the plains were undoubtedly descended from the Siouan tribes of the East (indeed the Mandan had a tradition to that effect); and reason has been given for supposing that the ancestors of the prairie hunters followed the straggling buffalo through the cis-Mississippi forests into his normal trans-Mississippi habitat and spread over his domain, save as they were held in check by alien huntsmen, chiefly of the warlike Caddoan and Kiowan tribes; and the buffalo itself was a geologically recent—indeed essentially postglacial—animal. Little if any definite trace of Siouan occupancy has been found in the more ancient prehistoric works of the Mississippi valley. On the whole it appears probable that the prehistoric development of the Siouan stock and habitat was exceptionally rapid, that the Siouan Indians were a vigorous and virile people that arose quickly under the stimulus of strong vitality (the acquisition of which need not here be considered), coupled with exceptionally favorable opportunity, to a power and glory culminating about the time of discovery."

In discussing the general movements of the Siouan people, the same author, in the same volume, has to say of the westward migration of these tribes of that great family:

"On reviewing the records of explorers and pioneers and the few traditions which have been preserved, the course of Siouan migration and development becomes clear. In general the movements were westward and northwestward. The Dakota tribes have not been traced far, though several of them, like the Yanktonnai, migrated hundreds of miles from the period of first observation to the end of the eighteenth century. Then came the Mandan, according to their tradition, and as they ascended the Missouri left traces of their occupancy scattered over 1,000 miles of migration. Next the Cegiha descended the Ohio and passed from the cis-Mississippi forests over the trans-Mississippi plains—the stronger branch following the Mandan, while the lesser at first descended the great river and then worked up the Arkansas into the buffalo country until checked and diverted by antagonistic tribes. So, also, the Tciwére, first recorded near the Mississippi, pushed 300 miles westward, while the Winnebago gradually emigrated from the region of the Great Lakes into the trans-Mississippi country even before their movements were affected by contact with white men. In like manner the Hidatsa are known to have flowed northwestward many scores of miles; and the Assiniboin swept more rapidly across the plains from the place of their rebellion against the Yanktonnai, on the Mississippi, before they found final resting place on the Saskatchewan plains 500 or 800 miles away. All of the movements were consistent, and despite intertribal friction and strife, meas-

urably harmonious. The lines of movement, so far as they can be restored, are in full accord with the lines of linguistic evolution traced by Hale and Dorsey and Gatschet, *and indicate that some five hundred or possibly one thousand years ago the tribesmen pushed over the Appalachians to the Ohio and followed that stream and its tributaries to the Mississippi (though there are faint indications that some of the early emigrants ascended the northern tributaries to the region of the Great Lakes)*, and that the human flood gained volume as it advanced and expanded to cover the entire region of the plains. The records concerning the movement of this great human stream find support in the manifest reason for the movement. The reason was the food quest by which all primitive men are led, and its end was the abundant fauna of the prairie land, with the buffalo at its head.

"While the early population of the Siouan stock, when first the huntsmen crossed the Appalachians, may not be known, the lines of migration indicate that the people increased and multiplied amain during their long journey, and that their numbers culminated, despite external conflict and internal strife, about the beginning of written history, when the Siouan population may have been 100,000 or more. Then came war against the whites and the still more deadly smallpox, whereby the vigorous stock was checked and crippled and the population gradually reduced; but since the first shock, which occurred at different dates in different parts of the great region, the Siouan people have fairly held their own, and some branches are perhaps gaining in strength."

As said by McGee, Dorsey was one of two students to satisfactorily determine the early history and migratory direction of the Siouans. It is to him that we owe knowledge of the definite origin of the tribes of the Dhegiha group and the manner of their occupancy of that country in which they were found by white men.[7] He says that:

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7. As additional evidence concerning this matter, the following quotations are made from "The Siouan Tribes of the East," by James Mooney, pp. 9 and 10:

". . . Yet the fact is now established that some at least of those tribes, and these the most important, were of that race of hunters, while the apparently older dialectic forms to be met with in the East, the identification of the Biloxi near Mobile as a part of the same stock, and the concurrent testimony of the Siouan tribes themselves to the effect that they had come from the East, all now render it extremely probable that the original home of the Siouan race was not on the prairies of the West, but amidst the eastern foothills of the southern Alleghanies, or at least as far eastward as the upper Ohio region. Some years ago the author's investigations led him to suspect that such might yet prove to be the case, and in a paper on the Indian tribes of the District of Columbia, read before the Anthropological Society of Washington in 1889 (Mooney, 1), he expressed this opinion."

. . . . . .

"As early as 1701 Gravier stated that the Ohio was known to the Miami and Illinois as the 'river of the Arkansea,' because that people had formerly lived along it. The Akansea (Arkansa or Kwapa) are a Siouan tribe, living at that time on the lower Arkansas river, but now in Indian territory. More than sixty years ago Major Sibley, one of the best authorities of that period in regard to the western tribes, obtained from an aged chief of the Osage—a well known Siouan tribe, speaking the same language as the Kwapa—a statement which confirms that of Gravier. The chief said that the tradition had been steadily handed down from their ancestors that the Osage had originally emigrated from the East, because the population had become too numerous for their hunting grounds. He described the forks of Alleghany and Monongahela rivers and the falls of the Ohio at Louisville, where he said they had dwelt some time, and where large bands had separated from them and distributed themselves throughout the surrounding country. Those who did not remain in the region of the Ohio followed its waters until they reached the mouth, and then ascended to the mouth of the Missouri, where other separations took place, some going northward up the Mississippi, others advancing up the waters of the Missouri. He enumerated several tribes which had sprung from this original migrating body (Featherstonhaugh, 1). Catlin heard a similar story among the Mandan, another Siouan people living far up the Missouri (Catlin, 1), and Dorsey has since found the tradition to be common to almost all the tribes of that stock (Dorsey, 'Migrations,' and 'Kansas'). Indeed, two of these tribes, the Omaha and the Kansa, cherish sacred shells which they assert were brought with them from the great water of the sunrise.

"Ages ago the ancestors of the Omahas, Ponkas, Osages, Kansas, Kwapas, Winnebagos, Pawnee Loups (Ski-di) and Rees dwelt east of the Mississippi. They were not all in one region, but they were allies, and their general course was westward. They drove other tribes before them. Five of these peoples—the Omahas, Ponkas, Osages, Kansas and Kwapas—were then together as one nation. They were called Arkansa or Alkansa by the Illinois tribes, and they dwelt near the Ohio river. At the mouth of the Ohio a separation occurred. Some went down the Mississippi; hence arose their name, 'U-ga-qpa (Oo-ga-khpa)' or Kwapa (Quapaw), meaning 'the downstream people.' This was prior to 1540, when De Soto met the Kwapas, who were then a distinct tribe.

"The rest of the Arkansas ascended the river, taking the name of U-ma-ha (Omaha), those going against the wind or current."

It would seem that there could be but one conclusion concerning the Pawnee Loups in this connection—they had gone eastward from the Caddoan habitat then bordering the Mississippi, had met and formed an alliance with the Dhegiha Siouans, and were returning with them to their former home west of the Mississippi. And perhaps they had extended the bounds of the Caddoan country far up the Ohio. And, too, they may have invited the Dhegiha to dwell in the Caddoan country, and were themselves involuntarily carried slowly back by these Siouans to the west bank of the Mississippi.

With the descent of the Mississippi by the Quapaw they pass out of the bounds of this paper, to be mentioned incidentally, if at all, in connection with early Spanish explorations. They owned a small area of the state of Kansas at a late date, but did not live on it.

The Winnebagoes were not of the Dhegiha group, and have been classified as a group by themselves of the Siouan family. They did not cross the Mississippi, but wandered in a northerly direction after their separation from their kindred at or near the mouth of the Ohio. There is nothing more to be said of them in relation to Kansas.

Those Arkansas tribes forming the Omahan group, or the upstream people, followed the Mississippi up to the present St. Louis, stopping there some years. From that point they ascended to the mouth of the

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"When this western movement took place we can only approximately conjecture. Like most Indian migrations, it was probably a slow and devious progress with no definite objective point in view, interrupted whenever a particularly fine hunting region was discovered, or as often as it became necessary to fight some tribe in front, and resembling rather the tedious wanderings of the Hebrews in the desert than the steady march of an emigrant train across the plains. De Soto found the 'Capaha,' or Kwapa, already established on the western bank of the Mississippi in 1541, although still a considerable distance above their later position at the mouth of the Arkansas. The name Kwapa, properly Ug'aqpa, signifies people living 'down the river,' being the converse of Omaha, properly Uman'han, which designates those going 'up the river' (Dorsey), and the occurrence of the name thus early shows that other tribes of the same stock were already seated farther up the river. The absence of Siouan names along De Soto's route in the interior country held later by the Osage is significant, in view of the fact that we at once recognized as Muskhogean a number of the names which occur in the narrative of his progress through the Gulf states. The inference would be that the Muskhogean tribes were already established in the southern region, where we have always known them, before the Siouan tribes had fairly left the Mississippi. In accordance with Osage tradition, the emigrant tribes, after crossing the mountains, probably followed down the valleys of New river and the Big Sandy to the Ohio, descended the latter to its mouth and there separated, a part going up the Mississippi and Missouri, and others continuing their course southward and southwestward. In their slow march toward the setting sun the Kwapa probably brought up the rear, as their name lingered longest in the traditions of the Ohio tribes, and they were yet in the vicinity of that stream when encountered by De Soto.

"The theory of a Siouan migration down the valley of the Big Sandy is borne out by the fact that this stream was formerly known as the Totteroy, a corruption of the Iroquois name for the Tutelo and other Siouan tribes in the South."

Missouri, where they dwelt for a time, probably for a comparatively short time. They continued their upstream movement to the mouth of the Osage river, where a long halt was made. Whether the separation of the group into the different bands, which became tribes, had progressed to a considerable degree before their arrival at the mouth of the Osage is a matter of conjecture. Some advance in this direction must have been made. A division occurred there, the group splitting in half, the Omahas and Poncas crossing the Missouri to continue their desultory migration to the northward, leaving the Osages and Kansas still occupying the country about the mouth of the Osage. Whether they had developed into separate and individual tribes at that time can not be said. If not, the individual development was completed not long thereafter. The Osages chose the river, at the mouth of which they lived, for their domain, and began to move their town or group up this, the Osage, as it came to be known to the whites. The Kansas moved up the Missouri. Dorsey says they kept to the south side of the stream until they reached the Kansas river.[8]

Whether the Kansas Indians kept exclusively to the south bank of the Missouri in migrating up that stream is perhaps a matter of little historical importance. As they were invading and pressing into Caddoan territory in this advance they often may have been compelled to cross to the north side of the Missouri. The Caddoans, it is reasonable to believe, had been pretty well expelled from the country north and east of the Missouri by the Dhegiha before the Poncas and Omahas ventured to take up their migration north from the mouth of the Osage through that region. So for the Kansas tribe the north side of the river would have been by far the safer route. And this tribe claimed, at a later date, an extensive tract of land in western Missouri north of the mouth of the Kansas river. The claim was recognized by the federal government in the treaty by which the Kansas Indians surrendered their possessions and retired to a small and well-defined reservation. This tract embraces

8. It was long a question with the writer as to whether the migration of the entire Siouan family had not followed the line known to have been taken by the Dhegiha, and whether the Dhegiha had not been the rear guard of the migration. It seemed that the attempts to account for the appearance of the Dakota in Minnesota from the north was not supported by adequate evidence. It yet seems so. But authorities have not held that way. From the Upper Ohio the Dakota did in some way and by some route reach the upper Missouri. And they did dwell in the woods about the sources of the Mississippi. The traditions of the Omahas are, according to Dorsey, that they followed up the Missouri and its tributaries until they arrived at the great Pipestone quarry in Minnesota. From this point they wandered westward—and in various directions—finally settling in what is now Nebraska. The Dakota Siouans might have gone into the Northwest by the same route. The conclusions of Mr. Dorsey were founded on the traditions handed down by the different Siouan groups. The most recent and best-defined traditions on the subject of the migration of the Siouan family are those of the Dhegiha. They are entitled to most credit. They will be confirmed by archæological research in their main features; and those of the Dakota Siouans may be also.

From the Menominee legends it appears that the Winnebagoes were in the country where they were found by the white people, in the days of Nanabozho. (See Hoffman, Fourteenth Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology, p. 205.) This would seem to cast doubt on the theory that the Iowas and Missouris came into the country west of the Mississippi by the route pursued by the Dhegiha. For these tribes (Iowas and Missouris, and the Otoes, also) are believed to have been at one time a part of the Winnebago group. In historic knowledge, Indian tribes have migrated in such unexpected ways and over such eccentric routes that it is most difficult to work out any satisfactory plan from tradition alone. If power were given us to look into the past and see the movements of the various families of North American Indians in all their migrations many surprises would greet us.

seven counties in northwest Missouri—for fertility and salubrity the equal of any similar area on the globe.

A study of the archælogical collection made by the late George U. S. Hovey, of White Church, Wyandotte county, and now in the museum of the Kansas University, will eventually determine whether or not the Kansas Indians dwelt in the great villages on the land formerly owned by William Malott about eight miles west of Kansas City, Kan. This town must have been more than a mile across. The abundance of stone implements and weapons found on its site would seem to indicate that it was occupied for a long time. From this town, granting that it was that of the Kansas Indians, they again moved up the Missouri. From the legends found still attaching to it by Lewis and Clark, they probably stopped on or near what is now Kickapoo Island, just above Fort Leavenworth. This island came to have some relation to their religious practices or beliefs—a sort of sacred island. Their social and political organizations may have been perfected there. But they continued to ascend the Missouri. What point they reached we do not know. They were evidently turned back by the Pawnees, then occupying the country westward from the Missouri river. It would be safe to say that the Kansas Indians never reached what is now the line between Kansas and Nebraska. The principal village which history records as the home of the Kansas Indians above the mouth of the Kansas river was at the mouth of Independence creek, near the present Doniphan, in Atchison county.

It is most fortunate that we are able to determine this most northerly point in Kansas migration with certainty. Examinations of mounds in Doniphan county make it certain that others than the Kansas Indians dwelt there. And the French found them living at the mouth of Independence creek. The exact year that the French first visited the village there is not known. Fort Orleans was established in 1723, on an island in the Missouri which was probably near the persent Malta Bend, Saline county, Missouri. This fort was erected for the purpose of holding the trade already set up with the Indians in the valley of the Missouri, and also for the purpose of extending that trade. Trading relations had been established with the Kansas, Otoes, Iowas, Osages, Missouris and the Pawnees; and it seems the French had been able to cause these tribes to forego their differences and become in a manner friendly with one another. The Padoucas (Comanches) were not friendly to the tribes above named, nor any of them. In 1719 Du Tisné had sought to reach the Padoucas through the country of the Osages, and that of the Pawnees immediately to the west. He failed through the hostility of the Pawnees to the Padoucas. M. de Bourgmont was charged with bringing the Padoucas into the alliance of tribes friendly to the French. The establishment of Fort Orleans occupied his energies to midsummer in 1724.

Bourgmont must have known the exact location of the Kansas village at the mouth of Independence creek, for on the 3d of July, 1724, he set out from Fort Orleans to reach it. He had appointed a general rendezvous at the Kansas town of the tribes friendly to the French. The grand chief and eight war chiefs of the Missouris, with a hundred of their war-

riors, accompanied Bourgmont from Fort Orleans; and four war chiefs of the Osages, with fifty-four warriors, did likewise. On the 6th he was met by a party of Kansas Indians under command of the principal chief and six war chiefs, and on the 7th this escort of barbarians brought him to the east bank of the Missouri over against the Kansas town. Then the expedition camped over night. On the 8th the French crossed the Missouri in a pettiauger—a large canoe made from the trunk of a tree, in this instance probably a cottonwood or walnut. It is said the Indians were carried over on floats of cane. These were doubtless rafts made of logs bound together with willow poles. The horses were made to swim.

Bourgmont was well received at the Kansas village. The grand chief assured him that all the Kansas warriors would go with him to the Padouca town. He was called to feasts in the huts of the village and affectionately caressed therein. But these demonstrations of friendship did not cause him to neglect the matters which had carried him to the Kansas town. On the 9th he sent a delegation of Missouris to acquaint the Otoes of his arrival at the point of rendezvous. The messengers returned on the 10th with the intelligence that the Otoes would provide food for the journey to the Padouca towns. From wild grapes brought in by the Kansas, the French made good wine.

The preparations to ascend the Kansas river to the country of the Padoucas were completed by the 23d. At six on the morning of the 24th Bourgmont set forward on his journey. Chiefs and warriors to the number of three hundred made up his escort. Three hundred women, five hundred young people and some three hundred dogs made up the motley train of camp followers. All these latter were well laden, even the dogs dragging the travois, bearing a good load. The expedition bore to the west two days, crossing the Stranger and other streams, and finding much game. On the 30th Bourgmont was stricken with an illness of a nature so serious that it was necessary for him to be immediately carried back to Fort Orleans, at least part of the way, in a litter. But he directed that Gaillard, one of his men, should proceed to the Padouca town, carrying two ransomed Padoucas, to make a good impression for the French there against the day when Bourgmont should appear at the Padouca village. It required a few days to bring all the units of the enterprise to a halt. We find evidence of this in the arrival at the Kansas town of the grand chief of the Otoes on the evening of the day Bourgmont had decided to start on his return to Fort Orleans. He said that a great part of his warriors awaited the coming expedition on the road beyond, and he was sorry to find the French commandant ill. On the 4th of August Bourgmont set out from the Kansas village, to which he had returned when he became sick, for Fort Orleans. He arrived there on the 5th, and thus his first effort to penetrate the primal Kansas wilderness came to naught.

Although the plan to visit and conciliate the Padoucas had miscarried, the real object of the enterprise made progress. Gaillard had executed his mission in a prompt and efficient manner. On the 25th of August he had reached the Padouca village with the ransomed captives. These signaled their kinsmen by casting above their heads three times the robes they wore, and a friendly greeting was accorded the Frenchman. The Pa-

doucas were rejoiced that a peace among the warring tribes was in prospect. They received the French flag as the symbol of peace, and dispatched an embassy of twenty warriors with Gaillard on his return to the Kansas. There they were well received, and a complete understanding was effected between the Kansas and the Padoucas. Fifty Kansas warriors and three women accompanied the Padoucas on their return, and they were received with friendship at the Padouca town. All this had been reported to Bourgmont on the 6th of September at Fort Orleans.

Bourgmont was anxious to complete the work so unexpectedly interrupted by his sudden illness, and, although just recovering, he set out from Fort Orleans by water on the 20th of September and arrived at the Kansas village on the 27th. Gaillard, with three Padouca chiefs and three of their warriors, came in on the 2d of October. On the 4th the grand chief and seven inferior chiefs of the Otoes came into the Kansas town. The following day six Iowa chiefs arrived. Assembling these chiefs, Bourgmont addressed them on the matter in hand, saying that it was the will of the governor of Louisiana that in the future they should live in peace and amity. Assurances were given that the tribes represented were pleased to comply with the wishes of the great French chief of the country. A feast was eaten, when the Padoucas present performed a dance of peace. The Panimahas (Ski-di, or Loup band of the Pawnees) had arrived in the meantime. The presents designed for the Otoes, Iowas and Panimahas were delivered to them on the 6th, when another peace council was held.

Bourgmont curtailed his train for the Padouca town. Instead of several hundred, as on the former occasion, he selected forty persons for this effort to reach the Padouca country. The start was made on the 8th of October, 1724, from the Kansas village. The French flag was carried at the head of the column and the baggage and presents were packed on horses. Gaillard and a companion were sent on to notify the Padoucas of the approach of the French. Five leagues were made the first day. On the 9th ten leagues were passed. Only eight leagues were accomplished on the 10th. On the 11th the Kansas river was reached and crossed. Beautiful prairies covered with herds of elk and buffalo appeared on the 12th. Eight streams were crossed. Unbounded views to the right were enjoyed, while to the left slight elevations loomed against the sky. The whole landscape was seemingly a buffalo pasture on the 13th, and there were also countless deer and elk to be seen. A broken or hill country was encountered on the 14th, which somewhat impeded their progress. But there were numerous springs of pure water, forming streams flowing into the Kansas, or what we know now as the Smoky Hill. Enchanting groves were seen along the streams encountered. On the 15th prairie stretched before them with low-lying hills, and but little timber was seen. The ever-changing landscape is mentioned with satisfaction on the 16th. The buffalo, the deer, the elk, were present in great numbers, as were flocks of wild turkeys. In the afternoon the guides lost their way, leading the caravan too far south, and on the 17th time was lost in finding and returning to the trail. This day it began to appear that they were coming into the Padouca country; an abandoned camp of

that people was found. It seemed to have been recently occupied, and they judged that it had been vacated some eight days. Signals were made by setting on fire the grass standing dry upon the plains. The columns of smoke ascended into the sky, and these were answered by similar pillars sent up by their comrades, the two Frenchmen, Gaillard and Quenel, sent on before, as we have seen. They soon arrived at Bourgmont's camp. On the 18th, on a brackish stream, the French found a Padouca camp which bore the appearance of having been abandoned but four days before. Passing this camp site half a league, they saw boiling into the sky great clouds of smoke from the burning grass. Answering these signals by setting on fire those stretches of grass which had escaped a general conflagration on the plains, brought to view in half an hour a horde of mounted savages bearing down upon them in full tilt. Bourgmont put his men instantly under arms and stood forward at their head to salute the approaching Indians with his flag, raising it three times. This salute was returned by these savages, who three times threw aloft their robes of buffalo hide. The pipe was passed as soon as the Padoucas had arrived and dismounted to seat themselves upon the ground. This preliminary ceremony concluded, the Padoucas caused the French to be mounted, when the whole cavalcade moved forward to the Padouca town, three leagues away. The Frenchmen were given a camp site a gunshot distant from the Indian village. And thus was the most difficult part of the expedition accomplished.

On the 19th Bourgmont proceeded with the work of establishing an alliance for peace and commerce with the Padoucas. He unpacked the gifts of cloth, guns, swords, powder and ball, hatchets, looking-glasses, knives, combs, bells, awls, needles, rings, and other articles which appealed to the savages. These he displayed to advantage, after which he addressed the Padoucas. He said he had come at the instance of his chief to bring assurances of peace and good will. It was the sincere desire of the French that the Padoucas be at peace with the Pawnees, Iowas, Otoes, Kansas, Missouris, Osages, and with the Illinois, in order that they might "traffick and truck freely together, and with the French." He presented the grand chief a French flag, and directed the Padoucas to select gifts from the presents he had exposed to view. The grand chief expressed great satisfaction with the French embassy and with its action. He said he and his people would enter gladly into the amicable arrangement proposed by Bourgmont. He explained the volume of trade which his nation could supply, and the treaty was closed.

This Padouca town was probably the most considerable village of the nation. It consisted of 140 lodges. The population is set down as consisting of 800 warriors, 1,500 women, and 2,000 children. Their dress and habits were generally what they were found to be a century later. They were in communication with the Spaniards of New Mexico, with whom they traded and from whom they obtained horses.

Bourgmont remained at the Padouca village until the 22d of October, when he set forth on his return. He made five leagues that day. On the 23d, 24th, 25th and 26th he made forty leagues altogether. He traveled six leagues on the 27th, eight leagues on the 28th, and on the 29th and

30th he accomplished twelve leagues. He went four leagues on the 31st, coming within half a league of the Kansas village. On the 1st of November he came to the Kansas town, where he remained overnight. He embarked in a canoe of skins on the 2d, and on the 5th he arrived at Fort Orleans.

It is important that this itinerary of M. de Bourgmont be traced as definitely as the record will permit. The old French journals are much like those left by the early Spanish explorers—all being indefinite to some degree and unreliable in many particulars. The streams were, for the most, without names, and many of them, as well as other physical features, are very difficult, as described in the annals of those times, to bring into accord with our modern geography. And that is also one of the reasons why there are so many and so divergent views of Quivira and the other points visited by Coronado.

The journey from the Kansas village to that of the Padoucas occupied eleven full days. The number of leagues traveled each day we find given for only the first four days. On the 8th of October five leagues were made, ten on the 9th, eight on the 10th, and twelve on the 11th.[9] The time and distance of crossing the Kansas on the return trip are not given, so that there is nothing against which to check the distance of the outward journey. The conformation of the topography of the country would place the route from the Kansas village at Independence creek to the Kansas river in the approximate vicinity of Kennekuk, Netawaka, Ontario, Laclede and Louisville to Wamego or St. George. It was through Atchison, Jackson and Pottawatomie counties—through those prairies where the boulders of "redish marble" or "lost rocks" described are found in greatest abundance and of largest size. The twenty-three leagues specified for the first three days out are equal to 63.57 miles. Counting seventeen miles of the distance made on the fourth day to have been on the north side of the Kansas river, would make this distance eighty miles from the Kansas village to the Kansas river crossing. At the same rate of progress for the next seven days and fractions of days there would be traveled something like 160 miles. This would put the Padouca village in Russell county, or possibly in Ellis county.

The journey returning from the Padouca towns occupied nine days. The distance traveled each day is stated in leagues, the total being seventy-five leagues. This total amounts to 208.68 miles, as the French common league was 2.764 miles; and this distance is less then the estimated distance traveled in the outward journey.

The Du Pratz map of Louisiana, published in 1757, shows the Padouca grand village on the extreme headwaters of the Smoky Hill, the main branch of the Kansas river. An examination of this map may have influenced Doctor Cutler, in compiling the "*Andreas History of Kansas*," to say that Bourgmont traversed the whole length of Kansas. Du

9. The text, du Pratz, "History of Louisiana," London, 1763, vol. 1, pp. 115, 116, seems to imply that some progress was made on the 11th after the Kansas river had been crossed. The Lee Page du Pratz translation is misleading at times. For the original see Margry, "Decouvertes et Etablissements des Francais dans L, Amerique Septentrionale, 1679-1754; vol. 6, p. 398, *et seq.* The number of leagues traveled "suivant nostre estime" is given each day, and the total makes 75 leagues. Du Pratz varies from the original in the number of leagues traveled daily.

Pratz says that the whole distance from the Kansas village to the Padouca towns was sixty-five and one-half leagues. This is stated in the same paragraph in which seventy-five leagues are expressly enumerated as the distance traveled by Bourgmont in returning—the distance being set down for every day. So there is, in fact, little reliance to be placed on any of these statements of distances. Only estimates from the time required to go from one point to another can be made. Then the Frenchmen did not measure the distance traveled in a day, but only estimated it. So we can not depend on these stated leagues.

The eleven days of the outward journeys gave time for a deep penetration of that country now known as Kansas. And there is nowhere sufficient evidence to warrant the claim that the Padoucas (Comanches) ever lived very far down the head branches of the Kansas river. They kept to the high plains. If Bourgmont found them far down the Smoky Hill they were in but temporary camps. But that they were found by him to be dwelling there in improvised quarters or temporary camps would seem improbable, for the Padouca town contained 140 lodges, 800 warriors, 1,500 women and 2,000 children. It must have been a permanent town.

Reasoning from these deductions, we estimate that Bourgmont went far out upon the plains, reaching Trego county—possibly Gove county. If he attained a point so far west as Trego he traversed Atchison, Jackson, Nemaha, Pottawatomie, Wabaunsee, Riley, Geary, Dickinson, Saline, Ellsworth, Russell, Ellis and Trego counties, and after entering Wabaunsee county his route was on the south side of the Kansas and Smoky Hill rivers.

The point westward attained by Bourgmont is important, as it in a manner defines the eastward boundary of the Padouca (Comanche) country. Adjoining this country on the east was the domain claimed by the Pawnees, and into which circumstances were driving the Kansas Indians.

The question occurs here of the probability of the existence at that time of a sort of common country in what is now Kansas, in which surrounding tribes had a right of access to the buffalo herds. The record of the Villazur expedition establishes the fact that the Pawnees claimed the country well out toward the Rocky Mountains. We find the Padoucas (Comanches) on the headwaters of the Smoky Hill. A little later the Kansas Indians captured a Spanish expedition on the Upper Arkansas. This matter of a common right to hunt the buffalo on the plains after they had been exterminated in the country east of the Missouri river may never have been conceded by the Caddoans—the Wichitas and Pawnees—to whom the country evidently belonged; and the Kansas and Osage Siouans may have asserted this right and may have sustained it by might against the Caddoans. The same causes which were driving the Siouans into Caddoan territory from the Red river to the Upper Missouri may have weakened the area of the Caddoans, rendering them incapable of holding all their domain from this violation. One thing, however, is certain. The Caddoans never relinquished their claims to all this Kansas country, except a narrow margin along the Missouri. They continued to assert their rights against the aggressions of the Kansas

Indians down to 1842, when Fremont saw the ruins of a Kansas town near the present Bellvue, then but recently burned by the Pawnees. This was seventeen years after the cession of that country by the Kansas to the United States—when they probably sold much which they did not own.

For the reason that the name "Kansas" has its seat and origin in the very foundations of the social organization of the Kansas tribe of Siouans, it will be necessary to consider here that social system.

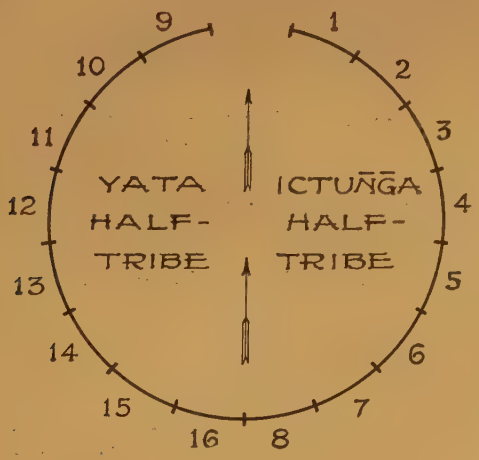
The North American Indians had devised a very curious and effective means of government. Primarily it was the same in all tribes and in all linguistic families, but there were as many local modifications and adaptations as there were tribes. It was the gentes or clan system. It was the foundation of every Indian government. It made up the basis, too, of all ceremonials, both civil and religious, of the tribes. Pageants and ceremonials of war conformed to the gentes or clan system of social organization. This vital principle of government might well have been carried into the governmental systems of civilization. It could have been made a powerful factor and force for stabilizing the governments of to-day all over the world. If there were bands, sinews, systems, or families of kinship, either assumed or of blood, running through the Hindoo, Slavonic, Latin, Greek, Celtic and Germanic races of the earth, there would be some potent influence which could be invoked in the interest of a just peace in the mad conflict now involving the world. And on this system of kinship could be erected a durable world peace. But we are a people too proud and selfish to learn so great a truth from a source so humble and despised. If we admit that the kinship was only theoretical, we shall see that the cohesion, mobility, attachment, effect and strength were the same as though the structure had been builded on blood. Practice made it so, as every student of Indian ethnology may see for himself. While the savage mind had not made an universal application of the principle to the Indian race, the tendency was in that direction, some linguistic families having it in a highly developed form, the best example of which was found in the federated Iroquoian group—the Six Nations of New York.

The Kansas tribe was composed of the Yata half-tribe and the Ictunga half-tribe. Each of these half-tribes was composed of eight gentes, clans or families, the members of each being related, in fact or in theory, by blood—descended from a common female ancestor. From the gentes the tribe was organized downward into subgentes, and upward into phratries. Omitting the Indian names and using the English equivalents, the gentes (and subgentes, so far as they are known) are as follows:

1. Earth, or Earth-lodge-maker.
    (1) Large Earth.
    (2) Small Earth.
2. Deer, or Osage.
    (1) Real Deer.
    (2) Eats-no-deer.
3. Ponka.
    (1) Ponka People.
    (2) Wear-red-cedar-fronds-on-their-heads.

4. Kansa, or Last-lodge.
   (1) Wind People, or South-wind People, or camp-behind-all.
   (2) Small Wind, or Makes-a-breeze-near-the-ground.
5. Black Bear.
   (1) Real Black Bear, or Eats-raw-food.
   (2) Wear-tails-of-hair-on-the-head.
6. Ghost.
   (Subgentes not learned.)
7. Turtle, or Carries-a-turtle-on-his-back.
   (Subgentes not learned.)
8. Sun, or Carries-the-sun-on-his-back.
   (Subgentes not learned.)
9. Elk.
   (1) Real Elk.
   (2) San-han-ge. (Meaning not known.)
10. White Eagle.
   (1) White Eagle People, or Legs-stretched-out-stiff.
   (2) Blood People, or Wade-in-blood.
11. Night.
   (1) Night People.
   (2) Star People, or Walks-shining.
12. Pipe People, or Holds-the-firebrand-to-sacred-pipes.
   (1) Little-one-like-an-eagle, or Hawk-that-has-a-tail-like-a-king-eagle.
   (2) Raccoon People, or Small-lean-raccoon.
13. Large Hanga, or Stiff-dear-tail, or A-black-eagle-with-spots.
   (Subgentes not learned.)
14. Buffalo, or Buffalo-bull, or Big-feet.
   (1) Buffalo-with-dark-hair.
   (2) Reddish-yellow-buffalo.
15. Peacemaker, or Red-hawk-people.
   (Subgentes not learned.)
16. Thunder, or Thunder-being-people, or Gray-hawk-people.
   (Subgentes not learned.)

These gentes had a certain order of precedent, each a fixed place, which were carried even to the arrangement of the villages and camps. These positions are shown on the following diagram:




KANSA CAMPING CIRCLE

The phratries of the Kansas are organized as follows:

First phratry:
1. Earth.
2. Ghost.
3. Elk.

Second phratry:
1. Deer.
2. Buffalo.
3. Thunder.

Third phratry:
1. Ponka.
2. Kansa.
3. Black Bear.

Fourth phratry:
1. Turtle.

Fifth phratry.
1. Sun.
2. Peacemaker.

Sixth phratry:
1. White Eagle.
2. Night.

Seventh phratry:
1. Pipe People.
2. Large Hanga.

Attention is called to the fact that those gentes designated by odd numbers are opposite one another, and those having even numbers are opposite one another. Marriages had to be between parties on different sides of the circle—from different half-tribes.

The social organization of the Kansa conformed in all respects to the religious development of the tribe. Primitive man was always hedged about with fear. He did not know. The earth and its elements had power to harm him. He added to his list of terrors many imaginary monsters lying in wait in rivers, lakes, on mountains, under certain bluffs and hills, in the sky, invisible in the air—everywhere—to injure or destroy him. It was his object to propitiate these awful beings. His religion was one of propitiation rather than of worship. He was much more interested in preventing some power from visiting calamity upon him than in praising some object of influence in hopes of a favor. Ceremonial societies were instituted to induce some god to send the buffalo, to cure some sickness, to make the corn grow, to keep enemies off, to give success in war, and for many other purposes. Certain gentes of the Kansa had certain duties in these ceremonials. Their word for a god—and their idea of God was not like that of the Christian—was *wakanda*. Anything might be a wakanda. The great forces of nature were wakandas. Perhaps the sun was a wakanda—*the* wakanda. Anything which exerted a force which the Kansa did not understand was a wakanda. They believed there were immense horned monsters dwelling under certain bluffs along the Missouri river. The Missouri itself was a wakanda. Their life was centered about this river. Islands in it came to have secret or evil significance. The great island just north of the site of Fort Leavenworth came to have some influence on their religious customs. Perhaps ceremonies were performed there, for they lived about this Island for some generations. It is now called Kickapoo Island. It may have been the seat of their religion. It is now regarded as one of the sacred villages of the dead. Lewis and Clark landed on it July 2, 1804, and replaced a broken mast. They found it named "Wau-caf-da-war-card-da, or Wau-car-ba War-cand-da, the Bear-medicine Island." Commenting on this name, Dr. Elliott Coues said:

"One word with five hyphens. At first sight it looks like a misprint meant for two forms of one word, as 'Wau-card-da.' I have been informed that probably it is meant for Wakau'da wakhdhi', '(where) Wakanda was slain'—Wakanda being something named after the Thunder-god. This

conjecture is borne out by the translation, 'Bear medicine,' showing that there was some mystery or superstition about the place, as anything that an Indian does not understand is 'medicine.' But Clark's MS. gives occasion for a different reading. His words are: 'Called by the Indians Wau-car-ba War-cand-da [two words with two hyphens apiece], or the Bear Medisin Island.' Here the second word, not the first, is 'wakanda' or 'medicine,' and the first word has *b* where the last prints *d*. Lewis' MS. has a similar word, not quite the same."

Rev. J. Owen Dorsey found that the soul of a Kansa went at death to that spirit village nearest him at the time. These spirit villages changed location with the Kansas migrations. The last ones begin at Council Grove. Then there are spirit villages along the Kansas river at the sites of the old towns, where they had dwelt on that stream. And on the Missouri their old village sites from Independence creek to the mouth of the Osage are now spirit villages to which the souls of the Kansa go to live after death.

The orthography of the word Kansa, or Kansas, has passed through many modifications. This has not been caused by any change in the word itself, for the word is very little different in sound from what it was in prehistoric times. The Siouans generally pronounced the word Kansa, or Kä-sa. The Kansas tribe so spoke it. The American has changed the *a* in the first syllable from the Italian to the short *a*. The Indian form of pronunciation was sometimes distorted by the early traders, especially the French traders. They made the *a* to have the sound or *au* or *aw* as in *haul* or in *awl*. From this corruption came the *Kau* in the later spellings. The word has been variously written, and the early explorers were apt to begin with a *C* rather than with a *K*. Indeed, it was sometimes commenced with *Cu*, and even *Qu*. So it is found as Kansa, Kansas, Kantha, Kances, Kansies, Kanzas, Konza, Kausa, Kausas, Kauza, Kauzas, Causa, Cansas, Cancas, Canceys, and in perhaps a hundred other forms. The form Kau, or Kaw, was an abbreviation of the name, originating with the French traders and spreading abroad to all having dealings with the tribe. Pike wrote the name "Kans." This was not intended by him for an abbreviation, and it is the belief of this author that an examination of his original manuscript would reveal the fact that he actually wrote it "Kaus." The mistake was made by the printer.

In pronouncing his own name—that is, the name of his own tribe—the Kansas Indian did not distinctly sound the *n* in the first syllable. As in many others of his words, and even the words in many tribes of different linguistic families, the *n* was not a separate sound, but rather a nasalized prolonged termination of the syllable. This form of terminating a syllable is common to many Indian languages. This nasalized termination is the merest approximation of the *n* sound. It is often written (and printed in the works of scholars) as is a coefficient term in mathematics—as Ka$^{n}$-sa, or the Kansas Indian usually pronounced the word Ka-za, or Kau-za. In many of the old books it is printed Kau-zau, following closely the native form of pronunciation. But, as said, there is the approximation to the *n* sound, and it is fortunate that the sound was retained and strengthened to an equality with the other sounds in the word. Kansas, as now accepted, written, and spoken, is one of the most beautiful Indian

words adapted to use in the English tongue. As a name for a state it is unequaled.

There has been much discussion of the probable origin of the name Kansas as applied to this tribe of Siouans. It is never safe to accept the positive conclusion which admits no possibility of error. It is rarely correct. The theory that the name Kansas is derived from any term found in an European language must be rejected as untenable. The word is a genuine Indian term. It is imbedded in the Siouan tongue far back of historic times. In the Omaha tribe there was a Kansa gens. Its designation was "Wind people." The Omaha was, as has been shown, the mother group, or the upstream people. In a sense the Kansas developed tribal identity from the Omahan group of Siouans. It is certain and well settled that the gens or clan organization of the Siouan, and other linguistic families, was perfected long before contact with Europeans. There are Kansas gens in other Siouan tribes than the Omaha. Kansa, the Siouan form of the word, is so old that its full signification was lost even to the tribes of the Siouan family when they first met white men. It has some reference to wind. Exactly what this reference means there is little hope of ever finding out. In every mention of the word, in the Siouan tongue generally, and in all tribal tongues of the family, it bears some reference and application to wind. The fourth gens in the Kansas tribe is the Kansas gens. Dorsey calls this the Lodge-in-the-rear, or Last-lodge gens. It is separated into two subgentes—first, Wind people, or the South-wind people, or Camp-behind-all; second, Small-wind or Makes-a-breeze-near-the-ground.

The winds had some mystic reference to the cross in the Kansas mind, at least in the Siouan mind. The Omaha and Ponka prayed to the wind and invoked it. In the pipe dance the ceremonial implements had drawn on them with green paint a cross, indicating the four quarters of the world—the four winds. The Kansa warriors drew out the hearts of their slain enemies and burned them as a sacrifice to these four winds. In 1882 the Kansa still sacrificed and made offerings to all their ancient wakandas, including the four winds. They began with the East Wind, then they turned to the South Wind, then to the West Wind, and then to the North Wind. In ancient times they cut pieces of flesh from their own bodies for these offerings.

The idea or conception that wind was wakanda or was supernatural seems to lie at the very base of Siouan development. It may have been the first wakanda, being associated with the breath of life. In the Order of the Translucent Stone, of the Omaha tribe, the Wind or Wind Makers were invoked. The four winds were associated with the sun in the ceremonies of raising the sun pole. In the Dakota each of the four quarters of the heavens or winds was counted as three, making twelve—always a sacred number with mankind. Mr. Dorsey asks if there might be any reference to three worlds in this custom—an upper world, our world, a lower world. Or were there three divisions of the wind, or three kinds of wind—that near the earth, that in mid air, and that high and

bearing the clouds. The wind gentes of the various Siouan tribes are thus enumerated by Mr. Dorsey:

"The following social divisions are assigned to this category: Kaⁿze, or Wind people, and the Te-da-it'aji, Touch-not-a-buffalo-skull, or Eagle people, of the Omaha tribe; the Cixida and Nika-dacna gentes of the Ponka and Kaⁿza (Wind or South Wind people), Quya (White Eagle), Ghost, and perhaps the Large Hanga (Black Eagle), among the Kansa; the Kaⁿse (also called the Wind and South Wind people), and perhaps the Hanka Utacantse (Black Eagle) gens of the Osage; the Pigeon and Buffalo gentes of the Iowa and the Oto tribes; the Hawk and Momi (Small Bird) subgentes of the Missouri tribe; the Eagle and Pigeon, and perhaps the Hawk and subgentes of the Winnebago Bird gens.

"Each wind or quarter is reckoned as three by the Dakota, and presumably by the Osage, making the four quarters, equal to twelve. Can there be any reference here to a belief in three worlds—the one in which we live, an upper world, and a world beneath this one? Or were the winds divided into three classes—those close to the ground, those in mid-air, and those very high in the air? The Kansa seem to make some such distinction, judging from the names of the divisions of the Kaⁿze or Wind gens of that tribe."

It would appear to be against reason that a word which runs through all the mysticism of an Indian linguistic family should have any alien origin whatever. It is impossible that such a word should have its origin in any European language. Kansa (the Kansas of our day) is an old Siouan word. Its application and use go back to the social organization of the Siouan group. It lies at the foundation of the political systems of various tribes of the Siouan linguistic family. To these uses it had been assigned perhaps many centuries prior to the discovery of America. While the full meaning of the word Kansa may never be known, it is established beyond question that it does mean Wind People, or People of the South Wind. To the Siouans of ancient times it probably meant much more, but it did mean Wind People, or People of the South Wind, whatever else it may have included.

So Kansas is the land of the Wind People, or the land of the People of the South Wind, if we look to the aboriginal tongue for its significance.

### THE OSAGES.

The Osage tribe is theoretically separated into twenty-one fireplaces. These fireplaces were grouped into three divisions—

1. The seven Tsi-shu fireplaces.
2. The seven Hanka fireplaces.
3. The seven Osage fireplaces (the Wa-sha-she fireplaces).

Each fireplace is a gens; so the Osage tribe is composed of twenty-one gentes or clans. When the two "sides" of the tribe were fixed—the war side and the peace side—there were but fourteen gentes in the nation. At that time the Osage camping circle, or tribal circle, was adopted. Positions for the fourteen gentes were provided. The circle is shown on page 462.

At some period after the adoption of this camping circle the tribe was enlarged by the admission of the seven Hanka fireplaces. It was not practicable to enlarge the camping circle, for it had of necessity to con-

tain an even number of fireplaces, that it should show an even balance of sides—each side an equal number of fireplaces. In making the adaptation of the tribe as enlarged to the old tribal circle, the seven Hanka gentes were counted as but five, and the seven Osage gentes were reckoned as only two.

OSAGE CAMPING CIRCLE

In the tribal ceremonies it was the law that each fireplace should have a pipe, or be assigned a pipe, or to be in some way associated with or represented by a pipe. The Hanka brought in seven such pipes when it joined the tribe. The Wa-sha-she had seven of these pipes—one for each of their fireplaces. For some reason, yet unexplained, the Tsi-shu had no pipes of this nature. To remedy this defect the Wa-sha-she, or Osage, gave their seventh ceremonial pipe to the Tsi-shu, with authority to the Tsi-shu to make for themselves seven pipes from it. The Wa-sha-she have now but six ceremonial pipes, though the ceremonies for the seventh are still retained.[10]

10. The following is a very curious myth concerning the Osages, which was preserved in connection with the visit of six members of that tribe to France in 1827:

"The nation of the Osages, from whom come the party of six Indians who arrived by the *New England*, is composed of two tribes of 1,500 warriors, the Great and the Little Osage. They are, in general, very handsome men, very well made. Those who have come to visit France were not chosen for their beauty of form. After a very old tradition established among them, they take their origin from a snail, who, from the borders of the Osage where he lived, was carried away by a flood in the Missouri and thrown out upon its banks. The heat of the sun having made him increase in size and become a man, he returned to his native country. A beaver disputed the possession of it with him, but everything arranged itself through his marriage with the daughter of the beaver. It is from this union that the tribe came. For a long time the Osages have respected the life of their maternal parents, the beavers. At present, when their skin is of such great value, they spare them no more, and they have concentrated all their family affection upon the snails, which are good for nothing."—"Six Indiens Rouges de la tribu des Grand Osages arrives du Missouri au Havre, le 27 Juillet 1827," 3 ed., 1827; Paris; p. 28.

The fourteen gentes represented in the Osage tribal circle, with their subgentes, are as follows:

1. Elder Tsi-shu, or Tsi-shu-wearing-a-tail- (of hair) upon-the-head.
   (1) Sun and Comet People.
   (2) Wolf People.
2. Buffalo-bull Face.
   (1) Not known.
   (2) Hide-with-the-hair-on.
3. Sun Carriers. Carry-the-sun- (or Buffalo hides) on-their-backs.
   (1) Sun People.
   (2) Swan People.
4. Tsi-shu, Peacemaker, or Village Maker, or Giver of Life.
   (1) Touches-no-blood, or Red Eagle.
   (2) Bald Eagle, or Sycamore People. (The principal gens of the left side of the tribal circle.)
5. Night People, or Tsi-shu-at-the-end.
   (1) Night People proper.
   (2) Black Bear People.
6. Buffalo Bull.
   (1) Buffalo Bull.
   (2) Reddish Buffalo. (Corresponds to the Yuqe of the Kansa.)
7. Thunder Being, or Camp-last, or Upper World People, or Mysterious Male Being.
   (1) Subgentes not ascertained.
8. Elder Osage, or Wa-sha-she Wa-nun. This gens embraces six of the seven Sa-sha-she or Osage fireplaces, as follows:
   (1) White Osage.
   (2) Turtle Carriers.
   (3) Tall Flags.
   (4) Deer Lights, or Deer People.
   (5) Fish People.
   (6) Turtle People. (Turtle-with-serrated-crest-along-the-shell. Possibly a mythical water monster.)
9. Real Eagle People, or Hanka-apart-from-the-rest. The War Eagle gens. One of the original Hanka fireplaces.
   The guards, policemen, or soldiers for the right side of the tribal circle are taken from the eighth and ninth gentes.
10. Ponka Peacemaker. This is the principal gens on the right side of the tribal circle. It was one of the original seven Osage fireplaces.
    (1) Pond Lily.
    (2) Dark Buffalo.

    Or, as some say:
    (1) Flags.
    (2) Warrior-come-hither-after-touching-the-foe.
    (3) Red Cedar.
11. White Eagle People, or Hanka-having-wings.
    (1) Elder White Eagle People.
    (2) Those-wearing-four-locks-of-hair.
    These subgentes were two of the original seven Hanka fireplaces
12. Having Black Bears.
    A. Wearing-a-tail-of-hair-on-the-head.
       (1) Black Bear.
       (2) (Meaning not ascertained.)
    B. Wearing-four-locks-of-hair.
       (1) Swan.
       (2) Dried Pond Lily.
13. Elk.
    One of the seven Hanka fireplaces.

14. Kansa, or Holds-a-firebrand-to-the-sacred-pipes-in-order-to-light-them—
Or, South Wind People.
Or, Wind People.
Or, Fire People.

Each of the divisions A and B of the twelfth gens was originally a fireplace of the Hanka.

There are four divisions of the Osage which have not yet been identified: the—

1. Beaver People.
2. Crane People.
3. Owl People.
4. Earth People.

The religious beliefs of the Osage are similar to those of the Kansa and other Siouan tribes. The term wakanda had almost the same meaning. There were seven great wakandas—Darkness, the Upper World, the Ground, the Thunder-being, the Sun, the Moon, the Morning Star. The Upper World was perhaps the greatest of the wakandas. In some of the tribes it was the supreme Wakanda. There was no set form of worship of Wakanda. Every one thought Wakanda dwelt in some secret place. It was believed that *the* Wakanda, or some *wakanda*, was ever present to hear any petition or prayer for help. There were many forms of propitiation, or these may have been sometimes in the nature of invocations, such as the elevation and lowering of the arms, the presentation of the mouthpiece of the pipe, the emission of the smoke, the burning of cedar needles in the sweat house, the application of the major terms of kinship, ceremonial waiting, sacrifice and offerings, and the cutting of the body with knives.

The Osage call the sun the "Mysterious One of Day," and pray to him as "grandfather." Prayer was always made toward the sun without regard to its position in the heavens. Here is a prayer:

"Ho, Mysterious Power, you who are the Sun! Here is tobacco. I wish to follow your course. Grant that it may be so. Cause me to meet whatever is good (*i. e.*, for my advantage) and to give a wide berth to anything that may be to my injury or disadvantage. Throughout this island (the world) you regulate everything that moves, including human beings. When you decide for one that his last day on earth has come, it is so. It can not be delayed. Therefore, O Mysterious Power, I ask a favor of you."

The Pleiades, the constellation of the Three Deer (Belt of Orion) the morning star, the small star, the bowl of the Dipper, are all wakandas, and they are addressed as "Grandfather." "In the Osage traditions, cedar symbolizes the tree of life. When a woman is initiated into the secret society of the Osage, the officiating man of her gens gives her four sips of water, symbolizing, so they say, the river flowing by the tree of life, and then he rubs her from head to foot with cedar needles, three times in front, three times on her back, and three times on each side, twelve times in all, pronouncing the sacred name of Wakanda as he makes each pass."

These instances are given to aid in the formation of a proper conception of the Wakanda as regarded by the Osage. In the Siouan tongue,

"wakandagi, as a noun, means a subterranean or water monster, a large horned reptile mentioned in the myths, and still supposed to dwell beneath the bluffs along the Missouri river." Osages called themselves Wa-sha-zhe. This name the French traders corrupted to the present Osage. In historic times the tribe was divided into three bands—

1. Pahatsi, or Great Osage.
2. Utsehta, or Little Osage.
3. Santsukhdhi, or the Arkansas Band.

There are different accounts as to how the tribe became separated into the two principal bands—Great and Little Osage. Some insist that the division occurred in primal times. The Osage then dwelt about a great mountain, an immense mound, or a big hill. One part of the tribe lived on the mountain, the remainder on the plain. Those on the elevation came to be called there the great Osage, and those living in the plain were the Little Osage. It has been suggested that the names represented a social difference or some tribal distinction long forgotten by even the Osage themselves. In all probability there is no foundation for any of these explanations. Isaac McCoy, in his "History of Baptist Indian Missions," says the division was the result of some fault of the early traders among them. There were then two towns on the Missouri belonging to the Osage. The one above became known as the upper town, and the people dwelling there as the upper people. In like manner, those at the town below were the lower people. Each town had its chief and separate local government. The white people, having an imperfect knowledge of the language and conditions of the Osage, supposed that the names of the towns signified that all the tall or large people of the tribe lived at the upper settlement and that all the short or small people lived in the lower settlement. There came to be told among the white people in pioneer times the story that the tribe had made an arrangement whereby all the tall people should be in one band and live in one town, while all the short men should dwell together in another town. Intelligent travelers never did mention that there was any difference in the stature of the Great and Little Osage. The terms may not have originated as McCoy says. They may have grown out of the relative size of their two towns in early times, or in some other way not now remembered by the Osage themselves.

The origin of the Arkansas band is known. About 1796 Manuel Lisa secured from the then government of Louisiana a monopoly to trade with the Osage. Previous to that time the trade went to traders in competition, among these the Chouteaus. The monopoly of Lisa cast out the Chouteaus. Pierre Chouteau had at one time enjoyed a monopoly of the Osage trade. When he was superseded as agent of the tribe by Lisa he sought some means of continuing his profitable business relations with the tribe. He determined to divide it and to settle a part of it beyond the jurisdiction of Lisa. He induced the best hunters of the tribe to go with him to the Lower Verdigris. He took only young men and their families, and they were from both the Great and Little Osage. They built towns near the mouth of the Verdigris river. Later they went to the Arkansas, and had towns both above and below the mouth of the Verdigris.

By the French they were known as Osage des Chêne (Osage of the Oaks). Des Chênes was corrupted into a number of terms, of which Chancers was one. The date of the formation of this band and its migration to the Verdigris is given as about 1803 by Lewis and Clark, Doctor Sibley and Mr. Dunbar, in their report published in 1806. They say nearly one-half the Osage nation followed Chouteau; also that "the Little Osage formerly resided on the southwest side of the Missouri, near the mouth of the Grand river, but being reduced by continual warfare with their neighbors, were compelled to seek the protection of the Great Osage, near whom they now reside." Their village was set up on their return, where Pike found it when he ascended the Osage on his way to the Pawnee country.

Fort Osage, afterwards Fort Clark, where Sibley, Mo., now is, was established in October, 1808, as a protection to the Osage Indians, as cited in the preamble of the treaty of November 10, 1808, with the tribe. But the government dealt unfairly in that matter. The fort and trading post had been promised in 1804 and in 1806. In less than a month after it was built, Pierre Chouteau appeared at the fort with the treaty of the 10th of November already written out. It had been prepared without any consultation with a single Osage. Chouteau had the treaty read and explained to the assembled chiefs and warriors. Then he announced that those who signed it would be considered friends of the United States and treated accordingly, and that those who refused to sign would be regarded as enemies. The chief, White Hair, protested, but acknowledged the helplessness of the Indians. He signed the treaty, and fear of being counted enemies of the United States caused all present to sign. This treaty exacted a large tract of land as the price of building Fort Osage. The land was thus described in the treaty: "Beginning at Fort Clark (Fort Osage) on the Missouri, five miles above Fire Prairie, and running thence a due south course to the river Arkansas and down the same to the Mississippi."

All the land east of that line was ceded to the United States. There was much dissatisfaction on the part of the Osages, and they never did understand why the concession was exacted.

The Osages began to move to the westward from their homes in what is now Vernon county, Missouri, about 1815. Some of them may have gone before that date. They fixed their new towns on the Neosho. In the year 1817 the Cherokees destroyed the town on the Verdigris. They also destroyed the crops and carried off as prisoners some fifty old people and children. The warriors were absent at the time, but they took up the hatchet upon their return. The Delawares assisted the Cherokees, and the war continued until 1822.

In 1820 the Great Osages had one village on the Neosho, and the Little Osages had three on the same stream. Of these Colonel Sibley reported in that year:

"The Great Osages of the Osage River.—They live in one village on the Osage river, 78 miles (measured) due south of Fort Osage. [Plainly this village was in the upper portion of Blue Mound township.] They hunt over a very great extent of country, comprising the Osage, Gasconade and Neeozho rivers and their numerous branches. They also hunt on the heads of the St. Francois and White rivers and on the Arkansas.

I rate them at about 1,200 souls, 350 of whom are warriors or hunters, 50 or 60 are superannuated, and the rest are women and children.

"The Great Osages of the Neeozho.—They have one village on the Neeozho river, about 130 or 140 miles southwest of Fort Osage. They hunt pretty much in common with the tribe of the Osage river, from whom they separated six or eight years ago. This village contains about 400 souls, of whom about 100 are warriors and hunters, some 10 or 15 are aged persons, and the rest are women and children. Papuisea, or White Hair, is principal chief.

The Little Osage.— Three villages on the Neeozho river, about 130 or 140 miles southeast of this place (Ft. Osage). This tribe, comprising all three villages and comprehending about twenty families of Missouries that are intermarried with them, I rate about 1,000 souls, about 300 of whom are hunters and warriors, 20 or 30 superannuated, and the rest are women and children. They hunt pretty much in common with the other tribes of Osages mentioned, and frequently on the headwaters of the Kansas, some of the branches of which interlock with those of the Neeozho. Nechoumani, or Walking Rain, principal chief. (Called "Nezuma, or Rain that Walks," by Pike and Wilkinson.)

"Of the Chancers, or Arkansas tribes of Osages, I say nothing, because they do not resort here to trade. I have always rated that tribe at about an equal half of all the Osages. They hunt chiefly on the Arkansas and White rivers and their waters."

From this time until after the Civil War the Osage lived principally in Kansas. One post in Kansas resulted from trade with the Osage while they lived yet in Missouri. The Missouri Fur Company had a trading post near their towns before 1812. It was abandoned that year. When other posts were established is not now known, but the founders of Harmony Mission, who came out in 1821, found several traders seated in the country along the Osage river. One was where Papinville, Vernon county, Missouri, was afterwards laid out. Another was at the Collen ford, on the Osage. The founders of these posts are not now known. About 1831 Michael Gireau and Melicourt Papin had stores at Collen ford. Papin had another at the site of Papinville. There were half a dozen French families at Gireau's store, as well as some half-breed families. They were probably hunters and petty traders. In 1839 Gireau moved his store and established himself further up the Marais des Cygnes, in what is now Linn county, Kansas. The place was later known as Trading Post, a name it still bears. About 1842 this post was sold to one of the Chouteaus, probably Gabriel Chouteau, and it was then called Chouteau's Trading Post. It bore a part in the territorial history of Kansas.

The one village of the Great Osage on the Neosho mentioned by Colonel Sibley was that of White Hair. It was established about the year 1815, as noted before. In 1796, when the Arkansas band was induced to settle on the Lower Verdigris by Chouteau, a trail from these lower towns to the old home on the Little Osage, in Vernon county, Missouri, where Pike found the Osage Nation, was marked, and thenceforth used by traders and Indians alike. This trail followed up the Marmaton, in what is now Bourbon county, Kansas. It crossed over to the waters of the Neosho near the southeast corner of the present Allen county, bearing all the time to the southwest. The Neosho river was reached and crossed just

above the present town of Shaw, in Neosho county, Kansas. In migrating to the Neosho river, White Hair and his band followed this old trail. The great Osage town was fixed at the crossing of the Neosho and on the west side of the river. When the government survey of Kansas was made, the site of White Hair's village fell within the bounds of section sixteen (16) township twenty-eight (28), range nineteen (19).

The exact date of the settlement of the Great Osage in this village on the Neosho is not known. It was about 1815, as said before. Colonel Sibley, writing in October, 1820, says it was "six or eight years ago." The Little Osage must have settled on the Neosho in the great bottom about the present town of Chanute, or they may have been on the east bank of the Neosho, opposite the town of the Great Osage. The Little Osage on the Neosho were more numerous than the Great Osage. In their three towns there were about one thousand souls, including some twenty families of Missouris, intermarried with them.

As evidence further confirming the contention that the Caddoan linguistic family occupied all the country from the Gulf of Mexico to the Dakotas before the intrusion into that region of the different groups of the Siouan family, the following article, referring to investigations by Dr. Joseph B. Thoburn and Dr. Irving Perrine, of the University of Oklahoma, is quoted:

"With the addition of considerable new material to its museum of American ethnology and local history, the University of Oklahoma has just announced the result of its first efforts in the line of archeaological exploration in Oklahoma, namely, among the so-called natural mounds, which are so abundant in the eastern part of the state. Included among the items thus secured by excavation for the museum are a number of pieces of pottery from LeFlore and McCurtain counties, several of which give striking evidence of the artistic ideals and abilities of one of the prehistoric races which once lived in Oklahoma.

"Throughout a region which embraces the entire state of Arkansas and parts of all adjoining states (including twenty counties in Oklahoma) low, circular mounds of earth are so numerous in places as to excite little interest or comment among any but the most curious. In size these mounds vary from 25 to 100 feet in diameter and ordinarily they are from 6 inches to 4 feet in height in the center. The average size is about 45 feet in diameter and 22 inches in height at the center. Although as many as five or six of these mounds may be found to the acre in some places, they ordinarily occur at the rate of about three to the acre, or approximately 2,000 to the square mile. They bear various local names in different portions of the region over which they are scattered, such, for instance, as sand mounds, gas mounds, prairie knolls, pimpled prairies, etc. Under whatever name they may be known, however, they form a very pronounced feature in the landscape wherever they are common.

"The origin of these mounds has been a matter of puzzle and speculation ever since the first white pioneers came to explore and settle the region throughout which they are of such common occurrence. It has also been a source of almost endless dispute among scientists. Archæologists and ethnologists, while not lacking in a certain willingness to claim these mounds as the result of prehistoric human activities, have been very vague and indefinite in their statements concerning details as to the probable origin of the same. About the best that they have been able to suggest is that they were elevated building sites, constructed to furnish a dry, well-drained location for the erection of a wigwam or a lodge. In

some instances they have been designated as 'domiciliary mounds,' which term, while rather comprehensive, leaves much open to individual conjecture. On the other hand, the geologists, with apparent unanimity, have scouted every suggestion of the responsibility of human agency in the making of these mounds, presumably because of their vast numbers and wide distribution. They have therefore endeavored to account for them by assigning various possible theories as to their probable origin, such as erosion, glaciation, wind action, wave action, spring and gas vents, animal burrows and ant hills, and have contented themselves by terming them 'natural mounds.'

"During the past two years the origin of these so-called 'natural mounds' has been made the subject of special investigation by two members of the faculty of the University of Oklahoma, namely, Mr. Joseph B. Thoburn, of the department of history, and Dr. Irving Perrine, of the department of geology. As the result of this investigation it has been conclusively proven that each of these countless thousands of tumuli is in fact the ruins of a timber-framed, dome-shaped turf-covered human habitation, which was built and occupied by the people of a race which long since passed away without leaving even so much as a tradition of their existence and activities. That these 'earth-house people' were entirely distinct from the mound builders and the cave dwellers (who also, though at different periods, occupied extensive areas in the same region) seems probable.

"It is evident that the people of this race lived in fixed villages and that they depended largely upon agriculture as a means of subsistence. In speaking of this Mr. Thoburn (who recently returned from the eastern part of the state, where he has been engaged in excavation and other field work) cited not only crude spades, hoes and other implements of tillage which were fashioned from such materials as flint, chert, trap rock and slate, but also the evidence that certain areas of valley land and fertile prairie land were in cultivation hundreds of years ago. When asked as to the probable antiquity of these remains of prehistoric life, Mr. Thoburn said:

" 'While it would, of course, be impossible to state definitely the exact period when the people of this prehistoric stock lived in Oklahoma, it would be safe to say that at least 600 years have elapsed since they disappeared from that part of their habitat. We are warranted in assuming this much because southern Missouri, Arkansas and eastern Oklahoma were overrun by the Osages and Quapaws approximately 600 years ago, according to the traditions of those tribes. If the "earth-house people" had not already disappeared it would seem probable that they were expelled by the incoming tribes. From the fact that the former must have been much more numerous than the Osages and Quapaws, however, it may be inferred that a plague or epidemic disease had swept away the greater part of the inhabitants of the region before the appearance of these tribes west of the Mississippi.'

"Continuing, Mr. Thoburn said:

" 'That there must have been a population far more dense than that of any of the aboriginal tribes which were living in the United States at the time of the discovery of the continent by Europeans is amply evidenced not only by the vast number of earth-house mounds, but by the number and extent of the burial grounds or cemeteries of these people as well. So far as we have been able to ascertain, all of these burial grounds are located on the alluvial flood plains of rivers and creeks. It is not improbable that those ancient inhabitants cleared and cultivated the fertile valley lands, the soil of which is usually a sandy loam. The selection of such a site for the interment of the dead was logical, because in such soil it was easier to dig a grave with a clam shell than it would have been to dig one with their crude implements of stone in the heavy clay subsoils of the uplands, where there was also a likelihood of strik-

ing rock or gravel. Some of these valley land burial grounds were quite extensive. One, which has been partially explored in the valley of the Arkansas, is over a mile in length, with the graves quite close together throughout its entire extension.'

"To make a thorough study of the culture of this departed race will, of course, necessitate much further investigation, means for which are not now available for our use. It is quite possible, indeed, it is probable, that such a line of investigation may result in throwing much new light on the antecedents of the American Indians as we have known them in the United States. The long accepted theory of Asiatic origin and of the migration of Mongolian stock by way of Behring strait is apt to be rudely jolted, for the indications are that these people, who tilled the soil and lived in earth-covered houses, came from Mexico. It is also within the realms of possibility that they may prove to have been the parent stock of the Pawnees, Arikaras and other Caddoan tribes. Indeed, it was the earth-covered domiciles of the Pawnees and Arikaras which supplied the clue to the probable origin of the so-called 'natural mounds.' The partial excavation of the greater part of the floor areas in the Pawnee house caused the difference between the 'lodge circles' of Nebraska and the 'house mounds' of Oklahoma. The position in the fireplace is the same in both. The ancient fireplace, with wood ashes and bits of charcoal, may be found in nearly all of these earth-house mounds, near the center, and not infrequently there will also be found flakes of flint and fragments of bone and pottery as well.

"The 'earth-house people' were masters of the art of working stone into implements and weapons by the various processes of chipping, flaking, pecking, grinding, polishing and drilling. That they were skilled in the making of baskets and in spinning and weaving is probable, though it is difficult to secure relics of these arts. They made use of copper to some extent, and it is not improbable that they may have smelted galena ore for lead. But it was in the manufacture of pottery that they apparently excelled all other aboriginal tribes of the United States, both prehistoric and recent. Whether it was due to their religious beliefs and practices, or for other reasons, they generally buried one or more pieces of pottery with their dead, and it is to this custom that we are indebted for the preservation of the specimens which may be exhumed from the ancient burial grounds. In most instances there is to be found a bowl or other vessel of burned clay with each interment. Occasionally there are two or more bowls, jars or vases to be found in one grave. Some of these wares indicated a highly developed industrial skill and a truly remarkable aptitude for following the lines of beauty in art as well. Among the various artistic designs are many that might well serve as models for the modern designer of art pottery. Those ancient potters were apparently familiar with the use of different clays, as the basic surfaces are of various colors. They were also skillful in the tracing of designs upon their wares before burning, by various means, such as engraving, indenting, and by the use of pigments. Oddly enough, the credit for the manufacture of this pottery (much of which has been excavated in recent years in Missouri, Arkansas and adjacent states) has been given to the mound builders, or else to the people of the tribes which occupied the region when the white men first came into it. Yet it is a fact that the earthworks of the mound builders outside of domain of the 'earth-house people' do not contain such exquisite types of the potter's art; and, moreover, the Osage, Quapaw, Chickasaw and other tribes which occupied the region in question at the beginning of the historical period have given no evidence of ever having been possessed of such skill in ceramic manufacture. Parenthetically, it may be stated that in the extensive variety in design, finish and texture of these wares there should be a hint as to the industrial development of the burnt-clay products industry of this region in the comparatively near future.

# THE GROUND-HOUSE INDIANS AND STONE-CIST GRAVE BUILDERS OF KANSAS AND NEBRASKA.[1]

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society, by MARK E. ZIMMERMAN,[2] of White Cloud.

NORTHEASTERN KANSAS and southeastern Nebraska were inhabited by "Ground-house" Indians long before Coronado, Oñate and the Siouan tribes of Indians set foot on Quiviran soil.

These Ground-house Indians were mound builders, buried their dead in different types of stone graves, and made three different types of pottery. The late John B. Dunbar, of Bloomfield, N. J., wrote a paper which contains all the historical data relative to the early Spanish and French explorers of Kansas, also the Indians who lived in this region at that time. Mr. Dunbar's paper, "The White Man's Foot in Kansas," was printed by the Kansas State Historical Society, in volume 10 of the "Collections."

It is not the purpose of the present paper to quote history, but to give a descriptive record of archæological remains left by the people who inhabited Kansas before historic time and to record some Indian traditions which may help to identify the people who left those remains.

## LODGE SITES.

Mr. George Catlin located on a chart he made of the Missouri and Ohio rivers, in 1833, lodge sites at seven different places along the Missouri river between Mandan, N. Dak., and St. Louis, Mo. In the counties bordering on the river in Kansas and southeastern Nebraska are ruins of a vast number of earth lodges left by the Ground-house Indians.

My individual archæological work has all been done in Doniphan county, Kansas, and Richardson county, Nebraska, between the Wolf and Nemaha rivers. Mr. Edward Park, of White Cloud, Kan., has been a coworker at all times in this field. Mr. Francis Sell has helped with the work a number of times. Dr. R. S. Dinsmore, of Troy, Kan., had explored Doniphan county from Wolf river east and south to the Atchison county line. P. L. Gray, of Severance, Kan., explored the southwest corner of Doniphan county. George J. Remsburg, of Potter, Kan., has explored the whole region from Doniphan to Wyandotte county. Part of these discoveries are included in this paper.

Between Wolf and Nemaha rivers are three distinct types of ground-house ruins. Those of the largest size, some of which are ruins of lodges which were one hundred feet in diameter, are situated on the bluffs along

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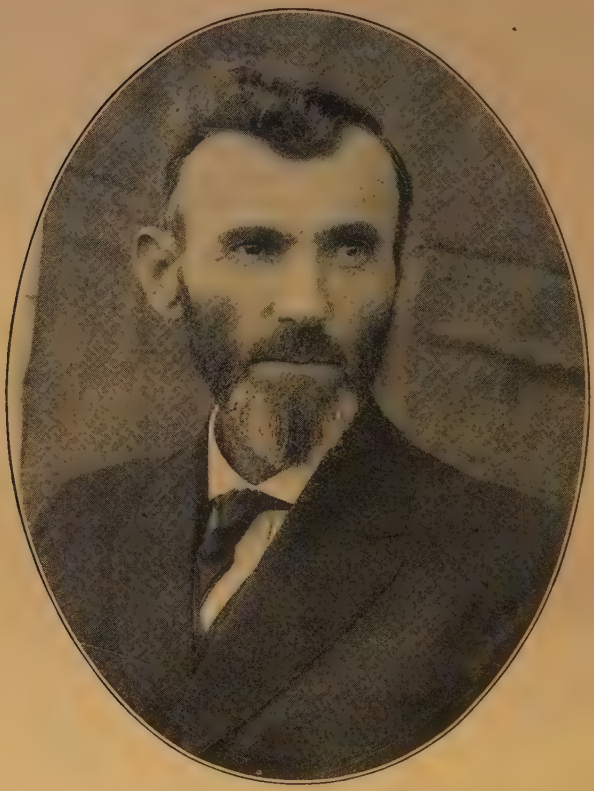
1. For further material on Indian occupation of Kansas, see "Notes on the Early Indian Occupancy of the Great Plains," this volume.

2. Mark Ethelbert Zimmerman was born in Rushville, Ill., June 1, 1866, the son of Jacob and Columbia Ann Zimmerman. With his family he came to Kansas in 1873, settling in Doniphan county, and has continued to reside there, his present home being the old Mallows farm near White Cloud. He was educated in the public schools of Troy, and at Campbell College, Holton. Afterwards he attended school in Sherwood, Mich. He was married to Miss Mary Alice Mallows, October 30, 1887, and they are the parents of seven children. Mr. Zimmerman has been deeply interested in archæology and has an unusually fine collection at his home. He has done much research work along that line and has been generous in his donations to the Kansas Historical Society's collections.



MARK E. ZIMMERMAN,
White Cloud, Kan.

the Missouri river. One near the mouth of the Nemaha river, in Richardson county, Nebraska, a second in Doniphan county, between White Cloud and Iowa Point, on the Flavel Nuzum farm, and a third in the same locality near the mouth of Wolf river, on the Samuel French farm, are the largest ruins remaining. These ruins are given different names by different writers. They are the type George Catlin called "lodge rings." Mr. R. F. Gilder, of Omaha, Neb., described them as "buffalo wallows." The pioneer white settlers of this locality thought they were buffalo wallows. The Iowa Indians call this type of ruins "Pawnee forts."

The construction of a ground-house of this type was the same as a Pawnee or Mandan earth lodge. An excavation was made in the ground in a circular form from three to four feet deep and from thirty to one hundred feet in diameter. An entrance was made in the east or south side by a sloping passageway, which extended out from the main circle far enough so there would be no need of steps. A framework of forks and poles was set up around the circle, closing in to a point at the top,

forming a half oval. Over this frame long grass was placed, and the whole covered with earth, except a small hole in the center of the top, which served as skylight and smoke escape. As there was more earth and wood near the outside of the circle or walls of the lodge, when the hay and poles decayed the top fell in, the walls settled down around the edge, and with the earth already thrown out in excavating, formed the "saucer-shaped depressions," "mounds with depressions in the top," "buffalo wallows," etc., as called by the different authorities. A fireplace was made in the center of these ground-houses. The doorway was covered in the same manner as the main part of the lodge. Lodge ruins of

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this type have been exploited as animal mounds, while other writers have recorded them as Indian graves. Some tribes bury their dead under the floor of the domicile, as the Pueblos. It was demonstrated at the Pani village, near the mouth of the Nemaha river, last year (1915) that the occupants of the lodges were slain and left on the floor of the lodge, the lodges were burned, and the victors buried their fallen comrades in the ashes and earth covering the remains of the fallen foe. So far no caches have been located in any of these ruins on the bluffs.

Another type of ground-house of this locality is smaller, does not extend below the surface so far, and there are cistern-shaped caches in the floor. There is but a slight depression, if any, in the present-day ruins, and most of these show much burned clay, bricklike in color, with impressions of grass or hay. The late Prof. J. V. Brower pictured a piece of this material, which he thought was from a pottery kiln, in his book, "Harahey." In the work here ruins have been found which were so rich in this material that they were strikingly similar to an old brick kiln. In one of them, on the W. I. Collins estate, four miles south of White Cloud, Kan., I found much broken earthenware, and artifacts of stone, flint and bone. There were seven of the cistern-shaped caches under the floor of this lodge. In one were some bone artifacts and a black pot with two small ears. In another were an outfit of pottery tools and a pot which had not been fired. The lodge, while nearly new, had been burned. The hay and poles generated enough heat to burn the clay cover to a brick-

like consistency. An old, wet, decayed lodge would not produce the amount of heat to burn the clay cover.

During the month of November, 1915, Mr. Park excavated another of this type of ground-house. This one was twenty-one feet in diameter, two and one-half feet from the present surface to the floor. There were five caches in this lodge. One tobacco pipe, three perforators, a number of hammerstones, a few pieces of galena ore and a lot of broken pottery were discovered. Some of the last was of the "cocoanut" type. This type of ground-house is the most numerous of the three types found here. It was the type used by the Arikara Indians, who were the original Haraheys.

The last of the three types to be described are usually found near the bank of a creek or small stream. Some were found along Cedar creek, in Doniphan county, others on Mill creek, and several more on a little stream near White Cloud. Some were open on the side nearest to the creek. During October, 1915, I excavated one of this type on the Alice Bell farm, on Cedar creek, south of White Cloud, Kan. A quantity of yellow ochre, charcoal, ashes, flint chips and a flint knife three inches in length were discovered on the floor of this ruin. The pottery found near this type is sand tempered and much coarser than the other sand-tempered ware of this region. The decoration is also different. Some of the vessels have small nodes around the rims, produced by punching with a small implement from the inside outward, while the clay was yet green. There is no marked difference in the flint used for the artifacts by the Indians who made this crude thick pottery and that used by those who made finer ware and made the other types of lodges. Pink flint is common to all, and was probably procured from southwest Missouri. Mr. Brower thought the Quivirans got this pink material in Arkansas.

### VILLAGES AND CITIES.

On the south side of the Nemaha and about two miles above the mouth of the stream, in Richardson county, Nebraska, are the ruins of one of the largest villages or cities of this region. It covers the greater part of 160 acres. Lodge sites cover the whole surface. Broken earthenware artifacts of stone, and bone and skeletal material of men, animals, birds and fishes are mixed with the ashes and soil to a depth of two or three feet. North of Fanning and east of Wolf river, on the Corcoran farm, is another village site with the same characteristics.

On both of these sites shell-tempered earthenware is found. As far as now known, these sites are the only ones in northeastern Kansas or southeastern Nebraska where the shell-tempered ware is found.

On Independence creek, near the old town of Doniphan, is where Bourgmont found the Kansa in 1724. The earthenware of this locality is sand tempered and the Arikara type of pottery.

The following village and camp sites were discovered by George J. Remsburg: Independence creek site, on Joseph Geisendorfer farm, at junction of Independence and Rock creeks, Doniphan county; Deer creek site, on Fred Metz farm, north of Atchison, near Doniphan county line; Atchison site, on town site of Atchison; Potato Hill site, near the old town site of Sumner, south of Atchison; Acorn or Whisky creek site, one-

half mile south of Atchison; Walnut creek site, five miles south of Atchison; Owl creek site, a few miles further south; Bluma site, at Port William on Little Walnut creek; Oak Mills site, at the village of Oak Mills; Dougan site, on the Hiram Dougan farm, south of Oak Mills; Kickapoo site, at Kickapoo; Salt Creek site, below Kickapoo; Fort Leavenworth site, on the military reservation; Wolcott site, at Wolcott, below Leavenworth; a chain of sites on Stranger creek from Easton, in Leavenworth county, to Farmington, in Atchison county, the more important of which are Pensonean site, near Potter, Crooked creek site, on the Ed Rogers farm in Jefferson county, and Plum creek site, south and west of Kickapoo.

Dr. R. S. Dinsmore, of Troy, discovered the following villages and camp sites: Zimmerman site, two miles east of Troy, on Peters creek; Dan Landis site, four miles southeast of Troy; and other sites along the small streams, southeast and north of Troy, in Doniphan county, too numerous to mention. On the James Hackney farm, four and one-half miles southeast of Troy, he found another very interesting village site.

MOUNDS.

There are numerous small mounds along the Missouri river from the mouth of the Kansas to the mouth of the Nemaha river. Lewis and Clark reported mounds near the mouth of the Nemaha river, in 1804. The following is taken from the Lewis and Clark Journal, part one, page 61, published by Paul Allen:

"On going ashore, he [Captain Clark] found in the level plain several artificial mounds or graves, and on the adjoining hills others of larger size. This appearance indicates sufficiently the former population of this country, the mounds being certainly intended as tombs, the Indians of the Missouri still preserving the custom of interring the dead on high ground. From the top of the highest mound a delightful prospect presented itself."

During the month of October, 1914, Mr. William Barada, an Iowa Indian, made an excavation in the side of the mound on which Captain Clark stood in 1804. One whole pot, parts of two others, a part of some wooden implement, and a bracelet made of material similar to rawhide were discovered, and human skeletal material were exhumed.

The Rev. Isaac McCoy discovered mounds on the Fort Leavenworth military reservation in 1830, in which were stone graves.

Mr. E. T. Servis, of Kansas City, Mo., reported mounds as follows: "There are a number of mounds near Wyandotte, Kan., of which a map is in preparation; also a workshop an acre in extent, covered with chips of flint and potsherds." (Smithsonian Report, 1879, page 433.)

George J. Remsburg demolished a mound on the Senator Ingalls estate, south of Atchison. A skeleton with a long piece of flint in the skull and much other skeletal material were discovered. Stone had been used in constructing the mound. Sand-tempered potsherds, shell beads, bone handles for tools, a bone arrow-shaft straightener, a few flint arrow-heads and small flint knives were found. (See "An Old Kansas Indian Town on the Missouri," by George J. Remsburg.)

Between Troy and Blair, on Peters creek, is situated the largest mound

in Doniphan county. An excavation was made in this mound some years ago, and ashes, bones and stones were exhumed.

Dr. R. S. Dinsmore, of Troy, Kan., discovered several mounds near the mouth of Mosquito creek, north of Troy. He, with George J. Remsburg, partly examined one of them. Sand-tempered potsherds and a few flint artifacts were discovered. The pottery was of the cocoanut type.

Between White Cloud and Iowa Point, on the Joseph Taylor farm, is situated another mound. Edward and Lawrence Park, Francis and Pete Sell and the writer decided to examine this mound. During April, 1914, the work began, with team, plow and scraper. Human bones were uncovered at three different places by the first furrow with the plow. Spades were then used, and fifty-seven skulls were exhumed from a space ten by twenty feet in the southwest quadrant of the mound. All the burials were bundles but three. These three were extended with heads to the north and were beneath the bundle strata. Ashes, burnt clay, a few flint chips and pices of broken pottery were discovered. The extended skeletons were of the low-forehead race, to which belong the Nebraska Loess man and the Trenton, N. J., skulls.

### STONE GRAVES

From Kansas river to Nemaha river many stone graves have been discovered. A record was made of some. The majority, however, were destroyed and the stone hauled away. Between Wolf and Nemaha rivers three types of stone graves have been found.

Northeast of Troy, Kan., on the Emily Ritchey farm, was situated a large stone grave. The late James N. Gibbins discovered the grave and thought it was a foundation for a building placed there by white men. He excavated a load or two of rock, but found no other sign of Indian remains. The wall extended about four feet below the top of the ground in rectangular shape, about 12 by 18 feet. A large stone maul was afterwards found near the site by Prof. J. R. Gibbins, of Highland College, who has the maul in his collection at the present writing.

The Rev. Isaac McCoy discovered stone graves near Fort Leavenworth, in 1830. Mr. George J. Remsburg has discovered stone graves in Leavenworth, Atchison and Doniphan counties during his career of thirty years as an archæologist.

Bulletin No. 4, volume 1, of the International Society of Archæologists, contains an article by the late Pryor Plank, of Eagle Springs, Doniphan county, Kansas, from which the following is extracted. As Mr. Plank was a pioneer settler in Doniphan county, and always took an interest in the Indians and Archæology, there is no doubt in my mind that his statements can be fully trusted:

"Situated in a big bend of the Missouri river, in the northeastern corner of Kansas, the territory which now constitutes Doniphan county was well supplied by the generous hand of nature with everything necessary for the support of primitive man, there being an abundance of wild game, wood and water. That these advantages were utilized by some powerful tribes that roamed up and down the Missouri river centuries ago is shown by the great number of old village sites. Some of the large rings on these old village sites were still to be seen in the early settlement of the country, but broken fragments of pottery, flint implements, stone

axes, heaps of ashes and burnt rocks are all that now mark the spot where they once stood. The plow has leveled them down. The largest one of these lodge rings I ever saw was located in the northeast part of Doniphan county on the John Alfrey farm. It was about sixty feet across and deep as a man's head in the center when I first saw it. It is in a cultivated field and is almost obliterated now. Being so large, it was most likely the council house of the tribe, as ordinarily these lodge rings were much smaller. One on the Logan farm a half mile north of the large one was only twenty feet across and quite shallow, like a buffalo wallow, in the sand along the Platte river of Nebraska. This is the largest village site I have ever seen and must at one time have contained a population running well up into the thousands. It extended a mile north from the big lodge to the great bend of Wolf river, near where it empties into the Missouri river. It covered Wolf river valley on both sides and extended well up into high ground. In company with Doctor Bowers, of Falls City, Neb., who had been state geologist of California, I made some excavations on this village site west of Wolf river about thirty years ago. We discovered some stone walls about three feet apart and twice that length, built down into the ground four feet, or perhaps a little more, but found nothing to indicate what they had been built for. If they had been intended as vaults for the dead, none had been deposited there, or if so, had been removed. They may have been caches in which to store away their effects when they went on a hunt or warpath. But caches for that purpose were not built that way, at least by the tribes which inhabited this region later on. They were round holes in the ground, shaped like we make our cisterns to hold water. Doctor Bowers and I had better success in some excavations we made at Eagle Springs, east of Wolf river. Here we found some nice flint arrowheads. A great many are found at and near this place, as well as broken pottery and stone axes. The material out of which their stone axes and flint implements were made is not found anywhere in this region, and it may have been an article of barter and trade between the tribes living here and those where it was secured, or it may have been secured by war and conquest, along with the scalps of their enemies. That the artifacts were made here is shown by spawls of the material around the villages. Their pottery was also made here from common clay mixed with coarse sand to give it strength and durability, which at best was not great, and consequently hot stones were used in heating water for cooking purposes. Large numbers of these small stones are still to be found about the old fireplace where they were used to cook the family meal. As these old village sites all possess the same general characteristics, a description of one will apply to all, the only difference being in size and location. Among the most prominent of these old sites is the one above described, near the mouth of Wolf river, where a band of Kaws (Kansa) were still lingering in 1819 when Major Long passed through here on his way to explore the Rocky Mountains. The balance of the tribe had gone south to the Kansas river."

Mr. Plank and Doctor Bowers did not arrive at any conclusion regarding the "walls" they discovered. Please notice that Mr. Plank makes a difference in the lodge sites, "according to size and location."

Northeast of Highland and west of Wolf river, on the John Noble farm, were three of these stone vaults. Mr. Noble took out the rock to use in the foundation for a barn. Prof. J. R. Gibbins, of Highland, was notified that they were to be demolished, and secured some earthenware and skeletal remains. The dimensions of these three graves were three by six feet and they extended about four feet below the surface of the earth.

The late Doctor Herring, of Sparks, Kan., discovered and exmained several stone graves near Sparks. These were west of Sparks on land preëmpted by the late John Sparks, in whose honor the town was named. The stone was hauled away and used for different purposes. Dr. R. S. Dinsmore, of Troy, made the following report of his stone-grave discoveries to the writer in a letter:

"I have opened four Indian graves, in which the stones were on end and the tops were covered with stones piled promiscuously. Three of these graves were on the farm of A. Sutton, four miles north of Troy. The one containing the most stone for its construction was that of a child probably not more than ten years of age. The bones were almost entirely gone. A few shell beads and bone ornaments were found in the grave. The grave which contained the skull which has attracted so much attention on account of its apparent age was about fifty yards north of the first grave described. The body had been buried in a sitting position, the skull only about fourteen inches under the surface, the head or skull covered with a large cup-shaped stone. This grave also contained some shell and stone beads, several pieces of shell wampum, and shell ornaments were found on each side and below the skull. They were probably hair ornaments. The third grave contained only a trace of skeletal remains of an adult, without any trace of beads or objects of shell. These graves were on the top of a ridge, the second from the Missouri river and about three hundred yards from the river. The fourth grave was on the farm of James Butler, one mile northwest of the old town site of Doniphan. It was about eight feet in length and four feet in width, with the stones set on edge, and extended down to a depth of four feet. This grave had been opened prior to my examination and the bones all removed. About the year 1857 a band of Indians opened a number of graves in that locality and carried the bones away. I am of the opinion that this grave was opened at that time. The communal grave discovered and opened by myself was on the J. A. Fenner farm, one-half mile east of the Sutton farm. This grave contained the remains of many Indians. I exhumed and removed seventy-one skulls. Dr. Fred H. Sterns, his associates and myself, removed fifty more skulls and other skeletal material from the same grave. Nearly all of these remains are now in the Peabody Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. I think there is no question but that this mound contained the largest number of human remains ever found in this country. Doctor Sterns said it was the largest of any he had ever seen or knew of. This mound or burial ground was on a bare ridge about three hundred feet above the bed of the Missouri river, and was also on the second ridge of bluffs from the river. The space occupied by this grave was about twelve by twenty-four feet and did not exceed a depth of two feet. Erosion has undoubtedly had much to do with the shallowness of this burial. Doctor Sterns said he was going to give this mound the name Dinsmore, on account of my having discovered it."

Some jars and vases of earthenware were found in this communal grave. They were sand tempered and of the cocoanut type. Mr. Gerard Fowke visited this grave in 1914, accompanied by Doctor Dinsmore. George J. Remsburg also made a trip to see the same mound in company with Doctor Dinsmore.

Dr. Fred H. Sterns informed me that no stone graves had been discovered in Nebraska. He said, "It was reported that one had been discovered, but when we investigated the matter there was no foundation for the report." Doctor Sterns has done much field work for Peabody Mu-

seum, in Nebraska, but only two days were spent in Richardson county, and they were spent on the old Pani village, near the mouth of the Nemaha river. In the Falls City *Journal*, April 22, 1914, is an article by Mr. Jerome Wiltse, sr. Mr. Wiltse makes the following statements:

"I was in Rulo during the summer of 1861, searching a place to buy for a home. Abraham St. Pierre, the husband of a daughter of the youngest of the La Charity's, whom Lewis and Clark found living the farthest up the Missouri river in 1804 of any white people, at the mouth of what is called the Charitan river, was there. Bob White Cloud, son of the Iowa chief, was present. He lived on the northeast quarter of section 1, town 1, range 17, east. He said that the Otoe Indians had occupied the country before the Iowas and other people had lived in it, who buried their dead in graves walled up with stone, which was not the Indian custom. He said that the Iowas had dug down in one northeast of his place, by a wall, to bury a bundle of the bones of some of their dead, and something from the grave frightened them away. On the day set for the land to be sold, St. Pierre and I went to Arago by way of Rulo, over the bluffs, as far as Winnebago. On the way he pointed out to me the graves of the Iowa Indians, and the one in which they had made the attempted intrusive burial. Cass Jones served a term in the army and then located on the southwest quarter of section 30, town 2, range 18 east. The grave was on his land, near the west line. This grave was about four feet deep, seven feet wide and twelve feet long. Francis Dupuis was engaged to act as agent for the American Fur Company, of St. Louis, Mo., in 1832. He came from Quebec, Canada, into the United States by way of Lake Superior and across the country to Fort Mandan, near the Missouri river. As members of an Indian tribe he saw men with blue eyes, half breeds and quarter breeds who had red whiskers and were of Welsh descent on the fathers' side for several generations back. He told of seeing sepulchral mounds or barrows that were walled and used to inclose the dead of some race of people that came to the Missouri river country, he thought from down stream, and buried their dead in that way. Those of them that lived had intermingled with the Indians, as had been done by the Welsh he described. Mr. Dupuis married a sister of Chief White Cloud and raised a family. His house was south of Rulo, near the Nemaha river. He died there some years ago and is buried near Roy's creek, in the Iowa burying place."

It will be noticed that "bundle of bones" occurs in the last-quoted article. The Iowas formerly used the scaffold method of burial, and at certain times the bones were gathered, bundled, and placed in a communal grave. The pioneer settlers near White Cloud have seen the scaffold in use.

Mr. Edward Park, Prof. J. R. Gibbins, Andrew Guthrie, Emmet McClelland, Lawrence Zimmerman and the writer opened and examined a stone grave northwest of the mouth of Mission creek, which empties into the Missouri river a short distance above the mouth of Wolf river, on the Rose Guthrie Nuzum land. This grave was rectangular in shape, the longer east and west. It was eighteen feet long and nine feet wide, with a partition wall through the center, forming two vaults, each nine by nine feet, less the thickness of wall, and extending below the surface four or more feet. The walls were laid up as white men lay stone without mortar, and not set on end or on edge, as the majority of the stone graves are built. Mr. Gerard Fowke demolished graves of this type near and below Kansas City, Mo. In the east vault or cist were remains of three adults. One was extended with head to the east. On either side of the skull

of the extended skeleton was a skeleton which was bundled or buried in a sitting posture. None of this skeleton material showed action of fire. They were evidently interred in a natural state. The skeleton remains in the west vault were calcined. I am of the opinion that those in the east vault were intrusive burials and remains of Kansa or Iowa Indians. The grave was on a very high bluff, from which the country for miles around presented itself to view.

Mr. Park and I opened another stone grave just northwest of the limits of Iowa Point, on the A. R. Renfro land. This grave was also on a very high bluff, near the Missouri river. We opened this grave October 5, 1913. It was a small one, only six by three feet and extended below the surface only two and one-half feet. The walls were laid up and were covered with large slabs of stone. It was longer north and south. In the north end were parts of two adult skulls which had been charred or

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calcined. In the south end were parts of long bones, which had also been calcined. No artifacts of any kind were found. About four feet north of this grave was another with the stone set on edge in an outward flaring shape. The stone extended down about three and one-half feet from the surface. This one was pear shaped and was floored with flat stones. Yellow ocher and a few fresh-water shells were found on the floor. A part of an animal's shoulder blade was all the bone this grave contained. There was nothing to indicate that the grave had been opened before our examination was made.

On land belonging to Mrs. Phillip Kelley, three miles south of White Cloud, is situated another stone grave. This grave is another type. An excavation was made in the ground to a depth of two feet, three feet wide and five and one-half feet in length. The body was placed in the excavation with head to northeast, and was covered with flat stones, forming a rough arch over the body. Over the stone earth was placed, perhaps forming a low mound, which the plow had leveled.

ARTIFACTS.

Stone axes were used by the Ground-house Indians. They were made with grooves and without grooves, of many different kinds of stone and many different shapes. Some are similar to those of Ohio. The smallest weigh but a few ounces, while the largest weigh fifteen pounds or more. Some are very rough and others are polished as smooth as glass.

The celts or skinning axes run in weight from a couple of ounces up to six pounds. Mauls with grooves are found in this region. Hammerstones are plentiful. Those with pits on one side or both are not found in large numbers here.

Shallow mortars for corn grinding, stone balls and flint artifacts were manufactured by the Ground-house people. Arrow heads of all the common types were used here. Spearheads and long flint knives are found, the longest of which are twelve to fifteen inches. Large flint spades and grooved hoes were not used by these people. Tobacco pipes and a few gorgets have been found. A few artifacts of hematite have been found. The Ground-house people used hematite mostly for paint.

The pink flint which Mr. Brower thought was brought to Kansas by the Quivira Indians was used by the Ground-house Indians of this locality. The four-bladed flint knife, the "Harahey type," was the common form here.

POTTERY.

Pottery was made and used by the Ground-house Indians. Some of this was coarse and thick, some fine and thin. None of the ware found here equals the southwestern Pueblo ware, but will compare very favorably with ware from Ohio and the Mississippi south, excepting, of course, the painted ware found in Arkansas and a few other places.

Some of the coarser varieties are decorated with small nodes around the neck of the jars. Some of it is of the cocoanut type. The pie-crust rims are common here. The most common ware of this region is the sand-tempered variety, and is similar to modern Arikara ware from North Dakota, sent to the writer from Mandan, N. Dak., by Mr. E. R.

Steinbruck. Mr. George J. Remsburg, of Potter, sent to the writer a box of potsherds from old village sites in Atchison and Leavenworth counties. Mr. S. P. Hughes, of Howe, Neb., sent specimens of earthenware to Remsburg from the R. F. Gilder field, south of the Platte river, which were sent to the writer by Remsburg with the rest of that big collection. Mr. Hughes sent specimens of potsherds from near Howe, Neb., also. All of these are of the same type and decoration as the Ground-house ware of this locality.

The writer sent specimens of the three different kinds of earthenware used by the Ground-house Indians of this region to Mr. William H. Holmes, of the Smithsonian Institution at Washington, D. C. Mr. Holmes described them as follows:

*Village Site at the Mouth of Nemaha River.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Size | Medium to large; largest twelve or more inches in diameter. |
| Use | Domestic; culinary. |
| Shape | Round body, wide mouth. |
| Walls | Thin to thick; up to one-half inch. |
| Surface | Rubbed down in and out. |
| Rims | Upright to sharply flaring. |
| Handles | Loops of varied form; short, thick, crude. |
| Tempering | Shell. |
| Texture | Medium. |
| Hardness | Soft. |
| Color | Natural grays; some fire-blackened. |
| Ornament | Polish slight; no cord; incised with narrow- and wide-pointed tool in simple geometric designs; trailed; no nodes. |

*Pottery of Cedar Creek, Doniphan County.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Grade | Primitive, next to lowest. |
| Size | Small to medium; diameter three to twelve inches. |
| Use | Culinary; blackened over fire. |
| Shape | Full body, wide mouth. |
| Walls | Thickness, three-sixteenths to ten-sixteenths inch. |
| Surface | Roughly rubbed inside and out. |
| Rims | Low to high; upright and out curved; squarish on top. |
| Tempering | Silicious; coarse sand. |
| Texture | Medium to coarse. |
| Hardness | Medium. |
| Color | Natural grays. |
| Ornament | Polish, crude; cord paddled, random; cord impressed, in design; incised; trailed; nodes pushed out. |

*Pottery from Ground-house on Collins Farm, Near White Cloud, Kan. Harahey Type.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Tribe | Arikara. |
| Grade | Primitive, next to lowest. |
| Size | Small—under eight inches. |
| Use | Domestic; culinary. |
| Shape | Full body, wide mouth. |
| Walls | Thin; up to five-sixteenths inch. |
| Surface | Rubbed down. |
| Rims | Low to medium, out curved. |
| Handles | Thick, rounded loop; rim to shoulder. |
| Tempering | Silicious; coarse to fine. |
| Texture | Medium. |
| Hardness | Medium. |
| Color | Natural grays to yellowish and reddish. |
| Ornament | Polish, smoothed; cord paddled, random; cord designs; incised; trailed; nodes. |

None of the three types described above is what is called the cocoanut type. Mr. Gerard Fowke, in his work in central and southeastern Missouri, found only two specimens of sand-tempered earthenware. It is evident from the specimens I have in my collections from different places along the Missouri river, from the Kansas river north to Mandan, N. Dak., there are but two village sites where shell-tempered earthen-

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ware was used. Another significant fact is that between those two small sites are found the stone graves with the laid-up walls. Mr. Fowke had traced the cist-grave builders from western Pennsylvania to Kansas City, Mo. From Kansas City they moved to the Corcoran and Nemaha villages, in the northeast corner of Kansas and the southeast corner of Nebraska. Who these people were, where they came from and what became of them I will now try to show.

Mr. R. E. Twitchell, in "Leading Facts of New Mexican History," volume 1, page 220, refers to the Spanish expedition conducted by Coronado in 1541. He quotes: "The army reaches the plains, and they see buffalo and Indians, called Querechos. . . . They informed the general that there was a very large river over toward the rising sun, and that it was possible to go along this stream for ninety days without a break from settlement to settlement; and that the first of these settlements was called Haxa. . . ."

In Bulletin 30, part 1, page 532, of the Bureau of American Ethnology ("Handbook of American Indians"), Mr. F. W. Hodge says: "Harahey.—One of the various forms of the same name, of a province of which Coronado, while among the New Mexico Pueblos in 1540-'41, learned from a native thereof, who said that it lay beyond Quivira (the Wichita country of east-central Kansas). . . . The Spaniards did not visit it, but sent for their chief, named Tatarrax. . . ." The Harahey people may have been the Pawnee, and the habitat at this time (1541) was in the vicinity of the Kansas river in east Kansas.

In writing of the Guaes, of whom the Spanish manuscripts tell, Mr. Hodge, in the "Handbook of American Indians," says: "A people of whom Coronado learned in 1542. They evidently lived east of Quivira. . . . The name bears a resemblance to Kaws, but as this is the French traders' contraction of Kansa, first applied not earlier than the first

quarter of the nineteenth century, the two peoples were probably not the same, Guas or Guaes being apparently a Wichita or Pawnee name, or a corruption thereof."

It is evident, then, that there was a powerful family of Indians living along the Mississippi and Missouri rivers in 1541. These Indians were the Ground-house Indians, called "Snakes" in the "Walum-Olum" of the Algonquin Delawares. Their ground-houses were also called "bare hills," in which the "Snakes hid themselves because they were weak." This confederacy of tribes of the same family were the Haraheys, who were the next province beyond Quivira, which, as related above, was the Wichita country of east-central Kansas. The family to which this confederacy of Snakes belonged is now known to ethnologists as Caddoan. To this family belong the Wichitas (Quivirans) and the Arikaras (Haraheys).

Juan de Oñate, on his way from New Mexico to Quivira, in 1601, came across a tribe of Indians called Aijados, who were enemies to the Quivirans. The Spaniards and the Aijados went to Quivira. Afterwards the Spaniards found Escansaques, who were also enemies of the Quivirans. The Spaniards went to Quivira with the Escansaques, and then returned to New Mexico. (See volume 10, "Kansas Historical Collections," an article by George P. Morehouse on the Kansa or Kaw Indians.) If east-central Kansas was Quivira at that date (1601), Aijados and Escansaques were south of Kansas river, where the Spaniards found them. If the Escansaques were the Kansa,[3] and the Spanish record is true, the Kansa crossed the Kansas river with Oñate in 1601, and gained a foothold which they still retained in 1724, when the Frenchman, Bourgmont, found them. As there is no record made of Harahey by Oñate, it is possible that the Arikara had gone on up the Missouri river, and Quivira extended to the Missouri river at that date.

The Algonquin tribes, on their way from the "Yellow river" (Yellowstone), crossed the Snake or Arikara domain. Beyond the Snake country and the Mississippi river was the country of the "Allegwi" and "Father Snakes." The Delawares crossed the Mississippi and drove the Allegwi out, taking possession. Afterward they crossed the Allegwi mountains and settled in the Delaware valley near Trenton, N. J.

Mr. Cyrus Thomas, in "Problems of Ohio Mounds," advances the theory that the Allegwi were the original stone-grave builders of the cist type, and that the Cherokees and Shawnees were descendants of the Allegwi, because stone graves have been found in the region inhabited by those tribes. Mr. Gerard Fowke is an authority on stone graves. He says, in Bureau of Ethnology Bulletin 37, "The Kansa or some unknown tribe made the stone graves in Missouri." Mr. D. I. Bushnell, of the Bureau of American Ethnology, in his investigations in St. Genevieve county, Missouri, seems to think that the Illinois tribes made the cist graves and shell-tempered pottery.

It is an evident fact that there are not enough stone graves along the Missouri river to indicate a large population of the cist builders.

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3. Compare "Kansas and Kansans," by W. E. Connelley, vol. 1, pp. 193 *et seq.*, and p. 207.

After I discovered ruins of ground-houses, the cist graves, and shell-tempered pottery in Doniphan county, I wrote to Mr. Holmes, of the Smithsonian Institution, asking him to send some one to this locality. He wrote me that he would be here about the 10th of June, 1914. When he got to St. Louis, on account of pressing business, he decided to send Mr. Fowke to verify my claims. When Mr. Fowke arrived we presented to him our evidence, tending to show that the Pani were the cist-grave builders. Mr. Fowke urged us to record the facts without delay. He made a survey of the region from Troy, Kan., to Omaha, Neb., and made a report to Mr. Holmes, a copy of which was sent to me: "The

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Pani, who are thought to have been the Haraheys, made the shell-tempered pottery and the cist graves in Doniphan county, Kansas, and Richardson county, Nebraska."

"Gallatin did not believe the Pawnees or Pani were of the same stock as the Caddo." (See Caddoan family, in "Handbook of American Indians.") The Caddoan family is the family to which the Wichitas, Quivirans, Arikara, Ski-di and Haraheys belong. These and many other tribes of the same family were the Ground-house Snakes who made the sand-tempered earthenwear. When the Algonquin tribes crossed the Mississippi river and drove the Allegwi out of western Pennyslvania and northern Ohio, they went down the Ohio river and crossed the Mississippi into the Snake-Caddo country, and worked up to the Mississippi and Missouri rivers to where they were exterminated by Siouan tribes.

Mr. Fred M. Hans, in his book, "The Great Sioux Nation," says that Sitting Bull had pictograph records showing that the Sioux were descendants of the Lenni Lanapes, which may be, according to Mr. W. F. Hodge, "rot." The Iowas and Kansa belong to the Siouan family. It is probable that these two tribes were south of Kansas river in 1601 and accompanied the Spaniards to Quivira.

Mr. Chas. E. Deland, of Pierre, S. Dak., discusses and presents many accounts concerning the theory that the Pani were Allegwi, and of Welsh descent. The Rev. Jedediah Morse, United States Indian agent, placed the white and freckled Pani west of the Mississippi and south of the Missouri in 1822. This tribe of the Pani, who made the cist graves and shell tempered pottery, were of the low-browed race. The Nebraska "Loess" man and the Burlington county and Riverview, N. J., skulls were of the low-forehead stock. The Delawares, no doubt, took Allegwi with them to the Delaware valley.

Dr. Ales Hrdlicka, in Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 33, page 46, makes the following statement: "On the whole, it seems safer and more in line with the known evidence to regard the two low Trenton crania as of relatively modern and European origin than as representatives of Quaternary Americans."

Gilder, Winchell and Brower have attributed great antiquity to these low-forehead people. Dr. Fred H. Sterns, in the *American Anthropologist*, volume 17, No. 1, Jan.-Mar., 1915, gives his opinion of the archæological remains of the southeastern Nebraska field in the following manner: "There is nothing in the cultural changes nor in the stratigraphic conditions to indicate geological antiquity. A thousand years is ample to account for all the phenomena, and the loess beds may not be even so old as that. However, we must be careful to avoid the other danger of making our estimates too low. Wash from the hills would be very slow compared with the deposits of river flood plains. Sites buried in the latter might not be very old. Such sites have been found within two miles of the White farm. They consist of fireplaces at a depth of two to three feet in the river alluvium. They contain a type of pottery which is different from either that of the Walker Gilmore site or that of the rectangular lodge site."

I have found earth lodges which showed stratification which does not

indicate antiquity, located, as they were, on the bank of a stream. One year with the rainfall of 1915 would be ample time to cover an earth lodge to a depth of six feet with wash from the hills.

I have presented enough evidence to show that there were Ground-house Indians in this region before the Siouan tribes crossed the Missouri river, and that they were of the same stock as the Quivirans. The Wichitas, Arikara, Ski-di, Pawnees of the Platte and the Mandans were descendants of the Quivirans and Haraheys. And all are now considered as tribes of the Caddoan family, with one exception, and that is the Mandans, who are classed as Sioux. The Mandan culture and that of the Arikara are very similar. With blue eyes and red hair and earth lodges exactly similar to the Pani ground-houses of this region, I will class the Mandans as Padouca-Allegwi, which is equivalent to Snake or Caddoan-Allegwi, who were under Siouan influence only during comparatively modern times.

The Iowas living near the old Pani village site in Brown county, Kansas, and Richardson county, Nebraska, near the mouth of the Nemaha river, have a tradition that the Iowas and Otoes were the Indians who exterminated the Pani at this place. Mrs. Roy was an Iowa woman who married a white trader named Roy, for whom Roy's creek was named. Mr. Edward Leary, a white man, married her granddaughter. Mr. Leary says: "Grandmother Roy was an eyewitness to the battle of extermination, and said that the dead, after the battle of extermination, lay thick all over the Nemaha bottoms." Ashes, charcoal, artifacts, fragments of broken pottery, human and animal bones are mixed with the soil. On the floor of the ground-houses are the bones of the fallen Pani.

When the Iowas chose this location on the west side of the Missouri river, they chose the territory between the Wolf and Nemaha rivers. From a map made by Wa-Non-Que-Skoo-Na, an Iowa brave, the information is obtained that the Iowas moved sixteen times from the time they left Rock river, Illinois, until their final settlement on this side the Missouri river. It is a well-known fact that the Iowas were enemies of the Kansa and Pawnees.

I think this paper is long enough to show there are interesting archæological remains in Kansas which have not been exploited before, and that Kansas and Nebraska was the last habitat of the Allegwi-Pani, the mythical white Indians whom Robert Southey located on the Missouri river, and concerning whom Chas. E. DeLand has compiled various relations which he believes tend to establish that they were or may have been descendants of Madoc.

Perhaps these low-mound builders, cist-grave builders, shell-tempered pottery makers were visited by Maurice Griffith and his Shawnee companions—and were the Indians who have caused so much speculation as Welshmen.[4]

4. Students generally have discredited the theory that any Indians of America are descended from the Welsh.

# THE PRAIRIE BAND OF POTTAWATOMIE INDIANS.

(RESERVATION, JACKSON COUNTY, KANSAS.)

By WILLAM ELSEY CONNELLEY, Secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society.

THE Pottawatomie, Ottawa and Chippewa tribes were formerly one tribe or people. When the Pottawatomies drew off and separated from the main body it was said of them that they had gone to build their own fire—a fire for themselves. This, in the fine figures of the Indian tongue, meant that they had withdrawn from the parent tribe to become a tribe unto themselves; that is, the Pottawatomi—the Fire People.

The meaning of the word Pottawatomie (or Pottawatomi) is "one who builds a fire for himself." Of course, at the time when this term was first used to designate a people, the form of the word may have been somewhat different from the form found in use to-day, "Potawatamink" being given as a possible form of it in the ancient days. It was said to mean "people of the place of the fire."[1]

There are two principal divisions of the Pottawatomie people—the Pottawatomies of the Woods, and the Pottawatomies of the Prairie. The second division is more frequently spoken of as the "Prairie band" of Pottawatomies. The people of this band or division still bear the ancient name of "Maskotens," the modified form of the name "Makskouteng," found by the French in 1670 applied to a people living on what is now Fox river, Wisconsin.

The Pottawatomies acted in concert with the other tribes in the old Northwest. They usually favored the French, and when the English succeeded the French the Pottawatomies transferred their allegiance to the new masters of the country. They were a party to the Northwestern Confederacy of Indian tribes, the council fire of which was in the keeping of the Wyandots.

The last great treaty with the Indians east of the Mississippi was held at Chicago with the Pottawatomies, Chippewas and Ottawas in September, 1833. These tribes there gave up their holdings to the amount of some five million acres of land for a consideration of insignificant account. They were coerced and consented to the cession for the simple reason that they were helpless and knew it. They protested that they did not wish to sell their land, but they were unable to stand against the power of the government.

This treaty of 1833 caused the contracting tribes to move west of the Mississippi—that is, the great majority of each of the tribes. In the years 1835 and 1836 many of the Pottawatomies moved to the "Platte Purchase"—that part of north Missouri west of a line drawn due north through the mouth of the Kansas river. These were principally of the Prairie band. They were permitted to remain there but a short time. The white settlers were pressing westward through Missouri, and soon demanded the Platte Purchase, which was made a part of the state of Mis-

1. See "Handbook of American Indians," vol. 2, p. 289.

CHIEF KACK-KACK,
Of the Prairie band of Pottawatomie Indians, Jackson county, Kansas.
Died Feb. 16, 1917.

souri. The Pottawatomies were then settled in southwestern Iowa, most of them living in the vicinity of the present Council Bluffs.

In February, 1837, by treaty, the United States agreed to convey to the Pottawatomies a tract of land on the Osage or Marais des Cygnes river, in Kansas, sufficient for their needs. The Pottawatomies of the Woods, and what was then known as the Mission band, settled on this tract, in what became Miami and Linn counties, Kansas, the same year.

MINNIE KA-KAQUE,
Daughter-in-law of Chief Kack-Kack.
Reservation, Prairie band, Pottawatomie Indians,
Mayetta, Kan.

They improved their lands and made progress generally. During this time there developed a desire to reunite the whole kindred, which had separated into the Chippewa, Ottawa and Pottawatomie tribes; also to assemble all the divisions and bands of these tribes.

The reservation on the Osage river was deemed too small to accommodate so large a number as these reunited tribes and bands would make, many of whom yet remained hunters. Representatives of all these tribes

met commissioners of the United States at the agency on the Missouri river, near Council Bluffs, and on the 5th of June, 1846, concluded a treaty by which these united peoples should have the east thirty miles of the old Kansas reservation, then recently taken over by the government. This treaty was ratified at a council of the Kansas portion of the Pottawatomies, on Pottawatomie creek, on the 17th of June, 1846. The tract of land given to the Indians lay in the present counties of Shawnee, Wabaunsee, Jackson and Pottawatomie. It was agreed that the Indians should move to the new reservation within two years after the ratification of the treaty. The Kansas Pottawatomies began to move in 1847, some of them arriving in what is now Shawnee county in that year. The arrival of the Indians on their new reservation will be noted in the years in which they came.

That portion of the treaty adopted at the Kansas agency on Pottawatomie creek recites that there is a Prairie band in all the three tribes of Ottawas, Chippewas and Pottawatomies. But no member of the Ottawa and Chippewa tribes, or at most very few such members, settled in the reservation on the Kansas river.

The Michigan Pottawatomies did not come to the Kansas river reservation until 1850, when a band of some 650 arrived, and these settled about the Catholic mission of St. Marys.

A brief review by years, made up from information contained in the official reports, will constitute the form of this paper from this point; and it has been thought best to include in this review some account of the tribe from the year 1846. It will show the means used to induce the Pottawatomies to make the treaty of 1861.

*1846.*

In his report for 1846, Thomas H. Harvey, superintendent of Indian affairs at St. Louis, said that he believed the Pottawatomies, both of the Osage and the Council Bluffs agencies, during the winter and the next spring would move to their new home on the Kansas river. He urged that the $50,000 for improvements be paid them as soon as possible, also the amount provided for their emigration.

Thomas Hurlburt was the resident missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, among the Pottawatomies on the Osage. It seems that the mission was on what is now Pottawatomie creek, for he says: "A few of the Pottawatomies on this creek are men of intelligence and worth—an honor to their tribe and to the churches to which they are attached; but as regards the greater part of them, I cannot say that I see any improvement among them."

There was no school attached to the mission, and some of the Pottawatomie children were sent to the Shawnee Manual Labor School, conducted by Rev. Thomas Johnson.

E. McCoy (Elizabeth McCoy) was, in 1846, a teacher in the Pottawatomie Baptist mission station in Iowa territory. She made a report of the school maintained there by the Board of the American Indian Mission Association. The report was made August 20, 1846. Because of the contemplated removal of the Pottawatomies (Prairie band) to their

new home on the Kansas river, the design to erect a manual labor school was abandoned. The enrollment of the school was twenty—fifteen boys between the ages of seven and eighteen, and five girls between the ages of eight and eighteen—"Eleven of the whole in reading, the balance in spelling more or less."

*1847.*

Thomas H. Harvey was superintendent of Indian affairs at Fort Leavenworth agency in 1847. His report is dated on the 29th of October. He had attended the payment of annuities to the Prairie band at the Council Bluffs subagency. Immediately after the payment the Prairie band started for the new reservation on the Kansas river. They traveled in large parties. These parties did not all take the same route. They crossed the Missouri river at several different points. It is the right of the Indian to do as he wills in porforming any task in which he alone is interested. These parties acted on that principle, each one taking what route the members chose.

From the report of Alfred J. Vaughan, Indian subagent at the Osage river agency, it appears that the Pottawatomies there had not yet migrated to the Kansas river reservation. The report was made September 1, 1847. Some of them may have moved later in the year. He said:

"The Pottawatomies have been more unsettled and more unsteady in their habits this year than formerly. This must, in some measure, be attributed to their contemplated removal to the Kanzas country. Some have planted and will raise a limited quantity of corn and esculent fruits; others again have not applied themselves to farming at all this year. Those who have planted, speaking generally, will not raise a sufficiency to carry them through this coming winter, provided they remain; but they have pledged themselves, in council assembled, that they will remove this fall in the event of the payment being early enough for them to get off. I said the Pottawatomies have been more than usually unsteady. Drunkenness, and its dire companion, murder, have prevailed to a greater extent this year than for years previous. Even the hitherto exemplary Indians on Sugar creek have not escaped the infection. I am, however, happy to state that a reaction is taking place. Some of the old and steady denizens of Sugar creek have taken the matter in hand. They have called councils, invited the attendance of their brethren on Pottawatomie creek, and mutually have pledged themselves to adopt rules, fines and penalties for the introduction of spirituous liquors within their limits."

*1848.*

The Office of Indian Affairs was a part of the War Department in 1848. W. Medill was commissioner of Indian affairs, and his report bears date of November 30, 1848. He says that "within the past year the Pottawatomies, who have heretofore been separated (the larger portion being in Iowa, and the others on the Osage river) have completed their removal to their new country on the Kanzas river."

The Prairie band were the last Indians residing in Iowa, the commissioner said. When they left, Iowa was free of Indian population.

The agent at the Fort Leavenworth agency for 1848 was Richard W. Cummins. The tribes under his charge were the Kickapoos, Stockbridges,

Delawares and Munsees, Christian Indians and Shawnees, and the reunited Pottawatomies. The last-named had been assigned him early the previous spring; so they must have completed their removal during the winter of 1847-1848. A few had not left the Osage river, and a small band lived among the Kickapoos on the Nemaha. The following from the report of Agent Cummins will prove of interest:

"*Pottawatomies.*—This large tribe, formerly divided into several distinct bands, each antagonistical to the other, each claiming interests denied by the others—the dire cause of jealousies and alienation—are, in virtue of their last favorable treaty, happily brought to assemble around one council fire and to speak with one tongue. To your untiring exertions and fatherly interest in the future welfare of this people is this result mainly to be attributed. It affords me much pleasure to state that the last spring semipayment, made in May, terminated in the most quiet and orderly manner. I had the satisfaction of seeing the two bands, viz., that from Council Bluffs and that from the Osage river, mingle with each other on the most friendly terms. I could discover no signs of a desire by either party to domineer or dictate. They sat promiscuously together and exchanged their opinions with urbanity and good will. You will remember that immediately before payment, and in your presence, the head man of the upper band, or Council Bluffs party, made an effort to revive those jealousies that have for so many years alienated the upper and the lower people. Your firmness and decision alone, and the just censure with which you met the scurrilous speech of the old chief, frustrated his unworthy design. It had a most beneficial effect, and I am free to say that there was not one Indian but was glad in his heart that this matter was put to rest so auspiciously.

"Great attention was given in taking the pay roll at the last spring payment. The united band numbers 3,235. I am informed that in former years the aggregate of the two bands, viz., that from Council Bluffs and that from the Osage river, amounted to upwards of 4,000. It would appear, then, that there is a material decrease in the united nation of Pottawatomies; but this is evidently not the case, for I have learned that in former payments, particularly at Council Bluffs, the Indians were permitted to include in the pay roll many of their relatives who were nonresidents—those who live in Wisconsin and Michigan, and who never emigrated. A decision was made to exclude nonresidents, and the rule in future to be strictly adhered to; for these nonresidents, were they even included in the roll, would never receive the benefits thereof, as their proxies have never been known to send them a dollar.

"I am happy to state that the prejudices of the Pottawatomies, as regards their new homes, are fast disappearing. They begin to be convinced that it is a good country, with timber sufficient for all purposes. They cling with much tenacity to their prejudgment of the land, and would have it, *nolens volens*, a barren, timberless tract. They are at last compelled to admit that they were mistaken; and I hope they will not be slow, by a judicious cultivation of the soil, to prove the extreme fertility of some of the finest land of the West.

"The Pottawatomies are a quick and lively race. A greater portion of the lower band (from the Osage) had, previous to their departure from their old homes, made considerable progress in farming. With the advantages secured to them by treaty, and the ample agricultural fund to which they are entitled, they may, coupled with exertions on their own part, become a thriving and prosperous people.

"While on the subject of these Indians I may as well allude to a rather untoward event which took place last summer—July. It seems that a small party of Pottawatomies, connected with the family of old Pai-dah-

go-shuk, together with a like number of Kickapoos and Sacs, went on an excursion to the plains to kill buffalo. In the course of their journey westward they fell in with the main body of the Kanzas Indians, who were then on the summer hunt, and camped in their vicinity. It happened that the Pawnees, roving that way, came upon the parties named, but probably ascertaining their numerical strength, were of necessity disposed to be friendly. The Pawnees despatched a messenger to the camps of the Pottawatomies, Kickapoos and Sacs, with assurances of friendship and an invitation to smoke. The message was well received, but as the herald was returning he was fired upon and killed by a young Kanzas Indian. The main body of the Pawnees, who were in sight, seeing the fate of their messenger, made an attack on the four camps. An engagement ensued, which resulted in the death of five Pawnees, whose scalps were brought in by the Pottawatomies and Kickapoos. I am inclined to think that blame in this matter ought not to be attached to the Pottawatomies or Kickapoos. That they fought in self-defense is evident; but it is in every way unfortunate, as it has led to reprisals and may end in further bloodshed, for since the above collision took place the Pawnees have lifted forty horses from the Pottawatomie settlements on Kanzas river.

"Information as regards the education of youth and the management of schools will be found in the reports and schedules of the various missionary stations throughout this agency. These reports and schedules not having all come in, will probably not accompany the one I am now transmitting; but when they shall have been collected they will be immediately laid before you, and that in a very short time. For the Pottawatomies, owing to their not being as yet permanently settled, no school report can be rendered; neither for the Kickapoos, the latter having no school amongst them. They are, however, very anxious to have a standing establishment for education in their settlement, and a short time back spoke to me favorably on the subject. I hope their wishes may be acceded to.

"The blacksmiths among the Shawnees, Delawares and Pottawatomies, the other tribes within this agency not being entitled to smiths, have been employed in the making and repairing of agricultural implements and useful mechanical tools; and with one single exception, I have every reason to be satisfied with them."

E. McCoy, teacher, reported for the school founded by the Baptists in the Pottawatomie reservation. The school taught by her in Iowa had been resumed on the new reservation on the 20th of March. The term ended the 20th of August. The report is dated "Kansas River, Pottawatomie Country, September 25, 1848."

*1849.*

There has not been found a report of an agent for the Pottawatomies for this year. D. D. Mitchell, superintendent of Indian affairs at St. Louis, said in his report that the "Fort Leavenworth agency house is about four miles from Westport, near the Missouri state line." The exact location of the house has not been established. Agent Mitchell recommended that a separate agency, "to be called the 'Pottawatomie Agency,' be constituted to embrace the Pottawatomie and Kanzas Indians." This was necessary, he said, because of the "jealousies and sectional interest" which had prevailed.

The report of the Manual Labor School for the year 1849 was made by Johnston Lykins, superintendent. This report has a double interest—to Shawnee county and the Prairie band—and is here reproduced:

POTTAWATOMIE MANUAL LABOR SCHOOL,
September 30, 1849.

SIR—Allow me to report the following as the condition of the Pottawatomie Bap. M. L. School:

1. *Site.* Half a mile south of the Kansas, nine miles below Uniontown, the trading post of the nation, and one and a half miles west of the great California road from Kansas, Westport and Independence. The station has an excellent supply of good spring water, first-rate soil, and is within reach of the necessary amount of timber. The mechanic shops consist of blacksmith and wagonmaker's shops—are located one-fourth mile west of the M. L. School edifice and near the bank of the Kansas river.

The establishment was located under the joint supervision of Maj. R. W. Cummins, late Indian agent, and the undersigned, and is thought to be the most judicious that could have been made.

2. *Buildings.* One stone edifice, now in process of completion, for Manual Labor School, 85 feet long and 35 feet wide, with two cross-walls of stone, three stories high, divided into twelve rooms, having sixty doors and windows; walls of first story two feet thick, balance one and a half foot thick; and when finished, will cost, say $4,800. One hewed-log dwelling, 36 feet by 18, one story high, two good stone chimneys, comfortably finished, cost $35. One hewed-log house for mechanic, 18 feet by 16, one story high, good stone chimney, well finished; cost $130. One hewed-log kitchen and meat house, each 16 feet square, and one root house; cost, $65. One hewed-log lodging room for hired men, 16 feet by 18 feet; cost, $35. One other kitchen, 16 feet square; cost, $25.

3. *Farm.* In process of completion; consists of sixty acres ploughed prairie, twenty-five acres of which is now in corn, one in potatoes, and two in beans and other garden vegetables. Thirteen thousand rails and stakes have been made and put up. The whole farm, when completed, will consist of sixty-five acres of ploughed and forty acres pasture land, and will cost $650. Twenty-five acres are sowed in wheat.

Stock, etc., consists of—

| | |
|---|---|
| One good wagon and three yoke of oxen, cost | $200.00 |
| Seven head brood swine, cost | 15.00 |
| Five milch cows, $15 per head | 75.00 |
| Tools: | |
| One harrow, cost | 5.00 |
| Two good ploughs, cost | 10.00 |
| Three chains, at $3 | 9.00 |
| One box carpenter's tools, cost | 15.00 |

4. *School.* Rev. J. Ashburn, A. M., late of Georgetown College, Kentucky, principal teacher; Miss E. McCoy, principal of female department. Since September 30, 1848, the school has been conducted under the provisions of the contract entered into with the government. We having been informed that all the pupils kept by us previous to the completion of our buildings, and subsequent to the signing of the contract, would receive the allowance specified.

Of the pupils, seventeen were entered previous to September 30, 1848, twelve previous to June 30, 1849, nine previous to August 15, 1849, and one since. The male pupils have been taught and exercised in the various departments of manual labor, and the females in labors appropriate to their sex. All have made encouraging progress in their studies.

It is a leading motive with us to Americanize the Indians, and attach them to our country and institutions; as, in our estimation, upon success in this depends much in regard to their future well-being. A foreign influence must ever engender prejudice and produce a want of confidence in our government and people. Respectfully,

J. LYKINS,

HON. ORLANDO BROWN, *Supt. Pot. Bap. M. L. School.*
*Commissioner of Indian Affairs.*

The Catholic Mission at St. Marys had been firmly established. Two log houses, one for boys and one for girls, had been erected. They were two stories high and 22 by 58 fet in size.

*1850.*

All the reports from the Pottawatomies were omitted from the annual report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the year 1850.

WOMEN GETTING READY TO DANCE.
Prairie band, Pottawatomie Indians.
Mayetta, Kan., 1917.

*1851.*

The reports for 1851 mention the Pottawatomies only in an incidental way. They seem to be included in no agency, though this could scarcely be the case. The omission may perhaps be charged to negligence of agents. Possibly the failure to send the reports to the printer with other material would account for the nonappearance of any information concerning the Pottawatomies in the report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

The superintendent, D. D. Mitchell, consolidated the Kickapoos and a small band of Pottawatomies who had lived on the Kickapoo reserva-

tion for many years. The Pottawatomies bought from the Kickapoos a right in the Kickapoo Nation and Kickapoo lands. This made these two bands one nation. The consideration paid the Kickapoos was taken from the annuities of the particular Pottawatomies making the purchase. From what appears in numerous succeeding reports, it must have been Pottawatomies of the Prairie band who united with the Kickapoos.

There appears a very significant recommendation in the report of D. D. Mitchell, superintendent, this year. He urged the formation of Nebraska territory—an action which was taken by Congress three years later. He said:

"So far as the border tribes are concerned, I am happy to be able to state (from personal observation) that they are gradually advancing in civilization, and a large majority of the families are now as intelligent, comfortable and well informed as their white neighbors. They have become very much intermixed and amalgamated with the whites; and this process of civilization (if it may be so termed) will continue under the existing state of Indian affairs. I have thought and observed much on this subject, and have no hesitation in saying that an intermixture with the Anglo-Saxon race is the only means by which the Indians of this continent can be *partially civilized.* In order to carry out this plan I beg leave to suggest, for the consideration of the Department, the following measures, viz., the laying off of Nebraska territory, with the following boundaries: Commencing on the Missouri, at the mouth of the Kansas river, and running up the Missouri to the mouth of the L'eau qui court, or Running Water river; following up the Running Water river to its source, about thirty-five miles above Fort Laramie, where this stream issues from the base of the southern range of mountains, known as the Black Hills; from thence due south to the Arkansas river; thence along our established boundaries to the western line of the state of Missouri, to the place of beginning. This will give to the United States *all* the agricultural lands south of the Missouri river that are considered exclusively Indian territory.

"Should this territory be established, the question would then arise, what shall be done with the Indians occupying the soil within the above-described limits? I would recommend that one section of land be given to each head of a family, and secured to his descendants for *fifty years, without* any *right of transfer.*

"It is fair to presume that after the lapse of fifty years the Indian owners of the soil would be able to protect their own pecuniary interests, having the example of the whites, by whom they would be surrounded and intermixed, before them. To these Indians I would grant the privileges of citizenship, as I know, from personal observation, that they are far more capable of exercising them than a large portion of the *citizens* of New Mexico. After assigning to each family the requisite quantity of land, a large surplus would remain, which should be purchased by the government at something like a fair price, and thrown open to the pioneers of the country, where they can settle and establish their pre-emption rights, whenever the lands are surveyed and thrown into market."

The Baptist Manual Labor School was still under the superintendency of J. Lykins. From what was reported very little can be gained as to the progress made.

*1852.*

Francis W. Lea was this year the agent of the Pottawatomies. The Kansas Indians comprised the other tribe of the agency. The recom-

mendation made by D. D. Mitchell in 1849, that these two tribes be formed into a separate agency, had been favorably acted on. Agent Lea said that he had forwarded an annual report the preceding year. It was not included in those published, as has been already noted.

Lea made a discouraging report of both tribes under his charge. Of the Pottawatomies he said that not more than twenty families could live in comfort without an annuity. More than two-thirds of the nation cultivated only very small patches of soil, and these were devoted to products consumed in summer. The lawless element of the tribe confiscated to its own use whatever stock and grain it found.

INDIAN WOMEN DANCING.
Reservation, Prairie band, Pottawatomie Indians, Mayetta, Kan., 1917.

The Baptist Manual Labor School report was made by "D." Lykins. This may have been a misprint for "J." Lykins, the superintendent in previous years. The school was twice interrupted by sickness during the year, but by September the health of the teachers and pupils had improved.

J. B. Duerinck, superintendent of the Catholic Manual Labor School, had this to say of the Prairie band:

"The peace and harmony of this settlement is now seldom disturbed by war parties or alarming reports of invasion. The Pawnees have formerly been accused of stealing our horses, but no complaints have lately been heard on that score. Our Indians have this summer smoked peace with them whilst on a buffalo hunt in the upper country.

"The Pottawatomie Prairie Indians have not yet laid aside their wild and uncivilized mode of living; they are averse to work and live in wretched cabins and wigwams. They paint their faces and delight in all

sorts of motley and fantastical dress and trappings. They are unfortunately addicted to liquor. Some unprincipled whites and half-breeds, too lazy to work, sell them whisky and cheat the intoxicated dupes out of their horses and ponies, and even out of their guns and blankets. But we look for a better state of things. Our agent, Major Lea, who is very popular with them, has taken efficient measures to put a stop to this evil. His energies may be severely taxed, but we doubt not that he will succeed in suppressing this unholy traffic, and that these Indians will soon become sober and industrious."

*1853.*

John W. Whitfield was the agent of the Pottawatomies this year. The agency was evidently maintained at Westport, Mo., though the report gives no location. It says: "The agency is located so far from the nation that it is impossible for the agent to prevent many disturbances that he might do if his location was near to them."

The Prairie band is spoken of in the report as the "Council Bluffs band." Of this band Whitfield said:

"The Pottawatomies, principally the Council Bluffs band, while out on their summer hunt came in contact with the mountain Indians, and after a hard-fought battle, lasting more than half a day, succeeded in putting them to flight, leaving some twenty or thirty of their dead on the battle field. At least the Pottawatomies brought in about that number of scalps, over which they have been dancing for the last month. I learn from various sources that the mountain Indians came down expressly for the purpose of having a fight with the frontier Indians. They first came in contact with the Pawnees, and but for the timely aid of the Pottawatomies (who happened to be but a few miles off) would have killed the last one, as they had them surrounded and had killed some ten or fifteen before the Pottawatomies reached the scene of action. All parties give the Pottawatomies great credit for their gallant conduct on that occasion. They lost in killed and wounded some four or five. From the best information I can get, the frontier Indians are not to blame, as they were fighting in self-defense. We anticipate a renewal of hostilities next summer if they should meet on the plains."

Speaking of the Baptist Manual Labor School, the report says that it encountered many difficulties and was not in a prosperous condition for some time. The Rev. "David" Lykins was in charge of it when the report was written. It was made by "D." Lykins, "in the absence of a local superintendent." So it is probable that "D." Lykins is not a misprint for "J." Lykins, but that the reports signed "D. Lykins" were made by Rev. David Lykins. This school was in charge of the Board of the American Indian Missionary Association, located at Louisville, Ky.

The report of J. D. Duerinck, superintendent of the Catholic Manual Labor School, shows prejudice against the Prairie band. The children of this band attended the Baptist school, which was not kindly taken by the superintendent of St. Marys. He said: "The Prairie Indians of the Pottawatomie tribe, an infidel sect of medicine men, are as yet but little civilized, and are in every respect far behind their Catholic brethren." This good brother was something of a politician, understanding the value of flattery, saying in his report to Whitfield: "The Pottawatomies at large are wonderfully taken up with you." The superintendent was a shrewd man and had certainly formed the correct estimate of Mr. Whit-

field. He made a bid for the capital of the new territory, soon to be established, as follows:

". . . The Catholic Mission is said to be the most lovely spot in the Indian country. The mission buildings, with the adjacent trading houses, groups of Indian improvements and extensive cornfields, all give it the appearance of a town. Some people think that if Nebraska be organized as a territory St. Marys ought to be the capital. Steamboats will certainly ascend the Kanzas next spring, come up to our landing, discharge freight, and make us forget that we live in the Indian country. . . ."

WILLIAM HALE AND JESSE HALE,
Dancers, Prairie band, Pottawatomie Indians,
Mayetta, Kan., 1917.

*1854.*

The Pottawatomie agency was wholly neglected this year, so far as reports show—or rather there are no reports, except that from the St. Marys school. It was said to be in fine condition and to be doing excellent work.

Whitfield had been sent as a special agent far out upon the plains to settle difficulties among the plains tribes. He made two reports, both dated Westport, Mo., one September 27 and the other October 2. The

first he signed as "Indian Agent," and to the second he subscribed himself as "Indian Agent, Platte Agency." In neither does he give any information about the Pottawatomies. He must have furnished to the Indian Office some particulars outside his report, for A. Cumming, superintendent of Indian affairs at St. Louis, in his report said:

"I am officially advised that on the arrival of agent Whitfield at Fort Atkinson, on the Arkansas river, with the annuity goods for the Comanches, Kiowas and Apaches, in July last, he found that they had all gone on a war party against the tribes of the north, confident from their numbers, estimated at 1,500, to gain an easy victory over any tribes they should encounter. In the vicinity of Smoky Hill they came up with a party of Sacs and Foxes and a few Pottawatomies, the whole not exceeding 200 in number. The Comanches believing (to use the words of one of their chiefs) that they could eat up so small a force in a few minutes, made a general charge. The Sacs allowed them to approach until within a hundred yards, when they opened upon them a well-directed fire from their rifles, which, being unexpected, appalled and for the moment checked their assailants. Three times these charges were repeated, and each time with a like fatal result. The Comanches at length retired, crestfallen and dispirited, having twenty-six killed and over one hundred wounded. On their return to Fort Atkinson their appearance and deportment were quite changed; they seemed humble and dejected, and quietly and submissively received their annuities and retired. The loss of the Sacs and Foxes is reported to be very inconsiderable."

Whitfield's report makes no mention of the Pottawatomies. But the following may prove of interest:

"The Indians were encamped on Pawnee fork, at the crossing of the Santa Fe road, where they were collected in larger numbers than have ever been known to assemble on the Arkansas river before. Old traders estimate the number at twelve to fifteen hundred lodges, and the horses and mules at from forty to fifty thousand head. The entire Kiowa and Prairie Comanches were there; several hundred of Texas or Woods Comanches had come over; the Prairie Apaches, one band of Arapahoes, and two bands of Cheyennes, and the Osages, composed the grand council. They had met for the purpose of forming their war party, in order, as they in their strong language said, to 'wipe out' all frontier Indians they could find on the plains. Two days previous to my arrival they broke up camp and started north. As soon as I heard that they were gone I sent two runners to try and bring them back. They, however, declined coming, and sent word that they would soon return, as it would take but a short time to clear the plains of all frontier Indians. They were doomed to be disappointed, as other great nations in their own imagination have been. At some place near Kansas river they met about one hundred Sac and Fox Indians, and the fight commenced, and, from their account, lasted about three hours, when to their great surprise the combined forces were compelled to retreat, leaving their dead on the field, which Indians never do unless badly whipped. They report their loss at about sixteen killed and one hundred wounded. From the best information I can get, the Sacs and Foxes were as much surprised at the result as the others, for there is no doubt but that they would have run too if they could have seen a hole to get out at. They had taken shelter in a ravine, and were for a long time surrounded. The Prairie Indians were armed with the bow and arrow, while the others had fine rifles. One is a formidable weapon in close quarters, but worthless at more than about fifty yards. The rifle told almost every shot, either on rider or horse. It is easily accounted for why one hundred whipped fifteen hundred. The former had a weapon to fight with; the latter had none at the distance they were fighting. I learn that the Sacs and Foxes lost six killed, but they were killed with the rifle.

The Osages have fine guns, and they must have shot them, for I am certain the other Indians have nothing in the shape of guns except a few northwest shotguns, and they are of but little use. The Sacs and Foxes are satisfied that the Osages did them the only damage they received, and as an evidence I learn that war had been declared between the two nations, and already some scalps have been taken. This may save the government from whipping them (the Osages), as it is certain somebody will have it to do soon. Their acts on the Santa Fe road this summer are intolerable. Emigrants and freighters will scarcely be permitted to pass the road next season unless something is done. Not a train has passed this season which has not been more or less annoyed; and as to the Mexicans, they have taken their mules in droves. They had regular stations, where they demanded toll of all passing. Some few have been shot, and it is to be regretted that more did not meet the same fate. They are very mad because the government sends out presents to the Comanches and Kiowas, telling them many lies to induce them not to take the goods. They told them this summer that bad medicine had been put in the goods to kill them off. Their reason for this is, that previous to the treaty they enjoyed a rich and uninterrupted trade. For one blanket or a few pounds of sugar and coffee they could purchase a mule worth eighty or one hundred dollars. If something is not done to keep this gang of highway robbers off the road next season, emigrants and others had better go well prepared to meet them."

*1855.*

George W. Clarke was the agent for the Pottawatomies in 1855. The Kansas Indians had been taken out of the agency; that is, they had been given an agent of their own. The agent's report is an arraignment of the Prairie band. Judged by the Indian policy of the government, the report is a good one. It is a plea for the allotment system. This system has always failed to benefit the Indian. He invariably loses his land to the white man by ownership in severalty.

The custom has been to divest the Indian of his land in the interest of the white settler. In conformity to this usage Agent Clarke wrote his report, much of which is set out here:

"A portion of these people have for a long time had intercourse with the whites, and in a measure adopted the civilized mode of life, and they manifest a desire for the improvement of themselves and their people. This class composes portions of the 'Wabash' and 'St. Joseph's' bands, and having a prominence in their several bands, would be successful in reclaiming, to some extent, under the management of the government, their kinsmen, had they not in their midst the formidable obstacle of the 'Prairie' band, or 'Bluff Indians,' to oppose, thwart and defeat every measure of improvement among this unhappy people.

"The 'Prairie band' adheres to the hunter life, nearly all of whom despise the arts and principles of civilization, who regard it as disgraceful for men to work, and they spare no language in denouncing those of the tribe who cultivate the soil or follow the peaceful arts. This band arrogantly claims ownership of all the land and declares that the other bands have no rights here, nor to the annuities, they being *permitted* to participate in them only on the *courtesy* of their condescending brothers. And on this tenure these unfortunate people are thus subjected to the intrusions and depredations of the 'Prairie' band, who frequently kill their stock, burn their fences, turn their hunting ponies into the fields, devour their crops, and even threaten the lives of the orderly portion of the tribe. The 'Prairie' band is a bold and reckless race, and although they form a minority of the tribe, they domineer over it, rule and misgovern the people in a most lawless manner.

"Thus two conflicting elements prevail to distract and stifle the usual efforts of government to improve these people; and I am of the unchangeable opinion that government should not only *assume* the patriarchal, but *exercise* a dictatorial rule over this tribe. The weak who are subjected to the tyranny of brute force should enjoy the protection of a strong power. That portion who desire to lead a civilized life, to cultivate the soil, raise stock, cherish education, should have the protection of good government and efficient laws.

"A portion of this tribe who have adopted civilized life, and those who manifest a preference for such a life, undisguisedly declare that their only salvation is in a treaty, by which their lands will be run out, sectionized, and each individual assigned his own tract, with the protecting power of a state or territorial government and laws. They not only desire to know their own lands, but they require to be sustained in the possession of the fruits of their labor. This policy will save a portion of the Pottawatomies. The others will meet their inevitable destiny which hangs over them, let the policy of the government be what it may. The policy now attempted to be carried out, of endeavoring to amalgamate the civilized and uncivilized portions, is only 'crushing out' civilization, abandoning the hopeful portion to the ruin of semibarbarism, and will inevitably destroy the whole tribe. Under the policy suggested by the intelligent portion, opportunity and protection will be afforded, not only to the civilized but the uncivilized. The former will avail themselves of the policy, some stragglers of the latter may adhere to the civilized mode of life, and all these be reclaimed. If the 'Prairie' band obstinately adheres to its present mode of life (which I am sure a majority will do) they will wander off to remote and more congenial tribes and lands, and disappear before the tide of civilization. This is their destiny. In all events, then, is it not wiser to hasten this result before the better portion of the tribe is destroyed? Save these if we can; save at least the remnant of a once powerful race, who now throw themselves upon the power, magnanimity and wisdom of a great government, who appeal to you for protection. It is melancholy to contemplate such miserable prospects as at present are presented to these people. It is painful to behold intelligent, orderly, industrious families struggling against the despotism of ignorant barbarism.

"The Pottawatomies have no regularly established government. The dicta of self-constituted councils is the law of the time. Influence and interest of individuals frequently protect individuals from punishment for the worst of crimes. Murders, thefts, rapes are but seldom punished, and never except in cases of retaliation, which disturb the peace of the country still more. These people cannot even boast of following ancient customs or adhering to traditions. The hereditary chiefs have been set aside, not by the formal disposition of the people, but by bold, artful and ambitious men who have usurped their places, and who by threats awe the peaceable portion of the people into submission. Among these usurpers changes are constantly going on. A man more bold and artful rises and supersedes some individual who possesses less of these qualifications, and who in turn is 'set back.' It is the influence and determination of the 'Prairie' band that keeps up this state of things, they being the master spirits in the councils.

"Last week, whilst I had the Indians assembled to receive their annuity, and after several days' councilling, I was informed by these bold usurpers that *they* had decided not to receive the money, whilst I was assured at the same time by individuals of various bands and neighborhoods of their willingness and great desire to receive their portion, who also assured me that they knew of many destitute families who needed and would gladly receive their annuity. I responded to this council that they were usurping the authority of the tribe; that I would not regard their decision; and that if any respectable number would come forward

and be registered I would pay them their proportion. Upon which another council was held next day (on Sunday), and 'braves' were appointed to keep the people at home and to punish those who dared to receive their annuity. Such was the terror inspired among the people by this bold measure, that on Monday a number of leading men, who had hithereto held back from the council, met, united with others, and flatly refused to receive the annuity, and no one then had the firmness to come forward and offer to receive their proportion. Had a military command been present, so that the timid could have been assured of protection, the result would have been different."

In the spring of 1855 the steamboat *Hartford* passed up the Kansas river to the mouth of the Blue. In descending the river she stuck fast on a sand bar inside the Pottawatomie reserve, where she was still lying in October. The crew occupied itself in selling whisky to the Indians, to their great detriment.

The total number of the Pottawatomies on the reserve was 3,440. Others lived in Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, and among the Kickapoos and Sacs and Foxes.

The Manual Labor School of the Baptists was dormant this year. It had been transferred to the "Southern Baptist convention" for reorganization.

The school at St. Marys was prospering. The report of the superintendent, J. B. Duerinck, was somewhat harsh, and was evidently written to correspond with the demands of the political powers then in the ascendancy, and demanding the extinction, according to custom, of Indian titles through allotment of lands in severalty. Here are extracts from the report:

"We beg leave to say a word on the Indian policy. The system of possessing lands in common, one hundred and twenty individuals claiming an acre as their own property, is replete with evil and bad consequences that will frustrate the best hopes that the friends of the Indians have conceived. I am bold to maintain that no Indian, no half-breed, no white man living amongst them will ever feel encouraged to make his premises a comfortable home as long as he labors under the fear that his improvements are liable to be sold for the benefit of the nation at large. Give them a title to the land, and you will soon see them vie with each other in their improvements. Interest, emulation and a laudable degree of pride, which are innate in every one of us, will do more to carry them honorably through the world than all the penalties and coercions now in force amongst them. At the present time the industrious, frugal, good-natured Indian is to be pitied; he is the scapegoat in every tribe. When Bonnehomie has, during the summer, summoned his wife and family to share with him the toils and labors of the field; when he has secured his crops, and might expect to enjoy the fruits of his industry, then, day after day, week after week, you will see a gang of lazy neighbors, relatives and acquaintances, all indiscreet intruders, visit that family, eat and drink with them to their hearts' content, and eat the poor man out of house and home. We tell the Indians that the first step towards civilization is to give up their wandering life, to settle down, and to till the soil. When they go to work and raise good crops they say it does them no good, because their hungry, half-starved neighbors hang round them and eat them up. This miserable custom, this aversion to work, this eternal begging, disheartens the willing Indian, and he becomes at last so reckless that he feels disposed to abandon our advice, and he concludes that it is

far better for him to live and to die as an Indian after having vainly endeavored to live like a white man.

"Now, if we pretend to teach the Indians agriculture and its kindred arts, we ought to be in earnest and honest in our purpose; we ought to put them in possession of the means of reaping the benefits, and enforce laws to that effect. We say everybody must support his own family. Nobody shall support a worthless Indian that actually lives in vice, idleness or drunkenness. If there should be any big, stout, fat, lazy fellows in the nation unwilling to work, and who seek to throw themselves upon the charity of others, let them be ordered away; yea, away with them. If they be too lazy to work, let them die; they must die once, at all events, and they might as well die just now as at any other time. Our plan makes exceptions for the orphan and the widow and for all sick, helpless creatures. Besides this, the great measure which the emergency of the times seems to require is the division of the land. I will support my proposition with a string of reasons, to which we invite your attention:

"1. Because it will give a fair inheritance, a permanent homestead to every head of a family.

"2. Because it will make them all equally rich from the beginning, and all can have a competency.

"3. Because it will prevent his wandering disposition; his heart will rest upon his home.

"4. Because they are sure to make more improvements; such as building stables, sinking wells, fencing in pastures, planting orchards, building barns, etc.

"5. Because civilization imperiously demands that this measure should go into operation forthwith.

"6. Because experience has proved that it is a good policy to fire off now and then a big gun; to have a barbecue and a glorification over it; whilst it would afford the friends of the red man a golden opportunity to inculcate salutary measures.

"7. Because the position of the Indian would be similar to that of the white settler in Kansas territory—every one settled on his land, as is the case in civilized countries.

"8. Because there is little evil and much good expected to arise from this movement.

"9. Because all the sincere friends to the race recommend it.

"10. Because by this act every head of a family would have it in his power to secure his own homestead, which will give satisfaction to everybody.

"11. Because the greater and best part of the nation desire the change in order to promote their own happiness.

"12. Because they seem to regard this movement as a decree of heaven.

"13. Because when the easy old way of living upon their annuities has failed, when hunting has become unprofitable, they ought to lay hold of the plough.

"14. Because the Pottawatomies have a fine agricultural country, and can readily sell for cash, at fair prices, all the produce and stock they can raise.

"The subject under consideration is one of weighty importance. If my zeal for the welfare of the red man has carried me beyond the boundaries of discretion, you are at liberty to disregard my views and to hold them for the spontaneous effusions of a heart that feels their misfortunes. We have lived seven years amongst them, and have observed their manners and customs, their strong and their weak points, and we feel as if our advice could benefit them. The best part of our Indians, and especially our mission Indians, have learned to make their living by cultivating the soil, and they are impatient to see the day of emancipation dawn upon them. Help them out of Egypt, and guide them to the land of promise, where every one can build on his own land and enjoy, without envy or molesta-

tion, the fruits of his labor. It would be impolitic to discourage them in their aspirations, for it is seldom you find a body of Indians so well disposed as they are, and they ought to be met with the cheer of 'God speed the work.'"

His plans would have afforded temporary relief, but in the end they would have accomplished the ruin of the Pottawatomies. In fact, his plans were, in effect, adopted by the treaty of 1861, and resulted in making every Pottawatomie, except the Prairie band, a homeless outcast. The plan has invariably ruined the Indians.

*1856.*

The report of Agent Clarke for this year was one wail of woe. He had ever been a border ruffian, and in the Wakarusa war distinguished himself by murdering Thomas Barber, near Lawrence, in December, 1855. The record of the border ruffians in Kansas during the period covered by Agent Clarke's report was as black as midnight. But hear him complain of violence:

"The tools and implements forwarded by the department to be issued to the Indians did not arrive until a portion of them had gone to their hunts, and I was requested by the chiefs to defer the issue until the hunting parties had returned. In the meantime a large body of armed marauders, styled the 'northern army,' under the command of Gen. James H. Lane, who had been engaged in murdering the peaceable citizens and plundering them of their property, marched into my neighborhood, attacked and burned down the house of a neighbor, took him and the other inmates prisoners; thence turned their march upon my house, and were in full view before I was aware of their intention. I had not a moment to spare beyond the time to remove my family (females and young children); not even had the time to carry off a change of clothing for my family. I fled with my family at a moment's warning, leaving my official papers, the public property, and private estate at the mercy of these licentious brigands. My house was plundered of everything valuable, including clothing, bedding, furniture and provisions. The papers of my office were overhauled and scattered over the premises, many of which I have not yet recovered, including vouchers of my unsettled account current, property returns, which will place me to great trouble and inconvenience to reinstate. At the same time these marauders broke open the boxes containing the tools and implements for the Indians and carried off about one-half of them. I have not yet compared the invoice with the balance on hand, and cannot therefore state the exact amount taken. I stand charged on the books of the treasury for this property, but as I will be able to establish the fact of the robbery and my inability to protect it from the robbers, I indulge great hope that the liberality and justice of Congress will be extended to me for this loss as well as for my private property.

"This same party of outlaws plundered the trading establishment of A. G. Boone, at Uniontown; also several of the Pottawatomies, of wagons, teams and provisions, and thus the foundation is laid for new depredation claims."

Any one who will read the history of Kansas in 1856 will find that General Lane was only striking for liberty and the suppression of human slavery, and the establishment of a free state in Kansas. And, to his honor be it said, he succeeded.

The report of the Baptist Manual Labor School was made by John Jackson, superintendent. There was much improvement, but the school was weak and inefficient still.

It will be necessary to hear the aggressive superintendent of the St. Marys Manual Labor School. He was still scoring the recreant Pottawatomies, as follows:

"It would be worse than folly to work for a man who is too lazy to work and too poor to pay for it when it is done. We lay down the principle that labor is honorable, and that it is a shame for a man to let his family starve with hunger when moderate labor would keep them in easy circumstances. We frequently tell some of the poorer sort that it is with them as with the 'starved pig'—either root or die. Plant corn and pumpkins, raise potatoes and beans, cease to beg, cease to be idle, cease to be a burden to others, make a garden and eat the fruit thereof, etc. Suppose it makes you sweat—well, what of it? A poor devil ought not to be so nice; a little sweat would not kill you. Some of our gentry have a grudge against us for boldly telling them these things; but in spite of the members of this lazy club, our flag waves in the breeze, and we insist on their making a field and a garden, facilitating them in the way of obtaining a cow or other domestic animals—helping the poor of good will, stimulating the sluggish, rebuking the vicious, reproving the improvident, praising the meritorious, and encouraging the industrious amongst them. We care not for the opinion of those red rovers, and we mean to keep up the fire from the walls of our fort as long as there is a man in arms against us. Their demonstrations and alarms give us but little trouble. We must have patience with them, watch our opportunities and try it again; we are all of us people of good humor, little accustomed to complain, and we believe ourselves the happiest mission in the country. It is a source of unfeigned gratification to us to see so many of our 'mission Indians' improve in their temporal condition, advance in civilization, and bid fair to become an agricultural people. Some of these had lived from time immemorial in poverty and destitution, but at the present day they live in ease and plenty, with moderate work. The march of the Pottawatomies, except the Prairie bands, is onward, and we will soon have great results."

Read particularly the closing sentence of the quotation, and note this fact—that in ten or twelve years, by the policy advocated by the superintendent, the Pottawatomies were practically homeless outcasts, *except* the Prairie band.

This year, Sha-quah, "a bold and influential chief," becoming disgusted with the conduct of affairs affecting the Pottawatomies, led away a band of about one hundred and took up his abode with the Creeks and Cherokees.

*1857.*

William E. Murphy was agent for the Pottawatomies in 1857. Agent Clarke returned to Fort Scott to continue his efforts for slavery in Kansas. His course there was strictly in keeping with that along the Kansas river.

Continuing the agitation for allotment of lands, Agent Murphy said:

The Pottawatomies have held several councils within the last two months in regard to sectionizing their land, but it seems that, notwithstanding this once powerful and mighty tribe have dwindled down to the insignificant number of about three thousand, it is composed of such discordant elements that they cannot unite upon a plan to save themselves from that destruction which will inevitably befall them if they fail to have their land sectionized, and thereby rendered to them permanent homes. The industrious and intelligent portion of this tribe, composed of the 'Wabash' and 'St. Joseph's' bands, see the importance of getting the

government to adopt such measures as will protect them in the enjoyment of their homes, and save them from being driven before the tide of emigration which is rapidly flowing into Kansas. The 'Prairie band' appear to despise the principles of civilization, look upon work as a disgrace, and when they hear those Indians who cultivate the soil speak of sectionizing, they immediately denounce them and charge them with endeavoring to swindle them out of their land. The 'Prairie band' constitutes about one-third of the Indians within this agency. When I see the industrious portion of this tribe show such uneasiness of mind in regard to holding their land, see them manifest a disposition to earn their bread in the sweat of their brow, and hear them express the wish to have permanent homesteads for themselves and their children, I am induced to appeal to the Indian Department in their behalf to sectionize their land, give each one a homestead of 160 acres, and let them sell the balance of their land, and with the proceeds build stone fences and make other permanent improvements.

"I feel satisfied it would be greatly to the interest of the whole tribe to be more compactly settled. The uneducated and indolent would more directly have the example of the enlightened and industrious, and might be induced to send their children to school, and their land would be less liable to encroachment from the white race."

The Baptist Manual Labor School continued in a state of dejection and gloom. The agent spoke kindly of Superintendent Jackson, but said he was contending against adversity. The buildings were much in need of repair. The attendance was good—fifty boys and forty girls. J. G. Thompson and Miss Malinda Arnent were teachers. Miss Malinda Holloway was supplying the place of Miss Arnent when the report was written.

This year was the last for Superintendent Duerinck, of St. Mary's School. His death is noted in the report for 1858. Here is his final word:

"In our intercourse with our neighbors, the Indians, we frequently take occasion to discuss the importance of industry and enterprise. We are constant upholders of the law of our common doom—that we, and that the Indians, too, must earn our bread in the sweat of our brow. There is no use in being starved when it is so easy to have plenty to eat and plenty to sell. Economy in saving should go hand in hand with energy in getting. A certain class of our Pottawatomies, victims to indolence and vagrancy, groveling in the stagnant waters of sloth, are reduced to penury and famine whenever their neighbors cease to feed them or the traders refuse to sell them on credit. We must drive this gentry to work, and the quicker it is done the better. It is true that these folks have no aspirations after wealth, but they desire to be in comfortable and easy circumstances. We present them the rich soil on which they live, and the finest opportunities for reaping plentiful harvests. Let them try their luck, and they are sure to succeed. If these drones intend to be an incubus on their industrious neighbors—not only unwilling to contribute their mite to the public welfare, but to be a drawback and a curse on the community, begging and extorting the fruits of their toil, and blighting the prosperity of their free-hearted friends—if, we say, this work is going to continue, we feel like calling on them the vengeance of Heaven. Do not imagine that we fight an idle phantom. These evils are real and tangible, and this is the reason why so many of our people are poor and have almost nothing to eat; and, which is worse, they do not care about having anything much to eat, because when the drones smell it they are there, and eat the poor fellows up. I have told them, times without number, that if poverty, mendacity, dejection and

degradation, the legitimate offspring of their idleness, have any attractions for them, we wish them good luck with their choice; but as for us, and for all industrious Indians, who are many in number, we repudiate their course and have reason to complain of them. They are as poor as you can well imagine. Their families are suffering, and still they would not work, but are eternally in search of a smoking chimney where they may find a bite to eat; the pot of the orphan and of the widow has no guarantee against their obtrusion. But we will soon look for happier times. There is a plan on foot which will soon put down these haughty loafers, and we fondly anticipate that the Department of Indian Affairs will help us to bring about a state of affairs that will go far to correct the evil. The best gifts we can bestow, and the best laws we can enact, are those which will teach these blockish fellows how to earn and how to save.

"You give a famishing man a loaf of bread—it is well, for he must have the bread just then or die; but when you give him the bread, if you also teach him how he may earn bread for himself and family, and make him do it, you have put in his hand a gift and a power that are worth more to him than a thousand loaves, for with them he can command a loaf any other day of his life. We could wish to have more means and more time to bestow in charity on the poor and deserving members of the tribe who thankfully receive little favors, and faithfully pursue the line of conduct that would be marked out for them.

"We frequently inculcate upon the minds of all the importance of a home—a permanent home; a comfortable home, with its thousand attractions; a substantial home, where you can enjoy the comforts of life, gathered around you by perseverance and industry; a lovely home, the right and title of which is vested in you and in your children.

"The 'Mission Indians,' the industrious and civilized class, want to sectionize the land of their reserve and to obtain a title in fee simple, for the following reasons:

"First. To have a permanent home for themselves and their children.

"Second. To break up communism—a worthless, lazy Indian throwing himself wantonly on a working Indian for support.

"Third. To gather around them the comforts of life, and to enjoy them without molestation.

"Fourth. To burst the bonds of tutelage, and to enjoy the manly privileges of freedom.

"Fifth. To make them look to their farms for support, giving up hunting, rambling, and marauding with war parties.

"Sixth. Because it plainly appears to them that it is the will of heaven, and the desire of government, that they should adopt the modes and laws of civilized life.

"Some certain Prairie Indians, medicine men, with painted faces, who are opposed to Christianity and civilization, and greatly in the minority as regards number, want to remain as they are, and they are said to allege the following reasons:

"1. Because they are Indians, and ought to remain Indians.

"2. Because they live like jolly fellows, without working, without laws, and without praying.

"3. Because the Great Spirit would be angry with us if we throw aside our bow and arrow.

"4. Because a little cabin, with a patch of corn and pumpkins, are all the earthly goods we desire.

"5. Because our braves must have two squaws for wives, and occasionally a jug of whisky; and if the land be divided we will be robbed of those glorious liberties.

"6. Because we do not dare break the customs of our forefathers and the solemn observances of our medicine bags."

"We leave it to impartial judges to weigh the arguments on each side and to decide where justice and common sense belong. Some few superstitious fellows are greatly alarmed about the land question, for they are fully convinced that the Christian Indians will carry their point. They are now opening their eyes to their sinking fortunes, and they turn their impotent spite against all those whom they believe to have been instrumental in putting the ball in motion. They complain very much against the black gowns for making some of their best men believe in

ETHEL WAPP, MINNIE WAPP,
MARY PAT-KO-SHUK,
Riders at the Indian Fair Races,
Prairie band, Pottawatomie Indians,
Mayetta, Kan., 1917.

the gospel. They urge also, with a sneer, that the young squaws, the schoolgirls of the mission, refuse to marry with their young men because they paint their faces and wear a blanket.

"These proud squaws seek the hand of a white man, and their parents and friends want to divide the land in order to have it to say that they own a domain of two hundred acres apiece—a great inducement for young men to take a claim in the Pottawatomie reserve."

Superintendent Duerinck was a vigorous, competent man, and a good director for the school. He was only mistaken as to how to get the In-

dian to help himself. He was influenced by those conditions most in evidence about him every day. He did not reflect deeply on what produced those conditions. He had no patience with them. He did not see clearly that the Indian was incapable of competition with the white man. It takes centuries to produce qualities which make the white man successful in fierce competition with his fellows. And even then more white men fail than succeed. The Indian has not had that struggle with individual effort in sufficient degree to develop the stamina and staying power necessary to success in individual life.

*1858.*

William E. Murphy remained the agent for the Pottawatomies.

The Baptist Manual Labor School was able to make a much better showing for 1858 than for some years back. John Jackson was still the superintendent. Additional land was enclosed, the fences and buildings repaired, and good crops produced. Agent Murphy said: "During the past two quarters there has been three times the number of children at the Baptist Mission school that have attended there at any previous period during my agency, and they are composed chiefly of the 'Prairie band' children." Superintendent Jackson said: "I am pleased to state that the Prairie band show an increasing disposition to educate their children, and manifest a warm feeling for the institution."

The St. Marys school was much larger than that of the Baptists. Its work was going on well. John Schultz had succeeded Rev. J. B. Duerinck.

The agent reported that the Prairie band had shown increased interest in agriculture. Many of them had enclosed fields, and crops were good. So the despised Prairie band now began to show their worth. Events will show that they had the true conception of what manner of life was best suited to them.

*1859.*

William E. Murphy, agent. This was his third year. There is nothing to indicate where the agency was located. In the days of Agent Whitfield it was at Westport, Mo. There is nothing to show when it was moved to the Pottawatomie country.

The tribe numbered 2,770—726 men, 752 women, and 1,292 children.

The Baptist Manual Labor School had an attendance of 70 boys and 40 girls. John Jackson was superintendent. Ninety acres of land had been put into cultivation—all in corn and potatoes this year. The agent said in his report that: "The school at the Baptist Mission is composed almost exclusively of the children of the 'Prairie band,' a large majority of which band obstinately adhere to the hunter's life and despise the principles of civilization."

The School at St. Marys had a much larger attendance, the boys numbering 103 and the girls 110. The average attendance was: boys, 75; girls, 73. John Schultz was the superintendent. His report disparages the Prairie band, saying its members adhere to the hunter's life and despise the arts and principles of civilization.

The government was still pressing the matter of allotment, the agent saying in his report:

"I trust that the government will, at no distant day, yield to their request by sectionizing their land and giving them the title thereto, throw-

ing around it, however, such barriers as will prevent the self-conceited, sharp and would-be knowing members of the tribe taking advantage of them. I deeply sympathize with the honest and industrious portion of these people upon this subject. They see and feel the importance of effecting an arrangement with the government that will protect them and their children in the enjoyment of their homes forever. They would make good citizens, and, from their commendable industry and ardent desire to have for themselves and their children permanent homesteads, have strong claims upon the consideration of the department, the prompt recognition of which, in my opinion, is demanded by humanity, justice and sound policy. Their preservation and permanency on their present reserve can only be effected by citizenizing them and granting them a title in fee simple to the land. I regret extremely to see the opposition with which this question of sectionizing is met on the part of the poor, ignorant and deluded 'Prairie band' of Pottawatomies. They are not able to understand the circumstances which surround them. It appears impossible to convince them of the fact that their ancestors have, in years gone by, had to vanish and disappear beneath the tread and march of the white man; that there is soon to be here in Kansas another conflict of race; that the dignity, the interest and the social relations of an extensive white population will force them to give place and remove, unless they adopt the customs of the whites, earn their living by the sweat of their brow, and, in short, make of themselves good and useful citizens. Talk to them on this subject and after this manner and you cannot more highly offend their dignity. At the commencement of my agency I was instructed to be a parental friend and provident monitor to the Indians placed under my charge. I am conscious of having come up to the requirement. I have at all times felt a deep interest in their welfare, individually and collectively. I have for the last two years been a close observer of the current of public sentiment against the various Indian tribes holding large reserves in Kansas, and it appears to me that the idea of the Pottawatomies being able to hold in common, as at present, their beautiful, rich and fertile reservation in the center of Kansas is preposterous; hence the interest which I have manifested upon the question of sectionizing. If I am right, the question then arises, Should the intelligent, industrious, and hard-working portion of the tribe, who wish to better their condition by securing for themselves and their children permanent homes, be curbed or kept back by that portion who are obstinately blind to the true interests of the whole tribe? . . ."

*1860.*

William E. Murphy remained as agent. The report submitted by him is a brief one. The great drouth of 1860 ruined the crops in Kansas, making it difficult for the Indians to live. The schools were said to be about the same as the previous year, though improvement was noted in that of the Baptists. The only subject discussed at length by the agent was the allotment of lands. The pressure for this fine reservation was becoming stronger all the time. That it may appear from the record that the government was trying to coerce the Indians, the following quotation is made from the agent's report.

"Since my last annual report the Mission or Christian Indians have been moving on in their usual quiet way, advancing in agriculture, extending their fields and other improvements, evincing a commendable interest in the education of their children, and showing every disposition to rise to an equality with the white man. Their great desire now is to have their long-cherished idea of sectionizing their land carried out by the department. Upon this question time has only served to confirm me in the opinion expressed in all my former annual reports, to which I beg leave to refer you. I deeply sympathize with this remnant of a once

powerful tribe upon this question, and appeal to the magnanimity and wisdom of the Indian Department to have their land sectionized, give each one a sufficient quantity, and the title thereto in fee simple, believing, as I do, that it is the only means to continue their existence within this agency.

"A large majority of the 'Prairie band' of this tribe have an aversion to manual labor, not the least inclination to farm or improve their lands, destitute of game, living only on their scanty annuity, and begging from the industrious members of the tribe. It is this band, under the lead of bad and designing men, that opposes the making of a treaty, the transfer of their trust funds for the purposes of education, as suggested to them by the Hon. Secretary of the Interior, and in fact every measure proposed to the tribe by a kind and parental government to ameliorate their condition, and which is acquiesced in by the industrious portion of the tribe, meets with opposition from the 'Prairie band,' and is thus thwarted. This should not be permitted. I am of the opinion that the department should say to these poor unfortunate creatures, We know what is best for your interests, and you must comply with our requests. If the whole tribe were more compactly settled, the 'prairie band' would be thrown into closer contact with those Indians who will work and would probably thereby gradually acquire industrious habits."

*1861.*

The report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1861 does not have any report whatever of the Pottawatomies. There is nothing to show who was the agent or the location of the agency. The commissioner had himself visited the Pottawatomies during the year. The account of his council with them is as follows:

"My council with the Pottawatomies lasted two full days, and was to me particularly interesting. I found them intelligent and apparently happy. They have a reservation thirty miles square, rich in soil, and beautifully located on the Kansas river, near Topeka, the present seat of government for the state. A large majority of the tribe, usually denominated the 'Mission band,' are far advanced in civilization, and are anxious to abandon their tribal condition and have a suitable portion of their lands allotted to them in severalty, and the remainder sold to the government at a fair price, to create a fund to enable them to commence agricultural pursuits under favorable auspices. This policy is, however, strenuously opposed by the wild or 'Prairie band' of the tribe, who look with jealousy upon any innovation upon their traditional customs. I assured the 'Mission band' that their desire to adopt the principle of individual property, and to rely for support upon the cultivation of the soil, rather than the chase, was warmly approved by the government, and that in case proper efforts and a reasonable time for reflection should fail to induce the rest of the tribe to adopt this mode of life, measures would be adopted to relieve them from the incubus which now binds them to an uncivilized life. This tribe has had the advantage of good schools, there being two upon the reservation—one under the charge of St. Marys Mission of the Catholic Church, and the other under that of the Baptist Church, South. St. Marys Mission school seemed to be in a prosperous condition, popular with the Indians, and doing much good. The female department deserves particular mention for its efficiency in teaching the different branches of education. The exhibition of plain and fancy needlework and embroidery, executed by the pupils, creditably attests the care and attention bestowed by the sisters upon these children of the forest. It was plain to me that their hearts are in the work. I cannot speak so favorably of the school for boys, but assurances were given by the present conductor, who has recently taken charge of it, that its de-

ficiencies should be remedied. Much of the improvement in the mode of life observable among the Pottawatomies is attributable to the schools. The Baptist school, being closed on account of its connection with the southern board, was not visited, but I was informed that it had been the means of much good."

The origin of the present reservation in Jackson county will be found in a treaty made with the Pottawatomie tribe at the Pottawatomie agency, November 15, 1861. It was therein provided that those who had adopted the customs of the whites and desired to have their lands allotted in separate tracts should so have their lands in severalty. Those members of the tribe desiring to retain their lands in common and still maintain their tribal relations should be allotted their lands to be held in common. It was made the duty of the agent to prepare two lists of the members of the tribe. One lists was to show the names and ages of those desiring their lands in severalty. The other list was to show the names and ages of those members of the tribe desiring their lands in common. Chiefs and headmen were to be designated for each class. Each chief who had signed the treaty was to receive one section of land, containing 640 acres. Each headman was to receive one-half section, or three hundred and twenty acres. Each head of a family was entitled to one-quarter section, containing 160 acres, and each other person should have eighty acres of land. Each adult was to choose his own land (or her own land), and the heads of families were to choose the land for minor children. Orphans and incompetent persons were to be assigned their portions by the agent.

The lands given to those desiring to hold them in common were to be selected in a single body. These members of the tribe relinquished their interest in the severalty allotments of the other members of the tribe, who, in turn, gave up their interest in that portion of the reservation to be held in common. All were to retain an equal right in the proceeds of the surplus land, which, by the treaty, was to he sold to the Leavenworth, Pawnee & Western Railroad. None of the allotted lands were to be subject to taxation or court process for the time being.

*1862.*

The census contemplated by the treaty—or the lists, rather—was taken on the 17th of May, 1862. It showed a total tribal population of 2,259—648 men, 588 women, and 1,023 children. The report of the agent does not contain the lists. And from the report it is impossible to determine what steps, if any, had been taken to carry out the provisions of the treaty. Some lands had been taken in severalty, which fact was mentioned as an incentive to individual effort. Sixty houses (log dwellings) were built. Wheat to the amount of 4,000 bushels was harvested; 51,000 bushels of corn and 100 acres of other products were produced. Individuals of the tribe owned 600 ponies, 800 cattle, 1,000 hogs, and 50 sheep. The total personal property of the tribe was set down at $62,670.

*1863.*

In the report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1863, the agency report of W. W. Ross shows that "the allotment of land under their treaty of the 15th of November, 1861, has been completed." There

seems to have been but one agency for the tribe. It was recommended that those holding their land in common should be permitted to sell their reservation and buy a home in the Indian territory. The report says: "I cannot but think it is for the interest of both portions of the tribe, and to the government, for them to be separated."

This was the old argument. It was always invoked in some form to the detriment of the Indians. The white man wanted the Indian's land.

WAH-BOX-SE-QUAH AND DAUGHTER ELIZABETH.
Prairie band, Pottawatomie Indians.

He did not care how he got it—just so he got it. While many Indian agents were upright men, having the good of the Indians at heart, a great majority of them were against the Indians and for the speculators.

It is well to say at this point that the Pottawatomie tribe was at that time (in the sixties) composed of three bands or divisions, as follows:

1. Pottawatomies of the Woods.
2. Pottawatomies of the Prairie.
3. The Christian band.

The Pottawatomies of the Prairie, the Prairie band, the ancient Mas-

kotens, took their land in common, in a body, and must have established the present reservation in Jackson county, Kansas, before the date of the agent's report—September 30, 1863. They are known as the Prairie band of Pottawatomies. They have the true conception of what is the best form of Indian life, and it was hoped that they never would be forced to accept their lands in severalty. Community life is the only life by which the Indian can survive as a people. He is an enemy of the Indian who advocates any other mode of life or form of society for him.

The other bands, the Forest or Woods band, and the Christian band, accepted their lands in severalty in accordance with the terms of the treaty. Soon they had sold their allotments, had lost the money received for them, and were in want. The government was compelled to provide a new reservation for them in the Indian territory. Thus was the judgment and course of the Prairie band vindicated and confirmed.

*1864.*

While the reservation of the Prairie band was well defined by the year 1863, it was by no means so firmly fixed as to be certain of continual existence. It had not become associated as a fixed fact in the minds of the Indians themselves. The vital principle—the idea of communal life—was still uppermost. This was the hope of the band. There existed, however, uncertainty as to the future. There had not yet been the complete assembly at one point of all the members of the Prairie band. Perhaps this never was achieved to the last member. But in 1864 a portion of the band lived on Mill creek, in Wabaunsee county. They were known as Shanques, and their headman was one Captain John. About the first of August, 1864, some forty of this settlement—men, women and children—went to the Osage and Cherokee country to remain for the winter, and possibly to settle permanently. They were assured by the agent that if they found a country to suit them the government would secure it for them, believing that the whole tribe would be drawn to settle about them.

The Prairie band living on Soldier creek (Jackson county) were also unsettled to some extent. Many of them had gone before the middle of September to Iowa and Wisconsin to spend the winter. It was their intention to return in the spring. At that time there were two causes for the unsettled condition of this band. One was the disturbed condition of the border due to the Civil War. The other was the warlike attitude maintained toward them by the wild tribes, natives to the plains. The Pottawatomies had never succeeded in establishing cordial relations with the plains Indians. As a consequence they could not go into the habitat of the buffalo, the only hope for an adequate supply of meat. This year of 1864 was one of trouble and uncertainty for the Prairie band.

*1865.*

The year 1865 was one of demorlization for the Pottawatomies. The ending of the Civil War did not bring immediate tranquility to the border, and the Indians themselves showed little progress in the matter of pulling the scattered fragments of the tribe together. Those hunters who went in pursuit of the buffalo found that the military force of the government made no distinction between them and the wild and hostile tribes of

whom they were in pursuit. More than four hundred of the Prairie band left the reservation. Forty of them went with a large band of Kickapoos south to Red river to hunt during the winter, and four hundred went north and scattered through Iowa, Wisconsin and Michigan. In Wisconsin they were the subjects of misrepresentation and the victims of malice. The board of supervisors of Waupaca county, Wisconsin, sent a communication which finally reached the Indian Office at Washing-

MARY MAH-KUK,
Prairie band, Pottawatomie Indians.
Mayetta, Kan., 1917.

ton, complaining that a large band of Indians had settled in that county, near the town of Little Wolf. It was not denied that they were civil and friendly, but they were accused of begging and of stealing potatoes and other crops from the fields. It was charged that they were destroying all the game of the county, that their ponies were devouring feed needed for cattle, sometimes breaking into fields, and that their dogs were troublesome among the sheep. It was affirmed that some of them, and perhaps all of them, were from Kansas. It was urged that they be removed.

This was the old form of creating a feeling against the Indians in pioneer settlements, sometimes resulting in bloodshed. A special agent of the Indian Office was sent to investigate the matter. His report shows that the respectable citizens of the county had consented that the Indians camp among them; that they were orderly and had molested no one nor any property; and that only one complaint was registered against them, that being of ponies breaking into one field. No objection among the people was found to the presence of the Indians. While it was not shown that they were from Kansas, some of them were probably Pottawatomies from the Soldier creek reservation.

Seventy-one members of the tribe had enlisted in the Union armies, where they made excellent soldiers. Many of them met death on the battle field; others died of sickness. The survivors were reaching home in the summer of 1865.

*1866.*

The year 1866 can not be set down as a prosperous year for the Pottawatomies. There was an increase in the population of the reservation, the census giving this result: men, 512; women, 501; children 979; total, 1,992. This census included the Pottawatomies of all bands. Only a few of the four hundred who had gone north had returned. Ninety-two of them were in Marshall and Tama counties, Iowa, under a chief called Johnny Green by the white people. He was about seventy years old. He said that 387 of his people were then in Wisconsin, but that they would move to Iowa the next spring.

The whole reservation of the Pottawatomies in Kansas was occupied, and there is no word that the members of the Prairie band were assembling on Soldier creek.

*1867.*

Up to the middle of August, 1867, only 190 patents had been issued to Pottawatomies for lands taken in severalty. The tribe stilll occupied the whole of the old reservation with the agency possibly at what is now Rossville. The agent reported that there was much trouble over depredations committed by white men against the Indians. And there was no recourse for the Indian. The officers of the state courts declined to assume jurisdiction of Indian matters. The United States courts would hear only such cases as originated on the reservation. The Indian was despoiled with impunity.

The agent recommended that a new home for the Pottawatomies be secured. In 1866 an effort to do this had failed because the senate had not ratified a treaty made with southern tribes.

*1868.*

In 1868 we find the first evidences of an assembling of the Prairie band of Pottawatomies on what was then designated as the diminished reservation, on Soldier creek. The agent has the following in relation to the present reservation there:

"The Prairie band, who hold their diminished reserve in common, are, many of them, beginning to realize that they must soon change their mode of life or look out for another home. They are not generally prepared for

a distribution of their lands in severalty among the members of their band and to become citizens. Being fully conscious of that fact, they desire a separation of their funds from the funds of the sectionizing party, so that they may enjoy among themselves what is their own, and still live on as Indians, according to their ancient customs.

"It is only necessary to state that they are occupying eleven miles square of a good farming land, with a fair proportion of timber, surrounded by a country as well settled by farmers as any part of Kansas, and in the neighborhood of several small towns or villages, to make it apparent that they are not always at peace with all the world, nor it is probable they ever will be again until they find a home where there are no whites, or where whites are less aggressive than they are in Kansas.

"I have to suggest that an effort should be made at once to treat with the Prairie Pottawatomies, to buy out their lands in Kansas and induce them to seek a home elsewhere."

It will be observed that the agent did not fail to embrace the opportunity to recommend that the reservation be sold and the Prairie band removed.

*1869.*

The surplus lands of the Pottawatomies had finally been sold to the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Company for one dollar an acre. The Pottawatomies of the Woods and the Mission band began the movement (finally successful) to secure a tract of land for a home in the Indian territory. The Prairie band, having now became firmly seated on the reservation on Soldier creek, took no part in this movement. The members of the band were devoting themselves more and more to agriculture. They had trouble with white settlers about them. The report says:

"The idea seems to prevail among the white settlers that that particular reserve, with its valuable timber, pure water, and rich prairie soil, containing over seventy-five thousand acres within an hour's ride from the dome of our State capitol, could never have been intended as a home for the Indian, the land to remain, to a great extent, uncultivated, and forever free from taxation. They enter upon these lands stealthily and take away timber, or make a contract with some worthless Indian for such timber as they want (the land being held in common they can buy of the same Indian in one part of the reserve as well as another), and under this contract they go on defiantly cutting and destroying. While the contract furnishes a sort of pretext, they very well know it confers no right; but they at the same time know that the United States district court for the district of Kansas never did, and probably never will, convict a white man for depredating upon Indian lands. I know of no way of remedying the evil, except by prevailing upon white men to be honest and just toward the Indian, or seeing that the laws are rigidly enforced against them. One other means may be tried with perhaps a more certain prospect of success—to move the Indian to some country where he would be free from such annoyances. The state of things existing between the Indians on the reserve and the whites outside of it has often been reported to the department and made a subject of complaint on the part of the Indians. The question of treating away their reserve and going to the Indian territory with a portion of the sectionizers has sometimes been proposed to the Prairie band of Pottawatomies, and a considerable number of them are reported to be in favor of such a movement; but that sentiment never finds expression in a council with an agent of the government, the chiefs and principal headmen being the only parties heard, and they are believed to be acting under outside influences which determine their course. . . ."

The Prairie band made an effort to have the old Baptist Mission, five miles west of Topeka, revived for the use of their children, but the plan failed after an expense of $2,000 had been incurred.

*1870*

There was a change of agents for the Pottawatomies this year, Joel H. Morris succeeding L. R. Palmer. The Woods band and the Christians were moving away from the old reservation. The Prairie band, with its reservation, occupies a large part of the report of the agent. The following quotation from it will describe the progress and condition of this band:

"This much we have said in regard to that portion of the Pottawatomies who have or are gradually passing from under the supervision of an agent, leaving only those who have heretofore been known as the 'Prairie band,' comprising, according to the census recently taken, 419 souls, and now living in separate lodges as follows, to wit, one frame house, fourteen log cabins, and thirty-five bark lodges, as the only representatives in Kansas of the once powerful tribe of Pottawatomie Indians. They are located on a reservation in Jackson county, state of Kansas, fourteen miles north of Topeka, the capital of the state. Their reserve comprises an area of eleven miles square of beautiful rolling prairie, well watered by two beautiful streams known as Big and Little Soldier creeks, along which the Indians' houses and lodges are located. The rich bottoms of these streams afford an abundance of the very best farming lands, with a reasonable portion of rail and saw timber, and quantities of small undergrowth, that affords comfortable retreats in winter for themselves and stock, while the rolling prairie lands abound with excellent building stone and a reasonable supply of stone coal. This portion of the tribe adheres tenaciously to their ancient Indian customs, habits and superstitions, although much effort has been made to educate them to leave off their old habits of hunting, particularly now that the game has almost entirely disappeared, and idly passing away their time, to resort to the cultivating of their soil for a support. But they still continue to cling to their old flag and bark lodges, after the customs of their fathers. Their furniture consists principally of a few rusty kettles, dirty blankets, and the usual equipage necessary for a savage life. The women mostly tend their little patches of corn after the men break the ground and garden, cook the victuals, and get their own wood, often carrying it a considerable distance upon their backs, although there may be several horses running at large and a wagon standing in the yard, or wood rotting for the want of care, while the young lords of the manor are engaged in card playing or other similarly degrading sports. It is gratifying however, to note that many of them have yielded to the oft-repeated wishes of the government and turned their attention more to agricultural pursuits than in former years, by raising horses, cattle, sheep, hogs and corn; in fact, most of the varieties of grain produced by experienced farmers, with the usual products of the garden."

*1871.*

There was but a continuance of the conditions reported in 1870. The Prairie band numbered 415, as nearly as the agent could ascertain. They were about the only Indians left on the old reservation, the others being mostly removed to the Indian territory to a new reservation provided there. On the diminished reserve (the present reserve) 6,000 bushels of corn had been raised. Other crops were produced. There were 350 ponies, 150 cattle, 175 hogs and 15 sheep on the reserve of the

HELEN NAH-GON-HE AND ELIZABETH KEGG,
Prairie band, Pottawatomie Indians.
Mayetta, Kan., 1917.

Prairie band on Soldier creek, the present reserve. The total of crops and personal property on the reserve was $18,690.

*1872.*

The agent, Joel H. Morris, resigned in April. The supervision of the agency devolved on Enoch Hoag, at Lawrence. The agency had not been changed from Rossville, in Shawnee county. Hoag advised that an agent be appointed at an early date, and that the agency be moved to the reservation of the Prairie band, the present reservation. The report mentions the removal of many of the Prairie band to the Indian territory to join the other bands of the tribe.

The funds belonging to the band are enumerated by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in his report for this year, as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Annuities under provisions of treaties of August 3, 1795; September 30, 1809; October 2, 1818; September 20, 1828; July 29, 1829; June 5, 1846, aggregating | $22,779.07 |
| For blacksmiths and assistant, for iron, steel and for salt (annually) | 1,362.77 |
| Annual appropriation (at will of Congress) for education | 5,000.00 |
| U. S. bonds | 91,500.00 |
| U. S. bonds | 20,000.00 |

The $91,500 in United States bonds made a trust fund for educational purposes, and yielded $4,585 annually. In this fund the citizen class of the band claimed an interest amounting to $67,000.

*1873.*

For the year 1873 there was found no report of the Prairie band. Enoch Hoag, superintendent of Indian affairs at Lawrence, Kan., made a report, but failed to mention the Prairie band.

*1874.*

The new agent, M. H. Newlin, made a census of the Indians of the Prairie band, finding a total of 467 persons. There were in Wisconsin 181 members of the band in addition, also about 30 members in Mexico. The names of these absentee Pottawatomies appeared on the fundamental roll approved by the Interior Department, May 6, 1865. All transactions with the band are made on this roll. It is the foundation of the establishment of the Prairie band on the Jackson county reservation.

The Wisconsin Pottawatomies had been visited September 1, 1874, and urged to return to the Kansas reservation. Agent Newlin admitted in his report that the action of the Prairie band in maintaining tribal relations and keeping their land in common had been wise. He had expected to find a wild and turbulent people, but was greatly surprised to find them civil and anxious to improve their condition. He soon had a school established, though he met with some opposition in doing it. The children were found to be intelligent and obedient. Degraded white men hung about the reservation, preying on the Indians and selling them whisky. Only a few of these Indians, however, were confirmed drunkards. There were many who were strictly temperate.

*1875.*

There were on the reservation this year about 450 Indians, and there were about 175 of the Prairie band in Wisconsin. Those in Wisconsin lived in Calhoun county, where they owned a quarter section of land (160 acres) in common. About 100 acres of this tract had been put into cultivation.

The reservation in Jackson county, Kansas, was officially announced as containing 77,357.57 acres of land. It is well watered by Big and Little Soldier creeks, and is fertile land.

The Prairie band made progress this year, though the grasshoppers destroyed their crops in the spring, making it necessary to replant two or three times.

The school numbered thirty pupils, all making progress.

The report is encouraging, and the condition of the band is set out in a manner which promised much for the future.

*1876.*

The year 1876 was one of progress for the Prairie band. Larger crops and a greater variety of them were planted than in any previous year. Farms were enlarged and fences strengthened. New houses were erected—some of logs and some of sawed lumber. Wells were put down and walled with stone. Large numbers of ponies and some American

horses were seen grazing on their natural meadows. While the Indians preferred to raise horses, they were beginning to build up herds of cattle. They had some mules and a large number of hogs. The practice of cooking at the open fire was being abandoned. Cook stoves were installed, and meals were eaten from tables. Wooden bowls and ladles were replaced with porcelain dishes and the spoons, knives and forks of the white man. At the spring term of the United States district court the agent had become disgusted with a decision that it was no crime to sell an Indian whisky when he was off the reservation. This made it difficult to maintain order. About one-fourth of the men of the band would go to seek whisky; another fourth would drink it if it was put in their way. Half of them had the moral stamina to resist it. With the help of these latter Indians, order was maintained.

*1877.*

The agency still remained at Rossville, in Shawnee county. Under its jurisdiction were also the Kickapoos, numbering 255, and the Chippewas and Christian Indians, numbering 61. The number of the Prairie band of Pottawatomies, exclusive of those in Wisconsin, is set down as 450, evidently an estimate. Some twenty-four members were still with the Mexican Kickapoos.

The improvements in the condition of the Prairie band are shown to have continued. Individuals of the band were supplied this year with fruit trees to the number of one thousand, and these were so well planted that all lived except about forty. This was the beginning of orchards on the reservation.

Agent Newlin notes in his report that there was a class of the Prairie band opposed to progress. It was composed of the priest and medicine men—the men who held to the old traditions and customs of the Pottawatomies. This inclination to preserve the ancient rites was always condemned by the agents and missionaries. They always saw, as they supposed, in this attitude, a sort of defiance of Christian influence. In reality there was no intention to stand in opposition to the missionary efforts. It was the love of the old order and the faith and reverence held in and for the ways of ancient days, so strong in the human heart. If the agent and missionaries had but rightly read Indian character in this respect, they would have permitted and encouraged the free exercise of the old ceremonies. The Indian would have added the Christian religion to his own —which those individuals did who adopted it. It requires time to divest a people of religious customs and feelings. As the generations passed the old pagan practices would have passed, for the vital elements must and will survive and subvert the superfluous in human life. The old rites would have survived as folk customs, folk lore. Much of beauty and much of ethnological value would have been saved—much that would have benefited both the white and Indian races.

*1878.*

The progress shown under Agent Newlin in former years was maintained in 1878. The following extract from his report is most encouraging; and it is enlightening, as proving what intelligent direction can ac-

complish with the Indians. It proves, too, that the Indian is capable of responding nobly to a proper recognition of his powers and inclinations:

"The Pottawatomie Indians are advancing in education, morality, Christianity, and self-support. In a period of five years they have progressed from a discouraged and seemingly helpless community, living generally in wigwams and cultivating but small patches of ground, to a community of prosperous farmers, raising cattle, hogs, horses and ponies. Their fields are now located on the open prairie. A majority of them have erected substantial houses, inclosed them with fences, planted fruit trees, and otherwise beautified their surroundings to quite as great an extent as the time and their facilities would permit. During the summer they have broken 300 acres of prairie, and laid off other tracts, which they purpose inclosing next spring and breaking at their leisure.

"Until April, 1873, not a scholar could be obtained from the Prairie band to attend school. The average attendance during the last fiscal year was twenty-nine pupils, with an enrollment of forty-four. The school buildings are well supplied with facilities for boarding and lodging the pupils, and also for teaching the females, in addition to their studies, all kinds of household duties. Attached to the school is a farm of sixty-three acres, well stocked with horses, cattle, hogs and poultry. The male pupils are taught to participate in all the labor necessary in conducting this farm and in caring for stock. After carefully noting the effect of this course upon the boys, I am convinced that they are quite as industrious and useful as white boys, and that the great difference between the usual adult Indian and white men is that the latter in youth were taught to labor and the former was not. I think the industrial boarding-school system, if persevered in, will result in the complete civilization of the Indian youth in this agency, and will greatly assist the adult Indians in forming a correct estimate of the value of education, and of learning the absolute necessity of labor as a means of realizing personal independence.

"Since a boarding school was established for the Pottawatomie Indians, a number of them who before their children learned to read and write perhaps never examined a letter in the alphabet, have learned to correspond in their language with Indians residing at a distance. I have seen letters containing considerable information written in the Indian language, with sixteen English letters understandingly read by Indians who had not the slightest knowledge of the use or sound of letters until a very recent period, and have not now except as applied to such letters; yet I think this will show that adult Indians who may even be prejudiced against education are susceptible to its influences, and may be made aware of some of its uses at least."

A correct and definite census was made of the reservation population. The totals shown are: 427 of the Prairie band on the reservation, 280 in Wisconsin, and 17 in the Indian territory.

*1879.*

This year there was a change of agents for the Prairie band. H. C. Linn, still living at Topeka, was appointed to succeed M. H. Newlin. Mr. Newlin had administered the affairs of these Indians in an intelligent and efficient manner. The record shows nothing as to why he was not continued. There were 451 members of the band on the reserve and some 200 absent "without permission."

This being the first report of the new agent, is somewhat lengthy. The whole situation is reviewed. Progress of the Indians is the fact most emphasized. Seven new dwellings were erected by them on the reser-

vation. Five hundred fruit trees were planted and grew thriftily. Four hundred acres of prairie were broken. Hogs in abundance were raised, and horses and cattle. Doctor Linn also mentions that they clung to the traditions of their fathers. He admits that those who set most store by these traditions were those who had made greater progress in the arts of civilization. Concerning education Agent Linn says:

"There are many zealous supporters of education among the ablest minds in the tribe, and it is not openly opposed by any of the Indians; but the party of extreme Indian ideas do not send their children to school, and doubtless prevent all from being sent they can. The school accommodations for this tribe are excellent. They consist of a boarding house of ample dimensions to board and lodge forty pupils, a schoolhouse sufficiently large to seat comfortably all the children of suitable age to attend school in the tribe, a large and well arranged laundry, a smoke and milk house combined, and a commodious barn for the accommodation of stock belonging to the school farm. The farm consists of sixty-three acres of land, on which good crops of corn and oats have been raised this year; the stock consists of about fifty head of cattle, four horses, and nearly if not quite enough hogs to furnish bacon for the school nine months out of twelve.

"The boys attending the school labor on the farm regularly, and are taught to properly care for stock, to milk, and to perform all kinds of labor incident to farm life. I have observed them very closely in the performance of their various duties, and am satisfied that they learn as quickly, and are as industrious and faithful as white boys of the same age. The girls attending the school are taught by the matron all housekeeping duties, and under the instruction of the assistant teacher are taught to cut and make garments for themselves and male pupils. They are very quick to learn and are proud of their ability to make for themselves as neat garments as are worn by white people of their age."

*1880.*

The Industrial Boarding School was established in 1873. It is reported this year as having been in successful operation since that time. Agent Linn says that during the year it has been attended by an intelligent class of Indian children, obedient, industrious, and attentive to their studies. The school had a number of buildings—a boarding house for pupils (erected in 1871), the schoolhouse proper, smokehouse, milkhouse, laundry and barn. Most of these latter buildings were erected in 1875. Probably all of them were first used that year. They were said to be commodious and well arranged. In connection with these buildings was a farm of sixty-three acres, planted to corn, oats, potatoes and garden vegetables. It was well tilled and the yield was abundant. The cattle, horses and hogs on the farm numbered more than fifty, and there was much poultry.

The agent said that the Indians were entirely satisfied with their home, and had made improvements with the future welfare of their children in mind. During the year they erected fifteen substantial dwellings, mostly of logs but finished with pine lumber. One stone house 24 by 32 feet, of six rooms, was in course of construction. They broke more than three hundred acres of prairie in the summer. There were ninty farms opened, improved and cultivated, the total acreage in crops being more than two thousand. Wheat, oats, flax, corn, potatoes, beans, pumpkins and many other crops were successfully cultivated. Orchards were in-

creasing. These Indians were coming to depend on themselves. They broke the prairie with their own teams, made rails and built fences, and even surveyed their own farms and located the dividing lines.

*1881.*

The number of the Prairie band this year is given as 750. Of these 430 were on the reservation, 280 were living with the Winnebago Indians in Wisconsin, and 40 in the Indian territory.

The school was in good condition. The children were taught the English language. The boys were taught to chop wood, milk, feed stock, intelligently harness and drive teams, hoe and plow the crops, harvest them, and to care for the premises. The girls were taught to cook, wash, iron, scrub, knit, sew, to cut out and make clothing, to mend clothing, and general housekeeping. The school developed industrious, cleanly, intelligent boys and girls, quite as willing and competent to perform the various duties of life as the white children.

On the school farm were seventy cattle, four horses, and hogs sufficient to furnish all the lard, pork and bacon required.

There were twenty substantial dwellings erected during the year, "neat in appearance and of respectable dimensions." The hopeful thing in the building of these houses was that they all replaced inferior houses, proving that these Pottawatomies were progressing in civilization. The agent said:

"The individuality of the Indian has been developed thereby. The pride and happiness of his family demonstrate their appreciation of a better and healthier mode of life. Though it has been but about eight years since the houses of the kind described could be counted on the fingers of the hands, there are now very few heads of families but what are supplied with and live in them. Thirty percent of these houses have been built solely at the expense of the Indians occupying them. For furnishing the remainder lumber has been purchased with interest derived from their improvement fund, but no further expense has been incurred either for hauling or carpenter's work, the Indians having performed this labor or employed persons for the purpose. Their houses, with suitable space for yards, are all inclosed, generally with very neat fences. A large number of them are furnished with cooking stoves, chairs, dishes, bedsteads and other necessities of civilization.

"The Indians subsist on the same kinds of food as white people, and their women, who are generally good cooks, prepare it in the same manner as white cooks, and with the exception, perhaps, of cooking meat more thoroughly. In the spring they bought more than 2,000 apple trees at individual expense, and planted them with very good judgment. They are fond of fruit and much interested in growing it, and take excellent care of their orchards, all of which are enclosed with good fences. The first and finest early apples I ate this year were presented to me by an Indian, and while traveling on their reserve I have seen fine apples growing on trees planted by the Indians four years ago. They have also bearing peach and cherry trees. Some few have raised tame grapes and a number have planted pear trees.

"These Indians are developing a strong liking for money and property of all kinds, holding to it with astonishing tenacity, and have already learned to gauge the consideration due their neighbors by their ability to gather and retain it."

Could a better showing be made for any community, regardless of nationality, than this report makes for the Prairie band of Pottawat-

omies? And it must be remembered that they were in the woods in blankets only a few years before, without knowledge or love of civilization.

*1882.*

The year 1882 was one of continued progress. The agent reports:

"The Pottawatomies [Prairie band] as a tribe realize the necessity of getting their living from the soil, and are industrious. They seem to take pride in establishing their homes and making them comfortable. All have fields; while some are small, a greater portion have large, well-tended fields. Some of the corn planted and tended by these Indians is as fine as I have seen, and will yield as much per acre as any in this section. They will have an aggregate amount of about 12,000 bushels, and have raised and thrashed 2,000 bushels of oats and 500 bushels of spring wheat."

The school was in good condition and doing a fine work.

*1883.*

The condition of the Prairie band is well described in 1883 in the Andreas "History of Kansas," under "Jackson County," and what is there said is set out here:

"In the south central portion of Jackson county is the diminished Pottawatomie Indian reservation, embracing, in round numbers, 77,400 acres of land. Here are located 440 Pottawatomies; 280 being in Wisconsin, 30 in Iowa, and 24 in the Indian territory.

"The Pottawatomies came from the islands near the entrance of Green Bay, and were a branch of the Chippewas or Ojibways, who held the country from the mouth of Green Bay to the headwaters of Lake Superior.

"The word Pottawatomie is said by some authorities to signify the act of blowing out the cheeks, as in kindling a fire, and is supposed to refer to the facility which the nation possessed in kindling the ancient council fires of their forefathers. The word is also rendered by some, "I am a man."

"Mention is made of the early history of this tribe in the "Sketches of Indian Tribes" in this work. The three bands of Pottawatomies—the Pottawatomies of the Woods, the Christian or Mission band, and the Prairie band—occupied the reservation of thirty miles square on the Kansas river from 1847-'48 until November 15, 1861, when under provisions of a treaty made and concluded at the Pottawatomie agency on Cross creek, now Rossville, the Mission and Wood bands elected to become citizens of the United States, receive patents in fee simple for their allotments of lands, their *pro rata* shares of the cash credits of the tribe amounting to about $685 for each allottee. There were then about 1,650 allottees. At that time the Prairie band consisted of 780 persons. They elected to hold their lands in common, and accordingly there was set apart for them an undivided quantity sufficient to allow one section to each chief, half a section to each headman, 160 acres to each head of a family, and 80 acres to each other person, which aggregated 77,357.57 acres.

"In 1866, George W. James, born in 1842, in Baltimore county, Maryland, starting for California, was detained at Rossville on account of sickness, and on recovering he became identified with the interests of these people, and has ever since devoted his attention to them. Dr. H. C. Linn, their present agent, regards him as standard authority on any matter connected with them. He is general clerk. In 1874 there were but five houses on the reserve occupied by Indians; in 1882 there were 105, all of which are habitable, and some of which are very comfortable. In 1875 the Indians thought they could not live in dwellings like white

people; they could not get air, and the cyclones would sweep them away. In 1882 they cannot be supplied with the amount of timber they desire and could make a good use of. They have 105 fields, ranging in area from 3 to 150 acres. Surrounding them are some of the very best rail woven fences in Kansas, made of good oak and walnut, eight rails high, staked and double ridered. Forty percent of them have good gardens, in which they raise a great variety of vegetables in their season. They raise corn and hogs for market in considerable quantities, and they sell other products. There are some twenty mowing machines on the reserve, and the average Indian has skill to that degree that he can properly use one. In 1880 they had herds of cattle, 1,150 horses, 10 mules, 1,275 swine, 65 sheep, hundreds of fowls.

"The Indian boarding school located at the new mission, fifteen miles southwest of Holton, opened in 1875. The grounds embrace 63 acres; and on the farm here opened the Indian children are taught to labor and are instructed in good methods of husbandry. The school building, boarding house, barn, laundry, etc., cost $12,000. Consequent upon the last treaty, made November 15, 1861, the Prairie band was entitled to thirty-nine one hundredths of the entire assets of the Pottawatomies, which has been set apart for them, and on the books in the Interior Department their credits are as follows: Permanent annuity, $395,-636.42; for support of blacksmith shop, $20,179.86; for support of school, $80,000; improvement fund, $18,000; general fund with accrued interest, $122,000. Total amount, $635,816.28.

"The Prairie band still maintain a tribal government. After the death of Se-noge-wone, his son Wab-sai became head chief, which he held until his death in 1872. The present head chief is Sough-nes-see. The first speaker is Masqui; the second, Pis-she-quin. August 5, 1878, the matter came before them in regard to transferring the control of the Indians to the War Department, and the sense of the tribe was expressed by Masqui, who said:

" 'Chiefs and others have stated: "We feel happy and pleased to have a choice to elect how we shall be controlled." I have heard the opinions of the chiefs, who say that at the time peace was made with us they were glad that we inferred from them (the President and commissioners) that we would be as one people as long as the earth should exist; the President would be our father, who promised to look after our rights; that the day would come when his wars would be settled all over the face of the earth, and for all time the President would protect us in the possession of our property. Therefore the chiefs were satisfied, and are satisfied that such acts have been done. I am indeed ignorant as to how we should be treated if turned over to his (the President's) braves for protection; therefore I would remain as at present. Under the care of the Interior Department I will receive full protection and encouragement, and where my property will not be squandered, but will be saved to our children and our children's children for all time to come. I do not wish to make new rules or contracts, but desire to remain under the guardianship of the government as stipulated in our treaties, and as have been exercised in the past.'

"At a recent funeral occasion the speaker, alluding to the deceased woman, said substantially: 'The person now before us but a few days ago was walking around with us. We may learn from this that we should truthfully speak of and kindly treat our fellows; we should be charitable, for as this one needs our charity, so ere long will we need some of yours.'

" 'The noble red man' does not alone exist in song and story, for among these created intelligences residing on this diminished reservation are those who have chords which, if properly touched, are susceptible to that kind of vibration, that this race, the aborigines of America, may come to the noble Caucasian and teach him perhaps not wordy lessons so much as worthy examples.

"This Prairie band of Indians are, many of them, resolutely cultivating the arts of peace. They are just and honest with the whites and themselves; they are developing the holy love of a personal, permanent home; they are comprehending subjects of business presented to them; they are substituting for the sixteen English letters they have heretofore used in their Indian language, all of the English alphabet found necessary to express vocal sounds. They are learning to acquire property; in fine, they are making gradual progress, and their permanent location in Jackson county may bring mutual compensation to themselves and the 'superior race.'"

*1884.*

The number of the Prairie band was officially reported this year as 432. The year was a prosperous one. The herds of cattle increased materially. The horses had multiplied rapidly, and this year they shipped six carloads of them to market, realizing good prices for them. The attendance at the boarding school was up to the full capacity of accommodations. Many more would have attended had there been facilities for caring for them.

Agent Linn notes the appearance of a new system of worship among the Pottawatomies, and says of it:

"There has been introduced into the Pottawatomie tribe in the past year a system of worship which consists principally of dancing and exulting, though, like all semicivilized nations, clouded in superstition. Apart from the superstition and consumption of time spent in those dances, the moral tendency is very good, as the teaching is in accordance with the Ten Commandments. They object to sacrament by the use of intoxicating drink, and denounce gambling and horseracing. This religion was introduced by the Chippewas of Wisconsin."

*1885.*

There was a change of agents this year, Dr. H. C. Linn being succeeded by I. W. Patrick. The report made by Agent Patrick shows continued progress of the Prairie band. They were cultivating 110 separate farms, in size from 5 acres to 200 acres each. These farms were worked by 120 families. On each farm there was a neat, well-built dwelling house. The farms were enclosed with excellent fences, mostly of rails, neatly and strongly built. The good housekeeping of the women is complimented in the agent's report. The Indians shipped five carloads of horses, receiving good prices for them.

There was some friction among the Indians this year. Some citizen Pottawatomies came to the reservation. They had no legal rights there. Their children attended the agency school, to which some of the Prairie band objected, as it crowded the school. But later in the year they were all sent to Haskell University, at Lawrence, which relieved the situation.

The agent says that the Prairie band were "thoroughly united on the question of retaining their present home. Any suggestion of contrary action meets with an angry response, and they become unjustly suspicious of any attempt in that direction."

The following quotations from the report of Agent Patrick will give the status of the new religion:

"These Indians are chaste, cleanly and industrious, and would be a valuable acquisition to the Prairie band if it were not for their intense devotion to a religious dance started among the northern Indians some years

since. This dance was introduced to the Prairie band about two years ago by the absentee Pottawatomies and Winnebagoes, and has spread throughout the tribes in the agency. They seem to have adopted the religion as a means of expressing their belief in the justice and mercy of the Great Spirit, and of their devotion to him, and are so earnest in their convictions as to its affording them eternal happiness, that I have thought it impolitic so far to interfere with it any further than to advise as few meetings as possible, and to discountenance it in my intercourse with the individuals practicing the religion. It is not an unmixed evil, as under its teaching drunkenness and gambling have been reduced 75 percent, and a departure from virtue on the part of its members meets with the severest condemnation. As some tenets of revealed religion are embraced in its doctrines, I do not consider it a backward step for the Indians, who have not heretofore professed belief in any Christian religion, and believe its worst features are summed up in the loss of time it occasions and the fanatical train of thoughts involved in the constant contemplation of the subject."

*1886.*

The agent found little that was new to report for the year 1886. The number of Indians in the reservation is given as 470. There is no mention of absentees. It is noted that the cattle were increasing, the farms well enclosed with hogtight fences, and that much hay had been cut from the prairies. Intemperance was rare among the Prairie band, and it is said: "The Pottawatomies [Prairie band] are a happy people."

*1887.*

C. H. Grover was the agent this year. The report is dated at Hoyt, Kan., September 5, 1887. On the reservation were 468 of the Prairie band. There were 250 to 300 in Wisconsin, the Indian territory and elsewhere The money due the Prairie band amounted to $640,000. It was natural that a new agent would have more to say than one who had been long familiar with the affairs on the reservation. The investigation of the affairs by Agent Grover did not result in any new developments nor the discovery of anything more than we have seen in former reports. While not so many new houses were built, there was much repairing and overhauling of the old ones, so the Indians were better housed than ever before. There was one homicide on the reservation. A white man who had married a half-blood Pottawatomie was shot dead by her brother. There was an epidemic of measles and whooping cough. The surplus land was rented for pasture to white men at one dollar per head for the cattle pastured. This year the report makes the first mention of the Indian police. That of the Prairie band consisted of one captain, one sergeant and five privates.

*1888.*

There was a change in agents, the report showing that John Blair was the agent in 1888. He made the report. The population numbered 496, and the absentees were estimated at 250. The number of births were increasing and the deaths decreasing. Dr. Wilson Stuve had been employed as the physician of the tribe in 1887, when the epidemic of measles and whooping cough appeared, and was still retained in 1888.

The white farmers about the borders of the reservation were beginning to compete for the hay and for grazing privileges. The sum of $8,295

was collected for grazing in 1888. It was estimated that $3,000 would be received from the sale of hay on the tribal land not cultivated nor used by the Indians. The Prairie band had increasing herds of hogs. The pony was the base of the stock, but it was being improved by the intermixing of American horses. They sold from $40 to $80 a head. These Indians were improving their cattle. There were sixty-one pedigreed shorthorn cattle on the reservation and hundreds of "grades." The average price of the latter was $30 per head.

The school was not viewed with enthusiasm by the new agent. The facilities for boarding the number of pupils desiring to attend were insufficient, and there was a lack of pure water. The Indians were in favor of education and wished to improve the schools.

*1889.*

John Blair was still the agent. There was little to report that was new. The population was 447. The salary of the agent was given as $1,000 per annum. It stated that heads of families all occupy and cultivate tracts of land distinctly separated from those of other persons. There was no instance of where any Indian had interefered with his neighbor's premises.

Commissioners had appeared at the agency to confer with the Prairie band about selling the reservation, or at least the surplus after allotting a certain amount to the individuals. The Indians declined to discuss the matter. They had seen how soon the Indian with an allotment he could sell was both landless and moneyless. The proceeds from grazing privileges amounted to $7,929.

*1890.*

Blair was still the agent. The Prairie band on the reservation numbered 462. There were 120 fields on the reservation. In size they ranged from 3 acres to 200 acres. The fences were neat and good, and said to be the best in that country. Stables were provided for most of the horses. The cultivation of most farms was equal to that of the white farmers of the region round about. The orchards were prospering. All livestock was increasing.

*1891.*

J. A. Scott was agent this year. He found some discouraging features on the reservation. Things which had been developing some years came to a head at this time.

The population of the Prairie band numbered 517. The statistics concerning agriculture remain about as in the preceding year or two. The school buildings were wearing out and becoming dilapidated. There was a lack of room for the agency work.

Trouble arose this year on the reservation. It was caused by the government of the United States. September 1, 1890, the President issued an order requiring the Prairie band to make selections of land for allotment in severalty to the individuals of the band. This was done in direct opposition to the wishes of these Pottawatomies. Such action by the government is always the result of invisible intrigue by powers who wish to despoil the Indian. Often some broken-down politician, usually a

congressman who has been relegated to the political graveyard, is at the bottom of such intrigues. He has a knowledge of usages and affairs, which he capitalizes. He becomes active as a disreputable lobbyist sometimes, but usually he seeks to rob some poor Indian, knowing that he is the most helpless object in America. The course of procedure is to cause a clamor in the county or community where the reservation is located. The unreliable part of the population may be caused to complain because the

MARGARET WABAUNCE,
Prairie band, Pottawatomie Indian.
Mayetta, Kan., 1917.

Indian land is not taxed. This always results in bringing in the local taxing authorities—petty politicians entrusted with business they are often wholly incompetent to transact. The reigning congressman is then involved through complaints, lies, petitions, misrepresentations, and often by a promise, or at least a hope, of some of the pork. The plot thickens, the Department of the Interior is besieged, and too often in our history has been prone to lend a helping hand. The plan is worked out and carried to the President through the combined aggregation. Usually the

desires and interests of the Indians are not considered. When the intrigue is perfected "commissioners" appear on the reservation with matured courses of procedure, to the consternation of the helpless Indians. They are told what must be done, and done at once. Their lands are seized for a pittance and they are hustled out to some desert supposed to be worthless for the uses of the white man, and a treaty solemnly entered into that they shall have *that* tract as long as sun shines and grass grows and water runs. But as soon as they make the barren tract worth something, the white man comes and kicks them off of it, as he has the former one.

The prairie band had gone through more than one such experience. When the treaty to allot the original reservation of thirty miles square on the Kansas river was made the Prairie band protested. They knew they could not live in white communities in competition with white people. They knew they were not fitted for that. They knew the white people would not long endure their presence. They knew they could support themselves and raise their children only in a community life, where the property they owned could be made secure from seizure by the unprincipled white men. They refused to accept their lands in severalty and become citizens of the United States. They demanded their share in a body to be held in common, and this was reluctantly granted. Their brethren, the Forest and Christian bands, became proud American citizens. The surplus land was sold to the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Company for one dollar an acre—land that then should have been sold for ten dollars an acre; land which the railroad sold much of for far more than ten dollars an acre; land now valued at two hundred dollars an acre.

The Prairie band had seen what they were confident would happen to their brethern with the proud American citizenship. When the white man had secured their lands and the proceeds of the sales also, they were homeless outcasts. Many of the citizen Pottawatomies, after their proud experience which ended in calamity, wanted to move onto the little reservation of the Prairie band and get homes there. They had held the members of the band in contempt during their American citizen experiment. There was opposition to these citizens coming back to absorb the homes the Prairie band had saved for themselves. Mabsai, the chief of the reservation, had made an order about 1865 that these "citizens" should be excluded from the reservation. But as time went by this attitude softened to some extent and by the year 1870 quite a number of the "citizens" were living on the reservation of the Prairie band. Knowing the determination of the Prairie band to maintain themselves in community life and never accept their lands in severalty, these "citizens" believed it to their interest to hold the same views. By so doing they supposed they would be more welcome on the reservation, and in this they were right. The authorities attributed their course to shrewd self-interest solely, and perhaps rightly so. However, they may have remembered their own bitter experience with severalty allotments and the exercise of the proud franchise of American citizenship. In any event, the "citizens" were always

more violently opposed to the severalty plan than were the members of the Prairie band themselves.

When this pressure to allot the reservation began to be felt more and more every year, the Prairie band took some measures to meet it with organized resistance. An order or band of "braves" was formed. These "braves" were outspoken against the allotment plan, and they were expected to be. The authorities and outsiders must have believed that most of the opposition to allotment came from the "citizens" and the "braves." The authorities had ordered the "citizens" to leave the reservation in 1884, and again in 1886. These orders were disregarded, possibly at the instance of the "braves." On the 3d of March, 1891, another order for them to leave the reservation was issued. The President had made an order September 1, 1890, that the Prairie band should select lands in severalty. The "citizens" were violently opposing this order. The "braves" proclaimed that they would protect the "citizens" against the order for their removal.

Thus matters stood in the summer of 1891. The government could not be thwarted in its designs, and a detachment of the Seventh United States cavalry, under Lieut. J. C. Gresham, removed the "citizens" from the reservation. The Prairie band saw that it would be useless to try to resist the government. They were helpless, and they began to take their allotments. No more high-handed, arbitrary and unrighteous act than that of forcing the Prairie band to take their land in severalty can be found to the credit of the government.

*1892.*

J. A. Scott was the agent. The report, 1892, contains an account of the old reservation and of the allotments in process for the Prairie band.

It appears that the number of the Prairie band, when computed under the treaty of November, 1861, was 780. It was the land that this number were entitled to which made up the reserve of the Prairie band.

The allotting agent was Henry J. Aten, of Hiawatha, Kan., a soldier for the Union from Illinois in the Civil War, and a just man. The report says:

"Under date of September 1, 1891 [1890], the President granted authority for making allotments to the Prairie band and Kickapoos under the provisions of the act of February 8, 1887, and under date of February 9, 1891, Henry J. Aten was designated by the honorable Secretary of the Interior to make said allotments. As the impression largely prevails that the reservations of the Indians contain much more land than can be allotted to them under provisions of the act referred to, and the amendatory act passed subsequently thereto, it may be well to give a short history of them. The Prairie band reservation, as originally established by the fourth article of the treaty of June 5 and 17, 1846, contained 576,000 acres, lying on both sides of the Kaw river. From this quantity allotments were made under provisions of the treaty of November, 1861, to over 1,600 members of the Pottawatomie Indian Nation, and under the fourth article of said treaty the 77,357 acres contained in the present diminished reservation was set apart, in the same quantities given to individuals of the allottee class, for 780 persons ascertained to belong to the Prairie band, all of whom declined to take allotments. In addition to the allotments made under this treaty, all of which, with very rare ex-

ceptions, are now owned by white people, 339,000 acres were sold under provisions of the treaty of August 7, 1868, to the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway for $1 per acre. Hence it appears that 500,000 acres of the original reservation has been absorbed by white people, and that the quantity remaining has been specifically set apart for a definite number of the Prairie band.

"The reservation of the Kickapoos as established by the treaty of May 4, 1854, originally contained 150,000 acres and of this quantity 130,863 acres have been absorbed by the whites, through sale and otherwise, and the 19,137 acres remaining was set apart as in the case of the Prairie band. Both of these tribes, as now existing, strenuously opposed allotments when made to the majority of their people in 1863, and their leading men have since continually taught that the principle was ruinous to the Indian, and must be combated with every means at their command. The misfortunes of both citizen Pottawatomies and Kickapoos, and the residence on the reservation of a large number of absolute paupers and vagabonds of this class, who, idle and worthless, encouraged like vices in those belonging there, aided in intensifying and spreading their dislike of allotments. Indeed, this feeling became so strong that when the work of allotting actually commenced the few who realized that their best interests would be subserved by making selections, and that it was the determination of the government and the best friends of the Indians that all reservations should be so disposed of, were actually afraid to have it known that they had done so. Up to this date but ten heads of families of the Prairie band and one of the Kickapoos have voluntarily asked for allotments, and an organized opposition has existed in both tribes, which has greatly retarded the success that should have been obtained from that constant argument and persuasion that has been exerted on every individual of mature age of both tribes.

"Notwithstanding all this opposition, as well as frequent threats of violence, the allotting agent has succeeded in allotting to 236 members of the Prairie band and 65 members of the Kickapoos. Many of the allottees of both tribes have fenced their selections and are developing an unlooked-for aptitude for business in the care of their property. A large majority of the allottees of both tribes are full-bloods, and embraces some of the most influential and intelligent members of the tribe. A list of 115 allotments made to the Prairie band was submitted to the Department for consideration the 17th of March last, and was approved by the honorable Secretary of the Interior under date of June 6 last. This action has not only assured the allottees that they will be protected by the government and encouraged to improve their selections, but has also convinced the opposition that their efforts to prevent the work are useless."

The school was improved this year. The dormitory was repaired and painted. Sidewalks were built about the school. Cribs, sheds for cattle and new fences were constructed, and a windmill to pump water was installed. The farm and garden produced 600 bushels of corn, 150 bushels of potatoes, 45 bushels of turnips, 50 bushels of apples, 10 bushels of onions, 43 tons of hay, and quantities of melons, cabbage and other vegetables. Sixty pupils were enrolled, and the average attendance was a fraction above 44. Greater interest was apparent in the pupils than for some years before.

*1893.*

Agent, J. A. Scott. The number of the Prairie band on the reservation, 532. The course pursued by the government in forcing allotment of lands in severalty had paralyzed the ambition of the Indians. In the seventies and eighties, each report was one of progress in agriculture.

Now the reports show apathy and lack of enterprise. This is attributed in the report to another cause—naturally. The language of the report is as follows:

"The Kickapoo Indians, having for a number of years drawn but small annuities, have been forced to exert themselves for a livelihood, and the result is they farm intelligently and industriously and obtain practical results. In their case farming is not pursued as a disagreeable duty to provide a small part of the subsistence and clothing, very nearly provided for by liberal cash payments, but as a duty and necessity that is as inexorable as the want of food and raiment; and a long existence of these conditions has brought about a cheerful compliance therewith on the part of the most of them. There is, however, in this tribe, as in the Prairie band, a faction, smaller proportionately in their numbers, that resists good example and grasp at every opportunity to indulge in romantic barbarism under the disguise of religion.

"This reservation produces largely of all crops required for the subsistence of themselves and stock, and they will this year, as usual, have a liberal quantity of corn for sale. They have but few more than a sufficiency of horses for the prosecution of their farm work. They also keep cattle in small numbers, and differently from some other tribes in the agency, utilize the cows for milking and butter purposes.

"The existence of the same conditions among the Iowa Indians as to small annuity payments in connection with the excellence of their lands, the nearness of good markets for their surplus produce, and the fact that they are naturally bright mentally, has developed them into a fairly successful community of farmers. All of their reservation, with the exception of some brush land and small quantities bordering on the Great Nemaha river and creeks, has been in cultivation for years, and is made to yield abundantly by good farming.

"There are but few lands left for grazing purposes in inclosures or otherwise in the reservation, and as the income of the Indians must necessarily be derived from the sale of farm products, only just sufficient stock for their cultivation and for the production of milk and butter and meat are kept.

"These Indians generally have roomy, comfortable houses, barns and orchards, all nicely inclosed.

"The Sac and Fox of Missouri Indians, unlike the two last tribes named, draw a large annuity amounting to over $100 per head per year, and the fact that 6,800 acres of the 8,013 in the reservation are in cultivation is greatly due to the energy of a single member of the tribe, who for over twenty years was engaged breaking tracts for them, generally for one crop, and afterwards farmed them at a liberal rental. A number of the houses now standing on the reservation were built by him with the rents thus made due the Indians.

"The liberal income derived from these lands, in addition to the large annuity of the Indians, produces carelessness as to the future and furnishes them with means for indulgence in vicious habits, to which they are greatly addicted. This I regret to say is true of half, if not a majority, of them.

"As in the case of other tribes noted, those who have cultivated habits of industry and refrain from the practice of dissipation and kindred vicious habits present radical contrasts to their brethren in blood, and not only live happily and comfortably, but acquire stock and money. One full-blooded Indian of this tribe now has several thousand dollars loaned that he has made principally from wheat crops in the last few years. These Indians also have good dwelling houses, with some barns, though but few orchards, and own stock, consisting of horses, cattle and hogs, only in limited numbers.

"The Chippewa and Christian Indians farm their small tracts of land to very good advantage, and sell not only field products, but vegetables, to

contribute to their support, as their small annuity furnishes but a small percentage of their wants. Were it not for their association with the worst elements of the white community surrounding them they would be a model tribe. As it is, there is very much in their farm management that is commendable, and there is but little doubt of their being able to care for themselves in this respect. They have comfortable houses, outhouses, orchards, and fair fencing, and raise horses, cattle, and hogs in small quantities profitably.

"Allotments of land in severalty.—The Chippewa and Christian Indians all received allotments under their treaty of June 9, 1860, and the only surplus lands to be disposed of in the future are 200 acres now held by the Moravian Church for missionary and school purposes. These people received but 40 acres each, and as many children since born have not received land, the quantity held by the heads of a number of families is really inadequate for their support. Under these circumstances it would seem just to set apart from the funds of the tribe, when final settlement may be made, some small pecuniary consideration in lieu of land for these children.

"Allotments were made to all the members of the Sac and Fox of Missouri tribe in existence during the year 1890, and patents for their selections have since been issued to them. After these selections were concluded there was left in the reservation about 2,000 acres of surplus lands, which the tribe are unwilling to sell and are anxious to dispose of by allotment to children born since 1890 unprovided with land, of whom there are ten.

"Under orders from the Office of Indian Affairs, I allotted lands to 142 Iowa Indians during the year 1891-'92. Although there were then ten more new-born children entitled to allotments, they could not be made, for the reason that there was no land for them, the reservation upon survey having been found to contain 4,600 acres less than reported in official statements. Up to date eight more children have been born, making eighteen in all unprovided with land, and for whom a money consideration should be arranged, as I think is provided for in the act under which the lands were allotted.

"Owing to the want of sufficient land, the grasping propensities of the more intelligent and wealthy members of the tribe, and the constant interference of unscrupulous white men living in towns adjacent to the reservation, I had great difficulty in doing justice to the less active and aggressive members of the tribe who had previously been pushed upon inferior lands, such in some cases as were unsuited to agricultural utilization at all. White men whose children under the intermarriage law of June 10, 1888, were not entitled to allotments, unprincipled members of the tribe who were not permitted to dictate just how allotments should be made, incited frequently by knavish attorneys and others, expecting to accomplish the twofold purpose of making profit and embarrassing the Indian work, all seem to have combined in making complaints and charges as to the correctness of the work for more than a year, and indeed it has only been during the last few months that they have ceased. Knowing the difficulties I had to contend with in this work, I commenced it with the determination to allow no real cause for complaint to exist, and would at any time have been glad to have it investigated by a competent officer."

The opposition to allotments continued, as shown by the report:

"The fact that satisfactory progress has not been made in allotting to the Prairie band of Pottawatomie Indians is not due to the want of effort upon the part of the alloting agent or others, but to the persistent, constant and untiring action of a faction in the tribe who resist good example, wise counsel and every elevating influence that can be brought to bear upon them. They oppose education; would gladly destroy every

improvement of the reservation, and drive advanced Indians from it, if they could, and have no other ambition than to live as their fathers did before civilization was known among them. Although the leader of this faction is entirely ignorant of the business of the tribe, and is known as a fanatic, he has convinced his followers, by the most absurdly false representations, that he will finally accomplish the cancellation of the allotments already made, and prevent any further development of civilized ideas on the reservation. This faction embraces the very old and poorest with some of the intensely superstitious Indians, none of whom pretend to work; hence their whole time can be and is given to abuse of allottees and the principle of allotments. The leader of the faction and two other Indians have visited Washington twice within the last year, and in this manner and by feeing lawyers have spent over $2,500 collected by contributions from individual Indians of their belief.

"Notwithstanding all this opposition, 287 allotments have been made to date, out of a tribal membership present of 532, and a few are being made weekly. Many of the peaceable and easy-going Indians are deterred from making their selections by the threats of the antiallotment faction, and the fear that they may be able to destroy allotments, as they allege they can.

"A singular fact in connection with these Indians is that a number of the people who have resided in Wisconsin for over twenty-five years, and labor daily for a livelihood, upon their return here join this faction, and are among the most zealous and unreasonable opponents, not only of allotments, but education."

A commodious school building had been erected, and facilities provided for all the children on the reservation. The good effects of this should be apparent in the coming year.

*1894.*

Agent made no report for 1894, at least none has been found.

*1895.*

The agent this year was Louis F. Pearson. He says: "I have the honor to herewith submit my first annual report." This would lead one to believe that Scott probably continued as agent in 1894.

Agent Pearson found only thirty-two children in the agency school. This was the result of the policy of forcing the Indians to accept allotments of land in severalty. The agent requested permission to withhold the annuities of those who refused to send their children to the agency school. This was agreed to by the Secretary of the Interior. The superintendent of the school was Kate W. Cannon. Her report for the year 1895 showed an attendance of 70 children out of a total of more than 100 on the reservation of school age.

The erection of an agent's residence was recommended, as well as other improvements.

The allotment question still remained the issue in the Prairie band. Col. Henry J. Aten, of Hiawatha, was still the special allotting agent. There was no complaint of the manner in which he performed his duties. The discontent was with the system. One hundred and fifty members of the band persistently antagonized the allottment plan. An inspector, one Faison, was sent out to in some way allay the opposition to allotment. This he supposed he had accomplished, but a lawyer named J. B. Bottineau, from Minneapolis, Minn., was said to have undone his good work.

The account of Bottineau's visit is contained in the agent's report and in a certificate issued by him as follows:

"POTTAWATOMIE AND GREAT NEMAHA AGENCY,
HOYT, KAN., September 23, 1895.

"I hereby certify on honor that there was held a so-called council of the Kickapoo tribe of Indians upon their reservation, this agency, said to have been held from the 2d to the 5th, inclusive, at the schoolhouse of the mission school, and altogether, without my knowledge or consent, and to meet one John B. Bottineau, purporting to be from Minneapolis, Minn., and a lawyer, and to have come to consult with the Indians at their request.

"The purpose of his visit upon the reservation is said to have been to draw up a petition for adoption and enrollment in the tribe of certain citizen Pottawatomie and Kickapoo Indians who have no possible claim whatever upon this or any other tribe, having been duly allotted and subsequently squandered their property in years past. Said J. B. Bottineau also visited this office and the Pottawatomie reservation with the same avowed intent, and with the additional intention, so I am informed by a number of the Indians, to break up the allotments. He was requested to leave the reservation and vicinity, but repaired to Holton, Kan., a town near by, and there held council with a very considerable number of that faction in the Pottawatomie and Kickapoo tribes that has been so violently opposed to allotments and who have occasioned this office and your department so much trouble during the past four years, since the inception of the allotments. His invitation to meet them was in both instances extended by those Indians of these two above-mentioned tribes representing this element of dissatisfaction and hostility to the government, the boarding schools, and the agency in general. He avowedly represents the best interests of the Indians of the tribe, but his agreement and his contract to receive his pay is to come from out the funds of the tribe, while his services are altogether in the interests of the outside citizen Indians seeking admission into the tribe.

"This certificate was requested after the council had been held, and, as before recited, without my knowledge or consent.

L. F. PEARSON,
*United States Indian Agent.*"

*1896.*

Agent L. F. Pearson. The issue remained the same in the Prairie band. The progress of the band was paralyzed by the allotment. The agent, of course, favored the allotment plan. He had to favor it to get his office, and he had to favor it to hold his office. His view was the view of the Indian Office and Secretary of the Interior. The following from his report is a fair statement of the conditions, and the agent's explanation of why they existed:

"Were it not for a comparatively small but extremely obstinate and unprogressive element among them, the largest tribe within the agency, the advancement would be yet more marked and satisfactory, but said element exerts an unfavorable influnce upon many members of the tribe that otherwise would identify themselves with the progressive element, and said influence proves decidedly injurious, even beyond their own immediate following. This element still clings to their inherent idea of a 'romantic barbarism,' and it will require years of time and patient care and the exercise of much tact and kindly consideration to bring them to a full realization of the error of their ways and place them fairly on the way to a level with their more advanced brethren.

"This same element still persistently refuses to recognize their allotments of land in severalty, or the right of the United States government

to make such disposition of their lands contrary to their wishes, and they are the means of continuing a feeling of uncertainty among some of the more timid ones as to the permanency of the allotments, thereby hindering some of them from openly acquiescing in said action of the United States government in thus allotting to them, as individuals, their proportion of the land formerly held in common. A certain proportion of them resist every effort that has been exerted tending to the placing of their children in school. The withholding of annuities has served to break the resolve of a minor few, and they have reluctantly acceded, but it produced no effect whatever on the more aggressive of them. Happily, their numbers are comparatively few, and even they are not beyond the power of example and persuasion, and my efforts in their behalf will not be any relaxed."

*1897.*

George W. James, agent. Total number of the Prairie band on the reservation, 523. The amount of the trust fund held by the United States for the band was $597,031.57. There were 186 houses on the reservation. The agricultural progress was arrested. The production of 1897 did not equal that of 1896. This was attributed to the system of leasing Indian land. While this was detrimental to the Indians, the antipathy to allotments was at the root of the decline of agriculture among the Pottawatomies of the Prairie band. The leasing system had its evils, the worst of which was the bringing of unprincipled white men into business relations and daily contact with the Indians. The agent says of this class:

"The system also introduces among the Indians a large number of vicious but shrewd men, who not only manipulate the Indians, but attempt to accomplish their purposes at the agency through them. For instance, on assuming charge of the agency I soon learned that in some cases the Indians were bringing the work of these men to the shops, and in many other ways they inject themselves into the business of the agency and render the already complicated and arduous duties thereof more difficult. In addition to these phases of the question, the development in several of the tribes of lease brokers, who seem to be utterly without conscience, is to be deplored, and in one of the tribes these men are responsible for the alleged accomplishment of a large number of leases that have never been reported to the office at all.

"In connection with the subject of increasing the income of Indians, already sufficient for their reasonable wants, I will express the opinion that it is of very doubtful expediency as a factor in civilizing them, and that it is questionable if any rich tribe in which the full-bloods are largely in the majority can be civilized in any reasonable time; in fact, the added experience of many years convinces me that the most efficacious plan for their civilization and evangelization is over the plow handles or in some other practical pursuit requiring application, study and work."

The agent reported that the allotment of land had been completed. There remained to be assigned lands only to those born after the allotment began, in 1891. There remained about 16,000 acres of land unallotted, and this was becoming a disturbing factor. Some wanted to sell it and others desired to retain it.

*1898.*

The agent was George W. James. The Prairie band on the reservation numbered 560. The school on the reservation was known as the Pottawatomie Boarding School. It was beginning to reach its old efficiency.

The boys were capable of doing farm work and fence building of excellent quality without direction from instructors. The girls did their work in a commendable manner. The enrollment was 105. It had been finally discovered that the Indians could be best governed by treating them as intelligent human beings. Evidence the following from the agent's report:

"I stated in my last report that 'attendance at this school could not be maintained by withholding annuity payments, seizing the children by the police force, or by any resort to arbitrary measures, but that if the employees would visit the Indians in their homes and promote a friendly feeling towards them and the school, and that if milder methods generally were practiced, a better feeling would soon be established and the school better supported.' In accordance with these views, I informed the Indians that every one of them should receive their annuities, and that the police would not be used to obtain children, but that I should expect them to properly support the school. The experience of the year has proven that, in this matter at least, my judgment was correct, as the enrollment was increased 27 pupils, and the attendance proportionately more than the enrollment. When the school session closed 105 children were in attendance, which in itself was gratifying, and this feeling was intensified by the fact that there had been no 'runaways' for months, and that a majority of the children had commenced to comprehend the real purposes of the school and desired to profit by them."

*1899.*

Agent, W. R. Honnell. Number of Prairie band on reservation, 569. The school was reported as doing good work. The evils of the leasing system were becoming more apparent all the time. Its demoralizing effects were enumerated by the new agent as follows:

"So far as the Indian is concerned, this system is responsible for much graver difficulties than those referred to, and among them is the total demoralization of a considerable portion of the Indians in the agency, and in which class a large majority of them will finally be embraced unless the system is modified. This condition is brought about by the fact that when the Indian leases his land he stops work, loses interest in his home, frequently sells his small holdings of stock, and consumes his time in visiting and in extravagant and riotous living. In some cases they have been known to surrender their houses to lessees and live in shanties and wigwams. The Indian who leases at all continually wants to lease more, and he never expects to cease leasing or to work himself, and as industry is the only principle upon which he can be practically elevated, and the necessity therefor disappears through his income from leases, annuities, etc., he will make no advance, or even hold his ground, but will retrograde.

"Moreover, the system involves the breaking and cultivation of lands of minors, as every Indian who leases wants the greatest possible income from the lands, and when the minor reaches mature age and receives his land, it will in all probability be worn out and weed poisoned, and lost to him, as have been the proceeds during his minority."

*1900.*

There was no change of agents this year. The Prairie band on the reservation numbered 578. The houses on the reservation were 130. The Indian Office had undertaken to correct some of the evils inherent in the leasing system by permitting the use of income from annuities and other sources for making improvements on allotments.

The opposition to accepting the lands in severalty had been almost broken down. Allotments had been made to all except to those children born after 1895. The 16,000 acres surplus was still a matter of contention. Some desired to sell it after supplying all the children born after 1895 with land. Others wished to hold it for their children of the future. There was a Methodist missionary stationed on the reservation, and a church building was contemplated. The Catholics expected to erect a church. The school farm had been enlarged to 160 acres, 80 acres of which had been put into cultivation. The usual crops were raised this year. The large frame dormitory was reported in need of repairs. There was a lack of sewer and water systems, which was counted a serious defect in the equipment of the school.

There was beginning to be trouble about estates. By law, when an allottee died, the allotment was to follow the course in descent and distribution set out by the constitution and laws of Kansas. There were beginning to be instances of this kind. Of the orignal allottees 140 had died.

*1901.*

Total number of the Prairie band on the reservation in 1901, 572. The agent was W. R. Honnell.

The Pottawatomie agency was also the agency for the Kickapoos, Iowas, and the Sacs and Foxes of the Missouri. For a time it was also the agency for the Chippewas and Munsees, living in Franklin county.

The reservation of the Kickapoos was in the southwestern part of Brown county; that of the Iowas and Sacs and Foxes was in Brown county, Kansas, and Richardson county, Nebraska. The Kickapoos numbered 197, the Iowas 214, and the Sacs and Foxes 78, respectively, on the reservations. The Chippewas and Christian Indians (Munsees) had been dropped this year before the writing of the report of the agent. Those of the Kickapoos who made a final settlement with the government had been dropped this year.

The Prairie band began again to show progress. It was something like that made in the eighties. Houses were repaired and the grounds put in better order. The leases which had given so much trouble had been adjusted to a legal status, and the trouble from that source was decreasing. The Catholic Church had raised $400 and the Methodist Church had raised $200. These churches were intending to build church buildings with this money.

The boarding school was reported as a fine frame structure erected in 1893. All the buildings of the school had cost $22,500, including the water system and steam-heating apparatus.

*1902.*

W. R. Honnell was the agent. The death of George W. James was announced. He had been agent for the Pottawatomies in 1897 and 1898. He was a member, by adoption, of the Prairie band, and his home was on the reservation. His death was on April 6, 1902. He had been prominent in the affairs of the Prairie band for thirty-three years.

Number of the Prairie band on the reservation, 590. There were 188

families living on their allotments, and they were cultivating 6,080 acres of land. The largest tract cultivated by one family contained 200 acres. Of the 16,000 acres surplus land the agent said:

"The Prairie band Potawatomi rejected the proposition to allot the surplus land on their reservation when submitted to them as a general council of the tribe. A few were very bitter against the measure, a number indifferent, the two elements being sufficient to defeat the proposition. The indications now point to a changing sentiment in favor of allotting the surplus land to the children born since the close of the allotments in February, 1895, and to the absentee members of the tribe. One or two members of the council have lately expressed themselves in favor of the proposition, and I think that with discreet management in a short time the measure will be adopted and the question of surplus land will be settled."

*1903.*

This year there was no agent. The report was made by G. L. Williams, superintendent, and special disbursing agent. The agency no longer included other Indians, but was maintained for the Prairie band alone.

On June 30, 1903, the census of the Prairie band was completed. It was as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Males 18 years of age and over | 180 |
| Females 18 years of age and over | 150 |
| School children 6 to 17 years of age | 170 |
| Children under 6 years of age | 102 |
| Total (males, 344; females, 258) | 602 |

There now began to appear another complication on the reservation. Upon the death of an Indian his allotment might be sold to a white person. The amount of such sales for the year 1903 amounted to $36,550. This process, it was foreseen by those opposed to allotment, would in time wipe out the reservation and divest the Prairie band of homes for its members. It is one of the strongest arguments against allotment in severalty.

*1904.*

The report is made by G. L. Williams, superintendent and special disbursing agent. The report shows that the population of the reservation was decreasing. The census gave a total of 609, but some of this number represented absentees who had been enrolled. Deaths had exceeded births for some years. Tuberculosis was given as the foe to Indian life, and the cause of the decrease.

By this report it appears that the original allotments numbered 588. Under act of March 3, 1903, 190 additional allotments had been made to children born since the completion of the allotment in 1894, and to absentee members of the Prairie band. The council of the tribe recommended that the allotments be made to children born to the families of the band since March 3, 1903, and to absentee members of the band. It was supposed that there would still remain a surplus of some 3,000 acres.

The Indians wore citizen clothing and most of them spoke English. The sale of inherited lands continued to white people.

*1905.*

The report was made by G. L. Williams in the same capacity as in 1903 and 1904. The population of the Prairie band amounted to 601.

The total number of allotments to the Prairie band was 812. This absorbed the whole reservation. Only a few fractional tracts scattered over the reservation remained unallotted. The superintendent reported as follows on "inherited lands":

"Under the act of May 27, 1902, for the sale of inherited Indian lands, there have been about 5,000 acres sold, the average price received being a fraction over $20 per acre. A number of the tracts were bought by men who are improving them for the purpose of making homes, and no better plan could be introduced for the civilization of the Indian, the white purchaser becoming a neighbor to the Indian, and in the daily contact with the civilization of the white man they acquire more or less of his customs. In a few years it means free schools on the reservation for the white and Indian children.

"I am more than ever convinced that if these lands were offered for sale upon the plan suggested in my annual report for 1904, on annual payments at a low rate of interest, the heirs would obtain a better price, and a class of men would become the purchasers who would become citizens of the reservation, and thus benefit the heirs in the additional price paid for the land, as well as the substantial improvements made thereon, enhancing the value of the adjoining property."

This year the Pottawatomie Indian Fair Association was formed. The progressive Indians, under the guidance of G. L. Williams, superintendent, organized the association. The officers were Kack-kack, president; Mas-quos, vice president; Albert Wyotten, secretary; Pac-ten-maw-gah, treasurer.

The directors were all Indians. The fair was held on the reservation September 19 and 20, 1905. A copy of the premium list is in the library of the Kansas State Historical Society. Premiums were offered for exhibits of those products usually shown at agricultural fairs. It is quite a respectable list, and it was announced that the premium awards would be paid, so far as possible, on the evening of the first day of the fair. There was a long list of attractions on the program for each day, beginning with a grand parade of Indians in costume. There was a prize of $3 for the best-dressed Indian man in the parade. There were native ball games by women, pony races, foot-races, broncho riding, baseball games, la crosse or Indian ball, and many others. The list contains portraits of G. L. Williams, Kack-kack, Mack-ka-taw-o-zee, Mas-quos, and Ken-nee-kuk, a Kickapoo chief. It also contains a brief biography of Kack-kack, the most distinguished Pottawatomie, and who was said to be at that time seventy-nine years of age.

*1906.*

G. L. Williams, superintendent and special disbursing agent.

It is reported that fifty percent of the Prairie band speak and understand English sufficiently to conduct their own business affairs. Progress was seen in the agriculture of the band, and good dwellings were being erected. The census gave the following: Males, 356; females, 269; total 625.

The death of Mas-quos was noted in the following paragraph:

"The death of Mas-quos, one of the old councilmen of the Prairie band of Pottawatomi Indians, deserves a notice in this report, as he has been one of the most progressive men of his tribe; always a staunch friend of the school, sustaining the agents in their efforts to promote the cause of education, and in the moral development of the younger members of his tribe. Mas-quos served his people as a member of their council for more than fifty years."

The dormitory of the training school was destroyed by fire in December, 1905. The beds of the school were not saved, and for a time the school was discontinued.

The Methodist Church had erected a neat chapel on the reservation. It was used for religious and school purposes. These activities were managed by a resident missionary and his wife. The Indian religion was still practiced.

The leases in force on the reservation numbered 250. They had paid the Indians $150,000 in six years.

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The reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs are practically worthless for the year 1907 and following, down to this time. They omit altogether the reports of the agents. There are a lot of dry statistics tabulated at great length, and which reveal nothing of the condition of the Indians whom they concern. There is a long and almost meaningless report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs as an introduction. These reports are famous for ambiguity and for what they do not say. They are almost as applicable to the scientific consideration of London fogs as to the North American Indians. This change occurred in the administration of Francis E. Leupp, commissioner.

The worthlessness of the reports of the commissioners after 1906 makes it impossible to continue this article further on the lines designed for it.

On the 16th day of February, 1907, Kack-kack, the chief of the Prairie band, died at his home, five miles west of Mayetta. The cause of his death was old age, though he suffered from a malady of the stomach. At the time of his death he was not the chief, having been superseded by a younger man some years before. But he was chief for many years, as his father had been before him. The two ruled the Prairie band almost a century. J. Steves, head of the mission, knew Kack-kack well, and said of him: "He was as good an Indian as there was on the reservation. Whatever he said you could depend on, and his word was as good as any man's note." Kack-kack told Mr. Steves that he had scalped many Indians, but had never scalped a white man. He was a famous warrior, and had fought in three wars. He planned the ambush by which the Pottawatomies defeated the Pawnees soon after the founding of the Catholic Mission at St. Marys. He killed some of the Pawnees. The scalps he had taken in all his fighting were retained by him as long as he lived.

There is some uncertainty as to Kack-kack's age at the time of his death. The notices found do not agree. One says he was eighty-five;

another says he was eighty-eight. The premium list of the first annual fair has a sketch of him, as well as a portrait. There it is stated that he was then seventy-nine; but he must have been older. He was born near where Chicago was afterwards located. The sketch in the premium list says: "He is a brother-in-law of the famous Indian, Shob-nee, who was so highly honored a few years ago because of the important part he took

NAH-BAH,
Prairie band of Pottawatomie Indians.
Mayetta, Kan., 1917.

in the Black Hawk war in defense of the white people. The town of Shobnee, Ill., is named in his honor, and at that place they have a magnificent monument erected in his memory."

The funeral of Kack-kack was probably the most elaborate in arrangement and ceremony ever held on the reservation of the Prairie band. The account of it which follows is taken from the Topeka *Daily Capital* of February 24, 1907:

"Probably never again will the tribe of Pottawatomies living on the tribal reservation in the south part of Jackson county have such a

funeral as they gave old Kack-kack, the aged chief of the tribe who died and whose body was laid away according to the ancient tribal rites. The burial service used in his funeral is the oldest known among the Pottawatomies, and has not been employed for years.

"Kack-kack died at the age of eighty-eight years, and was at the time of his death the oldest and most noted member of his tribe. His funeral was a fitting one and in proportion to his fame. It was planned by Kack-kack before his death, and was carried out according to his wishes. It began Sunday evening, and it was Monday afternoon before the 300 or 400 attendants at the funeral left the grave.

"From the time of his death until his body was placed in a spring wagon to be taken to its grave, Kack-kack's body lay in state in one corner of a room of his home on the reservation. As soon as the breath left his body it was placed in a sitting position in a corner of the room to stiffen while the proper kind of a box was being constructed in which to bury it. The box which served the purpose of a coffin was of new lumber and made about square and with the top side open. The best rug in the house was placed in the bottom of this box and Kack-kack's body set down on it. The body was dressed in Kack-kack's best clothes; unbeaded moccasins on his feet, leather leggins from his feet to his hips, then a gorgeous Indian beadwork belt about the lower part of his body. The rest of his body, to the top of his head, was naked except for multicolored and bright-hued paints on body and face and strands of Indian beads wrapped about his throat. On his head was a dark fur turban. Two long quills, each with three red bows of ribbon, projected from the top of the turban. Below the feathers was a pompon of red feathers. In the box with the body were placed Kack-kack's cane, with his name carved on it, and his bow and arrows.

"The edge of the rough board box came up to Kack-kack's chin, and in order that the head might not droop down, a piece of a "two-by-four" scantling was laid across the top of the box and Kack-Kack's chin placed on this. In this manner his face was kept looking straight ahead. As Kack-kack was never noted for his beauty of feature, the appearance of his head projecting from the top of the box, with the chin resting on the two-by-four and adorned with bright paints, was rather disconcerting to the few white persons who attended the funeral, although the Indians did not appear to be affected by the sight.

"All day Sunday, the day after Kack-kack's death, and while his body lay in state in this peculiar fashion in the house, members of the tribe were busy outside butchering and preparing for the big feast which was a part of the funeral ceremonies. Two of Kack-kack's hogs and ten turkeys were killed to form a basis for the feast. Sunday afternoon half of the provisions which had been procured were cooked in huge iron kettles, hogs and turkeys going into the same pot. Whole kernels of corn were poured into the big pots, which were kept boiling for hours. Inside the house the squaws made squaw bread—a famous Indian delicacy. This is made much like ordinary biscuits, only no shortening is mixed into the dough. A great deal of baking powder is used, and then the dough is rolled out thin and dropped into kettles of sizzling fat to cook. It swelled enormously, from a thickness of several sheets of paper to several inches. This was broken into pieces and piled on the table which another set of squaws had been 'setting' during the culinary operations.

"The tables consisted merely of tablecloths, not overly clean, which were spread on the floor of two rooms of the Kack-kack home, including the room in which the old chief reposed in state. The four old squaws who superintended the cooking of the meat in the big kettles in the yard dished up the contents of the pots into big dishpans, which were carried into the house and placed at the ends of the two tables when all was ready for the feast. It took five hours to prepare this feast. In addition

to the meats and Indian bread, the bill of fare for the feast included pies and cakes, canned blackberries, dried peaches, tea and coffee—an elaborate feast for the Indians. To be sure, the cooking was not such as the average careful American housewife would allow in her kitchen, and the dirt did not act as an appetizer for the white persons present, but they sat down to the table with the Indians, who would have been greatly offended had they refused to partake of the feast.

"When the tables were set and the food placed on them the Indians were summoned to partake of the feast. The table in the room in which Kack-kack's body rested was for the braves, and the other table for the squaws. On account of the number which attended the funeral, not all could eat at once, and it was necessary to feed them in relays.

"Before a bite was taken an old Pottawatomie at the men's table arose, removed his hat, crossed his hands over his breast, and then with bowed head spoke in the language of the tribe. He delivered a prayer to the Great Spirit, which action corresponded with the Christian custom of rendering thanks before eating. According to some of the educated Indians who translated the old man's prayer for the benefit of the white people present, he addressed Kack-kack, telling the dead chief that they were gathered in his house to eat his bread for the last time. Then he eulogized the dead chief and exhorted the other Indians to be braves and model their actions after the honorable deeds of the great chief. During this prayer the peace pipe was passed around the table and every brave solemnly took three whiffs from it. The old Indian who was praying did not cease until the peace pipe had made the complete circuit of the table. The ceremony was repeated each time the table was filled and before the Indians began eating. They ate in silence, not a word being spoken at the tables after the old Indian who acted as master of ceremonies had finished his prayer, while old Kack-kack stared solemnly down on the assemblage from his box. While the guests were eating, Mrs. Kack-kack, herself well along in years, moved among her guests and was as solicitous for their welfare as the most hospitable American woman could have been.

"During the usual Indian funeral the drums are beaten from the time the feasting begins until the body is laid away. But according to Kack-kack's wishes, and the details of the funeral service used for him, not a drum was beaten.

"Monday morning the kettles were placed over the fires again, and another big feast prepared from what was left over from the day before. This feast was eaten in the same manner as the one the night before.

"At the conclusion of Monday's feast a spring wagon was backed up to the door of the Kack-kack home and four braves carried out the box containing all that was mortal of the old chief. The box was still uncovered, and was placed in the wagon with the upper part of Kack-kack's body bare and the chin resting on the piece of two-by-four. A peaked roof to fit the box was placed in the wagon beside the box, but not on it, and the procession to the grave, which was in Kack-kack's front yard and about half a block distant from the house, was begun. Following the wagon was Mrs. Kack-kack, the members of the family, down to great-grandchildren and friends of the family. All of Kack-kack's personal belongings were carried in the procession in big packs and bundles, which were borne on the backs of members of the family and friends.

"The grave consisted of a depression only about a foot deep, in which the base of Kack-kack's box coffin was placed. The hole was merely for the purpose of steadying the box, and not to bury the body in. The box was set into the shallow depression, with the old chief's face still looking steadily ahead and his chin resting on the beam across the top of the box. Before the cover was placed on the box the widow placed a bright red shawl and a silk handkerchief in the box to keep the old chief warm on his long journey. Then the peaked lid was placed over the box and nailed fast. Two or three holes were then bored in the ends of the box

so that Kack-kack could get plenty of air, as though he had not had all the air he wanted while on his way to the grave.

"A stick was driven into the ground near the box, Indian hieroglyphics were painted on the stick, and its top smeared with red paint. Then the funeral orations were begun. The old Indian who acted as master of ceremonies was the principal speaker, and grew eloquent, in the Pottawatomie tongue, in singing the praises of his dead friend, with whom he had stood in battles years ago. The old Indian pointed with a stick to where Kack-kack stood in certain battles; also where the speaker himself stood, and also where other famous men of the tribe, living and dead, had fought. Others of the few surviving old braves of the tribe followed the first speaker, using the same stick to emphasize their remarks.

"When the speeches were finished the bundles of Kack-kack's belongings were opened and everything he possessed was given away. The aged Indian orator addressed Kack-kack before the distribution was commenced and told the dead chief what they were about to do. But he told the dead man not to feel badly about it, as all his things would be given to his friends. Mrs. Kack-kack personally superintended the distribution of the gifts. Kack-kack's pony was given to the old Indian who had acted as master of ceremonies and delivered the principal eulogy to the dead man. The same Indian also received the dead brave's scalps which he had taken in battle, his beads, and a big bundle of the choicest gifts. The other speakers were given the next best bundles, and the friends were also remembered. Probably eight or ten squaws received small gifts. The grave diggers who had dug the shallow hole in which the box was set, with most of it projecting from the ground, received the bedclothes that Kack-kack had died on. The Indian who nailed the lid on the box received all of Kack-kack's tobacco.

"When the speeches were completed and the gifts distributed two of the big iron kettles were brought from the house to the grave, where another feast was partaken of, after which all dispersed.

"The service at the grave continued just two hours. From the beginning of the funeral service on Sunday until its conclusion Monday afternoon no whisky was drunk by the Indians, many of whom are confirmed drunkards. All were reverent and respectful.

"Only a scant handful of whites attended the funeral, although Kack-kack was widely known. Among them were Mr. and Mrs. J. C. Steves who have charge of the mission on the Pottawatomie reservation, and Mrs. Frank Cope who was the only person to go up from Topeka for the funeral. Mrs. Cope was instrumental in building the mission church on the reservation, and was quite friendly with old Kack-kack during the later years of his life."

AGENTS.

The agents of the Pottawatomie Indians in Kansas and of the Prairie band are set out here so as they can be determined from the reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs:

1846.—Thomas H. Harvey, superintendent of Indian affairs, stationed at St. Louis, seems to have had charge of the Pottawatomies.

1847. Thomas H. Harvey, as superintendent, etc., was still in charge. There was no mention of a local agent.

1848.—Richard W. Cummins was the agent. He was in charge of the Leavenworth agency.

1849.—For this year no report of an agent has been found. D. D. Mitchell, superintendent of Indian affairs, St. Louis, mentioned the Leavenworth agency, and said it was located four miles from Westport, near the Missouri state line. The location of this agency house has not been determined.

1850.—There has been found no report for the Pottawatomies for this year. If any were made they were omitted from the published report of the Commission of Indian Affairs.

1851.—There are no reports for the Pottawatomies in the official publications of the Indian Office for this year.

1852.—Francis W. Lea was the agent.

1853.—Agent, John W. Whitfield. He dated his report at Westport, Mo., and he must have kept the agency there.

1854.—There has not been found any report for the Pottawatomies for this year.

1855.—Agent, George W. Clarke, the murderer of Barber in the Wakarusa war.

1856.—Agent, George W. Clarke. The agency seems to have been at his house, below Lecompton, in Douglas county. But this is not certain.

1857.—Agent, William E. Murphy. There is nothing to show the location of the agency.

1858.—Agent, William E. Murphy.

1859.—Agent, William E. Murphy.

1860.—Agent, William E. Murphy.

1861.—No report for the Pottawatomies appears in the published report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

1862.—W. W. Ross was appointed agent for the Pottawatomies in May, 1861 (see "Wilder's Annals," p. 318), and continued as agent in 1862.

1863.—Agent, W. W. Ross.

1864.—Agent, W. W. Ross.

1865.—Agent, L. R. Palmer. The agency may have been at St. Marys, or Agent Ross may have established it at what is now Rossville, in Shawnee county. It is known to have been there in later years. Nothing definite on this subject has been found.

1866.—Agent, L. R. Palmer.

1867.—Agent, L. R. Palmer.

1868.—Agent, L. R. Palmer,

1869.—Agent, L. R. Palmer.

1870.—Agent, Joel H. Morris.

1871.—Agent, Joel H. Morris.

1872.—No agent. Morris resigned in April, 1872. Enoch Hoag, agent at Lawrence, Kan., reported for the Prairie band, October 1, 1872.

1873.—No agent for this year; at least no account of any has been found.

1874.—Agent, M. H. Newlin.

1875.—Agent, M. H. Newlin.

1876.—Agent, M. H. Newlin.

1877.—Agent, M. H. Newlin.

1878.—Agent, M. H. Newlin.

1879.—Agent, Dr. H. C. Linn. Doctor Linn is still living (December 3, 1917), at Topeka, Kan.

1880.—Agent, Dr. H. C. Linn.

1881.—Agent, Dr. H. C. Linn.

1882.—Agent, Dr. H. C. Linn.

1883.—Agent, Dr. H. C. Linn.

1884.—Agent, Dr. H. C. Linn.

1885.—Agent, I. W. Patrick.

1886.—Agent, I. W. Patrick.

1887.—Agent, C. H. Grover.

1888.—Agent, John Blair.

1889.—Agent. John Blair.

1890.—Agent, John Blair.

1891.—Agent, J. A. Scott.

1892.—Agent, J. A. Scott.

1893.—Agent, J. A. Scott.

1894.—No report for the Pottawatomies for 1894 has been found; but J. A. Scott must have remained as agent.

1895.—Agent, Louis F. Pearson. He said that he was forwarding his first annual report. From that statement is made the supposition that J. A. Scott remained as agent in 1894. But the supposition cannot be verified.

1896.—Agent, Louis F. Pearson.

1897.—Agent, George W. James.

1898.—Agent, George W. James.

1899.—Agent, W. R. Honnell.

1900.—Agent, W. R. Honnell.

1901.—Agent, W. R. Honnell.

1902.—Agent, W. R. Honnell.

1903.—Superintendent, G. L. Williams. Office of agent seems to have been abolished, and that of superintendent created to replace it.

1904.—Superintendent, G. L. Williams.

1905.—Superintendent, G. L. Williams.

The reports of the Commissioners of Indian Affairs become worthless in 1906. They contain nothing of importance after that time.

G. L. Williams remained superintendent until 1914. A. R. Snyder succeeded G. L. Williams as superintendent, September 7, 1914. He is still the superintendent of the Prairie band.

It is well nigh impossible, taking what record there is, to determine certainly where the agency of the Pottawatomies was located.

In the Andreas "History of Kansas," page 1338, under "Jackson County," it states that the treaty of November 15, 1861, was concluded "at the Pottawatomie agency, on Cross creek, now Rossville." If this statement be accepted—and there is no reason to question it, as Andreas was always careful and usually correct—then the agency must have remained at Rossville until it was removed to Hoyt, in Jackson county. Hoyt was only the post office for Nadeau, a point on the reservation where the agency was maintained a number of years.

There were a number of Pottawatomie towns on Cross creek, and most of the influential chiefs lived on Cross creek. It is probable that the agency was early established on Cross creek at the point where the old Oregon trail crossed that stream—now Rossville.

In the Andreas "History of Kansas," page 974, under "Pottawatomie County," is this statement: "Luke Lea, of Mississippi, was the first Indian agent stationed at St. Marys."

Reference to the reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs shows that L. Lea was the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1851. "L. Lea" must be the "Luke Lea" referred to in the reports. If so he was not agent for the Pottawatomies at all.

In 1852 Francis W. Lea was the agent, as appears under this year in the chronology. It may be that those giving the agent of Mr. Andreas his information confused Luke Lea with Francis W. Lea. The statement of Andreas would seem to establish the fact that the agency was at one time at St. Marys. If so, it must have been there in 1852, but how long before that and how long afterwards has not been determined.

George W. Fisher, living now at 907 Lincoln street, Topeka, long register of the Topeka land office, says that in 1869 the agency was at St. Marys. He attended a "payment" there. His father had been the blacksmith for the Miamis in Indiana, and some of the Miami women were married to Pottawatomie men. He met some of those he had known in Indiana when he attended the "payment" in 1869.

Dr. H. C. Linn says that when he was appointed agent for the Prairie band the agency was on the reservation, at or near Hoyt. How long it had been there he cannot say. He was appointed in 1879. Of the locations of the agency on the reservation, Mr. A. R. Snyder, the present superintendent, writes, under date of December 3, 1917:

"I do not know anything about the location of the agency at Rossville, but the first agency on the diminished reservation was on the southeast quarter of section 12, township 9 south, range 13 east of the sixth principal meridian, in Kansas, and was known as 'Nadeau.' This location is near the southwest corner of the present diminished reservation. In the spring of 1913 the buildings on the new agency site were completed and the office moved. This location is on a ten-acre tract in the southeast corner of the northeast quarter of section 21, township 8 south, range 15 east of the sixth principal meridian, in Kansas. This is on the east line of the reservation and one-half mile due west of the town of Mayetta."

NOTES.

In the letter referred to above, Mr. Snyder gives the locations of the fair grounds on the reservation, as follows:

"The fair association was organized by me in the spring of 1915, and since then three annual fairs have been held at a fair ground laid out on the reservation on the allotment of Quo-tose, deceased, described as the north half of the northeast one-fourth of section 30, township 8 south, range 15 east of the sixth principal meridian, in Kansas. I am unable to give you the description of the land where the early fairs were held, but understand that it was on land adjacent to the old agency site at Nadeau."

As to the Indian government maintained on the reservation, Mr. Snyder says in his letter:

"Originally the chiefs were selected by a representation of the tribe, usually called headmen, but our present chief, Mich-no, seems to be hereditary. His father, Shough-nas-see, was chief so long and was so well liked by the tribe that when he died his oldest son, Mich-no, was elected as the successor of the father. Until recent years headmen or councilors were selected from the several locations on the reservation where the Indians lived in number to constitute a sort of community; but this council of headmen has about disappeared during the last five or six years, due to a number of deaths in the membership and to the fact that the Indian Office in Washington and this office no longer recognized them in any of the reservation affairs. When I came here the Indians wanted to revive this old committee and select two or three new members, but I took the stand that such a government here was not needed, since there was no land left or property held in common for the tribe, and that each Indian in his business affairs must be considered as an individual."

It was thought to be of interest to have here something of the absentees of the Prairie band. Mr. Snyder secured this information, and it is here given:

"I find there are approximately 200 of the Potawatomies enrolled with the Prairie band at this agency who have never lived here, but have resided in Wisconsin. They do not reside in a body, but are scattered over Forest, Oneida and Wood counties, Wisconsin. Their land is handled by me, but I transact their business with them through Superintendent W. W. Bennett, whose headquarters is Laona, Wis. He looks after the scattered Indians in the northwest part of his state."

With his letter Mr. Snyder sent that of W. W. Bennett, the superintendent of Laona agency, which is as follows:

LAONA AGENCY, LAONA, WIS., November 27, 1917.

*A. R. Snyder, Superintendent., Potawatomi Agency, Mayetta, Kan:*

DEAR SIR—I am in receipt of your communication of the 22d instant, in which you state that Mr. William E. Connelley, secretary of the State Historical Society of Topeka, Kan., has requested information from you relative to the Potawatomi Indians residing in Wisconsin, especially those who are enrolled on your reservation.

In reply I beg to advise that they reside in Forest, Oneida, and Wood counties. The land upon which they reside has been purchased for individuals with their funds that were transferred to this office by your office; principally from the sale of inherited lands, or in some cases their individual allotments. Their lands are not in one locality, but scattered in various sections of the country.

Respectfully, W. W. BENNETT, *Superintendent.*

## FATE.

What is to be the fate of the Prairie band?

The writer attended the Indian fair held on the reservation of the band in October, 1917. It was a creditable exhibition of the products of the farms of the reservation. No finer corn, wheat, oats, potatoes and vegetables ever appeared at any fair than was shown by the farmers of the Prairie band. There was no exhibit of livestock, but many of the Indians came to the fair in carriages drawn by their own horses, many in their own motor cars, some came on horseback, and these horses were as good as can be found in any farming community in Kansas. Some of them were of fine blood and very valuable. Along all the road through the reservation are substantial dwellings, the homes of these Indians. They are well kept, neatly painted, and have trees, ornamental shrubbery and flowers about them. The farm enclosures are in good repair and well made. The fields looked to be well tilled. Stacks of alfalfa and other hay crops were everywhere to be seen. Horses, mules, cattle, swine and poultry were on every farm. No difference could be distinguished between the reservation and any other Kansas farming community so far as thrift and efficiency are concerned.

And the Indians themselves, what of them? There they were, passing to and fro before me. The young men are fine specimens of physicial manhood. They are stalwart fellows who plow and sow and reap intelligently, persistently. They evidently bend to their labor with continuity. The old men were of solemn mien, well clad, and with every ap-

pearance of that comfort which good homes invaribly give. Mothers were surrounded by their children, whom they led from exhibit to exhibit, proud as mothers always are of their little ones. All were well dressed, and in style superior to that of whites at some gatherings I have seen on similar occasions. There were young ladies elegantly gowned. They would have made a good appearance in any assembly or drawing-room. Many of them were educated at the Haskell Indian School at Lawrence. All were modest, respectful, well behaved. The only disturbance at the fair was made by a mean white man, and he was hustled unceremoniously off the grounds by the Indian police.

No more orderly crowd have I seen anywhere. The program promised some of the old ceremonial dances, and these I was anxious to see. They were chaste, simple, modest, and to me most interesting. They should be preserved for themselves and in the interest of science.

The study I made there convinced me that my faith in the competency and efficiency of the Indian race was well founded.

The Pottawatomies of the Prairie band are experts in the manufacture of articles of beadwork. The exhibit of such articles at the fair was one of the best it has been my good fortune to see. Indian art is peculiar to the Indian, and in no way influenced by that of the white man. Its loss would be a loss to the world. Under proper encouragement it would develop to perfection along its own lines. But this development must be made in it by the Indian alone. The white man will debase it by the introduction of ideas wholly at variance with Indian conceptions. The result would be the destruction of Indian art.

Indian art affords as much opportunity for individual design and execution as that of any other people; and Indians are of artistic temperament and inclination. They are closer to nature than any other people. If given a show, they will, with their art, make the best interpretation of the spirit of American woods, mountains, streams, plains, animals and other objects to be produced by art in all the future. They are as much a part of the Indians as ever the Indians were a part of them. The subtle and mysterious powers of these are the fundamentals of Indian life. Under favorable conditions they would find expression through the Indian genius and Indian aspiration. What a calamity would befall the world in its destruction! And it is said that the government discourages the teaching of Indian art in every way. Nothing is seen or heard of it in Indian schools, I am told. There, if any artistic talent is developed, it must be along lines wholly incomprehensible to Indians, so far as emotion or soul-expression is concerned; so no high conceptions are possible. If art is not an interpretation of life and aspiration it is worthless; it is not art at all. Its seat is in the soul, not in the intellect. That is why it cannot be taught. It is spontaneous. The response of those who behold it must be from the soul. It affects the emotions, for it is the child of the emotions. The emotions can be acted upon through speech, through singing, through painting—and hence we have literature, music, art. Teachers can only expound the conventional rules for performance, production. They can not create. All their wisdom combined could not produce one of the Psalms, a poem or a song, a glowing morning scene on

canvas. Their office ends in telling those whose hearts are moved, whose lips are touched, how others like them have expressed themselves—have made the outward manifestations of what burned in their hearts. And so the destruction of Indian art would deprive the world of one of the sources of exalted emotional expression.

Under the law permitting the land in the reservation to be sold to the whites,[2] the Prairie band must in the near future be made homeless, and all other North American Indians must suffer a similar fate. Where can they go to secure a new home? There is no more land in the West to which they may be pushed. The proud possessors of the greatest continent will be without a home—without a place to lay their heads, without a place where their feet may rest. And who cares? Who gives it a moment's thought? All of us are guilty. Savages, you say. Savages? Look on the reeking battle fields of Europe. All the cruelties perpetrated by the Indians on their despoilers through ten generations could not equal those heaped on France and Belgium in four years by a civilized and enlightened nation. And it is a melancholy fact that the end of the Prairie band must be a local tragedy in the tragedy of the Indian race.

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## ROLL OF THE PRAIRIE BAND, OR POTTAWATOMIE ALLOTTEES.

Here follows the list of the members of the Prairie band, together with the allotments assigned to each member by Henry J. Aten, of Hiawatha, Kan., who was the allotting agent. There are a number of notations on this roll. They follow the names to which they refer. They have been inserted by the superintendent, Mr. A. R. Snyder, to indicate the disposition of the allotments up to this time. They are not a part of the original roll as made by the allotting agent. These notations are in all cases enclosed by parentheses.

This is the official roll as completed by Mr. Aten, and it is one of the most valuable documents connected with the reservation of the Prairie band.

POTTAWATOMI ALLOTTEES.

| A. | *Allotment No.* | *Tract book, page No.* |
|---|---|---|
| Agh-num-me | 392 | 37, 60 |
| Ach-me-que (William M-zhick-ten-o) | 456 | 21 |
| Ack-nah (dead; land sold) | 94 | 57 |
| Ahn-no-mo-quah (lives in Wisconsin) | 313 | 55 |
| Ahn-wesh-maw (dead; land sold) | 130 | 54 |
| Ah-quah-ko, Lillie | 619 | 8 |
| Ah-quap-ko (dead; heirs determined) | 493 | 8 |
| Ahn-wahn-ke (lives in Wisconsin) | 308 | 12 |
| Ah-bwo-quo-uk (lives in Wisconsin) | 791 | 14 |
| Am-quon, Quack-cho-win (lives in Wisconsin) | 699 | 35 |
| Am-quon, Joseph (lives in Wisconsin) | 429 | 36 |
| Am-quon (Jim Spoon) (lives in Wisconsin) | 425 | 36 |
| Anthony (Moore) | 146 | 3 |

2. Section 7, chapter 888, vol. 32, part I, page 275, U. S. Statutes at Large, 57th Congress—1901-1903; act of May 27, 1902.

| | *Allotment No.* | *Tract book, page No.* |
|---|---|---|
| An-wan-ne-kah (dead; land sold) | 480 | 7 |
| An-a-wa (lives in Wisconsin) | 756 | 50 |
| Angeline (Cook) (lives in Wisconsin) | 203 | 19 |
| An-wah-ah-sah (dead; land sold) | 82 | 35 |
| Ash-to-kish-ko-quah (lives in Wisconsin) | 713 | 1, 51 |
| Ash-puck (Shock-to) (lives in Wisconsin) | 362 | 53 |
| Ash-puck (dead; land sold) | 746 | 11 |
| Ash-ton-kote | 320 | 50 |
| Ash-ton-kote (Sam Pawteese) | 725 | 28 |
| As-kah-puck-kee (Joe Mitchell) | 218 | 25 |
| At-en-wah-duck (O-ketch-e-show-o-now) (dead) | 530 | 32 |
| Ash-to-yosh-no-quar (lives in Wisconsin) | 752 | 5 |
| At-en-wah-duck (dead; land sold) | 343 | 61 |
| Azh-nick (dead; land partitioned) | 549 | 51 |
| Azh-nick (Angeline Moore) | 144 | 4 |
| B. | | |
| Bi-ah-quah (dead; land sold) | 79 | 59 |
| Blandin, Josephine (Graham) | 66 | 7 |
| Blandin, Joseph | 677 | 17 |
| Blandin, Mary | 676 | 17 |
| Blandin, Lucy | 675 | 17 |
| Blandin, James V. (land patented) | 64 | 33 |
| Blandin, Mary H. (dead; heirs determined) | 65 | 33 |
| Blandin, Lenora | 67 | 33 |
| Blandin, Elizabeth | 586 | 29 |
| Blandin, Samuel | 68 | 33 |
| Bourbonny, Alfred | 113 | 44 |
| Bourbonny, Lillie (dead; heirs determined) | 110 | 44 |
| Bourbonny, Frank A. | 109 | 45 |
| Bourbonny, Oshie (Mrs. O. W. N. Austin) | 112 | 45 |
| Bourbonny, Lucy | 111 | 45 |
| Bourbonny, Thomas E. | 116 | 47 |
| Bourdon, Judith (dead; land sold) | 17 | 61 |
| Bourdon, Peter (dead; land sold) | 18 | 61 |
| Bourdon, Anthony C. | 19 | 61 |
| C. | | |
| Cat-key (dead; land sold) | 733 | 11 |
| Cadue, Julia Ann (dead; land sold) | 52 | 58 |
| Ce-cille (dead; land sold) | 183 | 1 |
| Che-quess | 753 | 9 |
| Chuck-ke-yosh (dead) | 542 | 13 |
| Ches-she-bah-gah (land sold) | 432 | 15 |
| Chip-ko-quah, Annie | 692 | 19 |
| Chip-ko-quah | 324 | 19 |
| Chit-to (dead; land sold) | 720 | 20 |
| Che-quah (dead; land sold) | 770 | 28 |
| Che-kaw-nah (dead; land sold) | 374 | 36 |
| Che-quas (dead; land sold) | 371 | 36 |
| Cowto-ge-zhuck (dead; heirs determined) | 383 | 30, 54 |
| Con-man (dead; heirs determined) | 490 | 23 |
| Cow-batch (Nopte) (dead; heirs determined) | 570 | 43 |
| Co-bash-con (Mrs. George Ward) (dead; heirs determined) | 809 | 61 |
| Cum-mow-tow | 504 | 40 |
| Cum-mow-tow, Nannie | 702 | 41 |
| Cum-mow-tow, Ko-ze | 703 | 43 |

| | *Allotment No.* | *Tract book, page No.* |
|---|---|---|
| **D.** | | |
| Da-bash (lives in Wisconsin) | 718 | 20 |
| Darling, Ernest C. | 239 | 61 |
| Darling, Lucius I. (land sold) | 34 | 62 |
| Darling, George P. (land sold) | 33 | 62 |
| Darling, Francis (Steward) | 31 | 62 |
| Darling, Annie E. (Hicks; Konkoskia) | 30 | 62 |
| Darling, Maggie | 28 | 62 |
| Darling, Louisa | 32 | 62 |
| Darling, Louis O. (land sold) | 29 | 62 |
| Dem-o-pe (Aitkens) | 99 | 22 |
| Deah-gaugh-wone (dead; land sold) | 288 | 50 |
| Dwa-ah-be (lives in Wisconsin) | 772 | 23 |
| **F.** | | |
| Farrell, William G. | 49 | 44 |
| Farrell, Leo Joseph | 284 | 44 |
| Farrell, Rebecca | 48 | 44 |
| Fannie (Peek-nuk) | 707 | 48 |
| **G.** | | |
| Grinnell, Ira | 698 | 18 |
| Grinnell, Carl | 697 | 18 |
| Grinnell, Earl | 696 | 18 |
| Grinnell, Joseph | 695 | 18 |
| Grinnell, Robert | 694 | 18 |
| Grinnell, Cora | 540 | 63 |
| Grinnell, Frank | 124 | 56 |
| Grinnell, Ona | 125 | 56 |
| Grinnell, Annie (dead; land sold) | 123 | 56 |
| **H.** | | |
| Hale, Rebecca (Whitecloud; Bunch) | 255 | 56 |
| Hale, Julia (Darling) | 57 | 56 |
| Hicks, Lucile | 811 | 8, 46 |
| Hicks, Edith M. | 810 | 12, 31 |
| **J.** | | |
| James, Catherine (dead; land sold) | 43 | 38 |
| James, Mary R. (land sold) | 45 | 38, 41 |
| James, George W. (dead; land sold) | 42 | 38, 41 |
| James, Ellen A. (Brewer) | 44 | 44 |
| James, Anthony N. | 47 | 61 |
| **K.** | | |
| Kan-wan-nah-quah | 157 | 6 |
| Kas-so-be-tuck, Frank (dead; land sold) | 582 | 7 |
| Kah-so-be-tuck (Joe Cook) (lives in Wisconsin) | 257 | 7, 53 |
| Kahg-me-kah (dead; land sold) | 71 | 8 |
| Ka-che (daughter of Shken-wah) | 234 | 9 |
| Kah-pa-o (John MacIntosh) (patented) | 808 | 11 |
| Ka-che, Sin-nog-win | 660 | 14 |
| Kah-kot-mo, Se-be-quah (lives on Kickapoo) | 672 | 14 |
| Kan-nos-set (lives in Wisconsin) | 790 | 15 |
| Kaw-to-gish-co-quah (lives in Wisconsin) | 749 | 16 |
| Kaw-kow-no-nah (dead; heirs determined) | 415 | 24 |
| Kaw-kah-o-qua-bit (dead; heirs determined) | 468 | 26 |
| Kaw-o-salt (Jesse Kee-sis) (patented) | 476 | 28 |
| Kack-kack (lives in Wisconsin) | 731 | 29 |
| Kah-tah (dead; land sold) | 165 | 34 |
| Kaw-kah-you-ko-uck (lives in Wisconsin) | 738 | 41 |
| Kah-kon-won-quah (dead; heirs determined) | 315 | 42 |

| | *Allotment No.* | *Tract book, page No.* |
|---|---|---|
| Kah-kin-kote (lives in Wisconsin) | 561 | 43 |
| Kah-kah-mo (John Thomas) (on Kickapoo) | 182 | 46 |
| Kas-quah-nah-nat-we-quah (dead) | 314 | 55 |
| Kack-kap-muck (dead; heirs determined) | 93 | 56 |
| Kack-kack (dead; heirs determined) | 171 | 58 |
| K-chin-nah-gah (dead; heirs determined) | 533 | 32 |
| Ketch-kum-me-quah (dead; land sold) | 799 | 1 |
| Ke-o-kum-go-quah (dead; heirs determined) | 247 | 2 |
| Ke-wa-sah (lives in Wisconsin) | 798 | 2 |
| Ke-wah-ah (dead; heirs determined) | 246 | 2 |
| Ke-wan-kah (Mrs. Frank Kabance) | 204 | 2 |
| Ke-wah-kahb-we (dead; heirs determined) | 303 | 3 |
| Ke-wan-kah, Annie (Kabance) | 645 | 3 |
| Kes-so-quah (lives in Wisconsin) | 762 | 3 |
| Ketch-kum-me-keah | 777 | 6 |
| Ke-wah-yock-noke (dead; land sold) | 764 | 3 |
| Kesh-ko-quah (dead; heirs determined) | 437 | 4 |
| Ke-so-quah (dead; land sold) | 262 | 7, 8, 53 |
| Kesh-ko-sah (dead; land sold) | 494 | 8 |
| Ke-was-mo (dead) | 722 | 10 |
| Ke-wan-ke-mo-quah (Mrs. Wm. Wapp) | 307 | 12 |
| Ke-wah-kah, Frank (Kabance) | 584 | 13 |
| Ke-wah-quah (Mrs. Pack Wabaunce) | 321 | 13 |
| Keek-to-quah (Josie Nioce) | 684 | 14 |
| Ke-wan-kah, Op-to-gezhuck (Kabance) | 644 | 14 |
| Ke-wan-kah, Frank | 646 | 14 |
| Ke-wah-quah (James Wabaunce) | 650 | 17 |
| Ke-wah-quah, William (Wabaunce) | 652 | 20 |
| Ke-wah-quah, Lewis (Wabaunce) | 651 | 20 |
| Ke-wash-kum (dead; land sold) | 462 | 23 |
| Ke-ah-we (Annie LeClare) (lives in Wisconsin) | 107 | 22 |
| Keep-kut-quah (dead; heirs determined) | 461 | 22 |
| Ke-o-ko-mo-quah, Wam-ta-ko-she (in Wisconsin) | 606 | 23 |
| Ke-o-ko-mo-quah (James Wahb-no-sah) (Wisconsin) | 607 | 23 |
| Kee-sis, Ke-wan-ka (Susie) | 682 | 24 |
| Kee-sis, Pack-se-co (Bernard) | 681 | 26 |
| Ke-wan-mo-quah (dead; land sold) | 469 | 27 |
| Kee-sis (Frank) | 471 | 28 |
| Ke-o-tin-go (dead; heirs determined) | 152 | 28 |
| Ke-wah-o-nuck (Henry No-zhack-um) | 484 | 32 |
| Ke-wack-um (Shough-nuk-ko-uk) | 705 | 35 |
| Ke-wah-sah (dead; heirs determined) | 369 | 36 |
| Ke-no-was (dead; heirs determined) | 552 | 39 |
| Ke-o-po-wah-quah (dead; heirs determined) | 519 | 39 |
| Kesh-ko-quah (daughter of Shab-e-nay Mat-was) | 345 | 42 |
| Keagan, Adelaide (Mrs. Frank DeMarais) | 46 | 44 |
| Ke-o-salt (Ko-zee) | 506 | 45 |
| Ke-wan-kah (lives in Wisconsin) | 804 | 45 |
| Ke-chuck-quah (lives in Wisconsin) | 269 | 47 |
| Ke-note-ko (dead; heirs determined) (Wisconsin) | 286 | 48, 52 |
| Ke-wah-ke-che (dead; land sold) | 301 | 48 |
| Ketch-kum-me-quah (dead) | 776 | 49 |
| Ketch-e-show-o-now (dead; heirs determined) | 338 | 50 |
| Kesh-mo-quah (dead; land sold) | 279 | 52 |
| Ke-wah-ah-gah (dead; land sold) | 280 | 52 |
| Ke-wash-kum Wah-pah-puck-ee, widow, ¾, lives at Kickapoo; later wife of Wm. Whitewater, Whiting, Kan.; Maggie Ke-wash-kum, daughter, ¼ (dead; heirs determined) | 227 | 52 |

| | *Allotment No.* | *Tract book, page No.* |
|---|---|---|
| Kish-wah-quah (dead; heirs determined) | 89 | 6 |
| Kish-ko-quah (dead; heirs determined) | 721 | 7 |
| Kish-ko-quah (O-ketch-e-show-o-now) (Oklahoma) | 742 | 11 |
| Kitch-kum-me, Young (John Butler) | 142 | 12 |
| Kish-ko-quah (dead; heirs determined) | 448 | 16 |
| Kitch-kam-me-quah, Mary A. (Moore) | 622 | 18 |
| Kitch-kam-me-quah, Me-me-quah | 621 | 18 |
| Kit-tas-mo, Lucy | 638 | 20 |
| Kit-tas-mo, Julia | 639 | 20 |
| Kish-k-nuk-kuk (dead; heirs determined) | 440 | 21 |
| Kitch-kum-me-quah (dead; heirs determined) | 97 | 22 |
| Kitch-kum-me-quah, Abraham (Moore) | 620 | 47 |
| Kin-ne-quah (Elnor Oliver) | 217 | 25 |
| Kitch-kum-me-quah, Viola (Sioux) | 129 | 25 |
| Kit-tas-mo (dead; heirs determined) | 137 | 27 |
| Kish-wah-quah (dead; heirs determined) | 91 | 28 |
| Kish-koke (lives in Wisconsin) | 730 | 29 |
| Kish-ko-nah-not-wah-gin (Frank No-zhack-um) | 483 | 32 |
| Kitch-kum-me, Thomas (lives in Wisconsin) | 673 | 35 |
| Kitch-kum-me, Ke-wack-che (land sold) | 674 | 35 |
| Kitch-kum-me-quah (dead; heirs determined) | 252 | 39 |
| Kick-kah-bo (dead; heirs determined) | 187 | 39 |
| Kish-ka (dead) | 189 | 40 |
| Kit-tah-o-num (Carl Shob-e-nay) | 174 | 42 |
| Kit-tas (lives in Wisconsin) | 397 | 42 |
| Kish-ko-quah (Mrs. John Connell) (deeded) | 501 | 48 |
| Kish-no-quah (dead; land sold) | 216 | 50 |
| Kit-tam-muck (Black Beaver) | 233 | 52 |
| Kitch-kum-me-quah (dead; land sold) | 263 | 53 |
| Kitch-kum-me (dead; land sold) | 357 | 54 |
| Kish-k-nuck-kè-uck (dead; land sold) | 271 | 55 |
| Kitch-kum-me (dead; heirs determined) | 306 | 60 |
| Kitch-kum-me, Julia Ann (lives in Wisconsin) | 311 | 60 |
| Kow-to-gish-ko-quah (lives in Wisconsin) | 51 | 58 |
| Kome-so-quah (dead; heirs determined) | 95 | 57 |
| Kotch-me-quin (dead) | 711 | 16 |
| Ko-ko-mo-quah (lives in Wisconsin) | 133 | 55 |
| Koch-kam-ko-quah (Vina We-zo) | 412 | 24 |
| Ko-mo-no-quah (lives in Wisconsin) | 708 | 20 |
| Kon-no-see (canceled) | 755 | 11 |
| Kog-go-as-nuk (dead) | 775 | 11 |
| Kotch-ka-yotch-wen (lives in Wisconsin) | 778 | 6 |
| Ko-che-no-quah, Pe-noz-wah (Shop-teese) | 636 | 6 |
| K-shot-no (dead; heirs determined) | 167 | 34 |
| K-tchin (dead; heirs determined) | 531 | 35 |
| K-she-tum (dead; land sold) | 580 | 7 |
| K-teh-kum-kee (dead; land sold) | 230 | 3 |
| Kum-me-gab-be (dead; heirship determined) | 98 | 4 |
| Ke-wahb-no-quah (Minnie Kakaque) | 331 | 37 |
| L. | | |
| Lasley, Peter (dead; land sold) | 131 | 59 |
| Latranche, Julia (dead; land sold) | 23 | 62 |
| Latranche, Annie (dead; land sold) | 24 | 62 |
| Latranche, Mary (Vanderbloomen) (dead; heirs determined) | 25 | 62 |
| Latranche, Josette (Mrs. J. Dean) | 22 | 62 |
| Latranche, Ethel M. (Dean) | 668 | 63 |
| Latranche, Theodore (Dean) | 669 | 63 |
| LeClere, Frank | 292 | 1 |

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| LeClare, Peter (Pe-an-ish) (dead; land sold) | 106 | 22 |
| LeClare, Mary (dead; land sold) | 108 | 22 |
| LeClare, Anne | 107 | 22 |
| Louis (dead; land sold) | 149 | 55 |
| M. | | |
| Mat-twa-ash-she | 416 | 19 |
| Mack-tah-kone-yah-quah (lives in Wisconsin) | 794 | 1 |
| Man-do-kah (land sold) | 300 | 2, 48 |
| Madeline (dead; heirs determined) | 90 | 5 |
| Marshall, Mary Ann (dead; land sold) | 63 | 6, 28 |
| Mas-quah (dead; heirs determined) | 261 | 7, 53 |
| Mah-ne (Mrs. Wah-we-ot-ten) | 499 | 9 |
| Mack-taw-see, Joseph (dead; land sold) | 191 | 15 |
| Mah-go-quah (dead; heirs determined) | 450 | 16 |
| Mach-ma-wee (dead; heirs determined) | 709 | 16 |
| Maag-go-quah (Mrs. John Keo-kum) | 572 | 19 |
| Man-do-kah (Pawhuska, Okla.) | 423 | 19 |
| Mahb-no (dead; land sold) | 455 | 21 |
| Mah-neese (dead; land sold) | 491 | 23 |
| Mat-ko (dead; heirs determined) | 464 | 23 |
| Mat-twa-ash-she, Joseph (dead; land sold) | 421 | 23 |
| Mah-no-ko-kee (dead; land sold) | 417 | 24 |
| Mah-kuk (George) | 158 | 25 |
| Mag-no-uck (dead; land sold) | 399 | 25 |
| Maw-zhaw (dead; land sold) | 101 | 28 |
| Maw-zhaw (dead; land sold) | 103 | 28 |
| Ma-zhas (David Puck-kee) | 73 | 32 |
| Mat-twa-ash-she, Nah-was-suck | 690 | 20 |
| Mat-twoash-she (lives in Wisconsin) | 714 | 20 |
| Mach-e-quah (dead; land sold) | 168 | 33, 39 |
| Mah-ne (dead) | 163 | 34 |
| Mah-ne (LeClair) (wife of Oliver LeClair) | 170 | 34 |
| Mah-tah-che-wone (dead; heirs determined) | 428 | 36 |
| Mash-kah-shuck (Frank) | 139 | 38 |
| Mag-nete (dead; heirs determined) | 248 | 39 |
| Mash-kah-wah-tuck (Charles O'Benuck) | 514 | 40 |
| Mat-sap-to, George (Waph-shen) | 688 | 41 |
| Mat-sap-to (dead; heirs determined) | 511 | 45 |
| Mach-wish-maw (Ko-zee) | 507 | 45 |
| Mah-kuk, John | 654 | 47, 48 |
| Mah-kuk, Wah-was-mo-quah (Mary) | 653 | 47 |
| Mat-che (Moore) | 272 | 48 |
| Mat-tow-kup-pit (dead; land sold) | 298 | 52 |
| Marguerite (dead; heirs determined) | 296 | 52 |
| Mach-ah-oh (Kish-no-quah) (dead; land sold) | 310 | 53 |
| Mas-quas (dead; land sold) | 294 | 55 |
| Martha (Kack-kack) | 172 | 58 |
| Mag-no-uck, Grant | 609 | 60 |
| Mag-no-uck, Pe-ya-tas-ke-quah (Maggie Rice) | 608 | 60 |
| Maines, Charles E. (deeded) | 26 | 62 |
| M-dwage-wone (Meah-meese Nioce) | 685 | 14 |
| M-dwage-wone, Witch-e-quah (Florence Wamego) | 683 | 14 |
| M-dwage-wone (dead; land sold) | 449 | 16 |
| M-dwage-wone, Charles (Kee-sis) (dead; heirs determined) | 477 | 26 |
| M-dwage-wone (Mrs. John Nioce) (patented) | 473 | 28 |
| M-daw-che, Rebecca (Shock-to) (lives in Wisconsin) | 612 | 29 |
| M-daw-che, John (Shock-to) (lives in Wisconsin) | 610 | 29 |

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| M-daw-che, Joseph (Shock-to) (dead; heirs determined) | 611 | 29 |
| M-daw-che (lives in Wisconsin) | 360 | 54 |
| M-dwage-wan-nah-quah (dead; land sold) | 342 | 63 |
| Me-ah-meese, Eli (dead; land sold) | 114 | 4 |
| Meough-gee, James (dead; heirs determined) | 451 | 14 |
| Meough-gee (dead; heirs determined) | 446 | 16 |
| Meough-gee, Martha (dead; heirs determined) | 662 | 16 |
| Meough-gee John) | 661 | 16 |
| Me-me | 120 | 27 |
| Mes-kas-se-quah (Minnie Dupins) | 153 | 29 |
| Meek-tah, Op-tuck-quck (Tap-see) | 601 | 29 |
| Meough-kah, James (Hale) | 603 | 30 |
| Meough-kah, Louis (Hale) | 605 | 30 |
| Meough-kah, Louis (Hale) | 604 | 30 |
| Meek-tah (dead; heirs determined) | 366 | 36 |
| Meaugh-kish-ko-quah (dead; heirs determined) | 515 | 40 |
| Meaugh-was-kah (lives in Wisconsin) | 525 | 42 |
| Met-tabn (dead; land sold) | 534 | 51 |
| Mes-quon-quih-to-quah (dead; land sold) | 361 | 54 |
| Meough-kah (Mrs. Joe Hale) | 178 | 57 |
| M-gwa-tah (dead; land sold) | 192 | 6 |
| M-gaw-was | 305 | 50 |
| Mix-suck-quah (lives in Wisconsin) | 132 | 59 |
| Mish-no, Mary | 589 | 38 |
| Mish-no, Wab-chee-she-quah (Susie) | 588 | 38 |
| Mish-no | 164 | 34 |
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| Mis-co-tah-quah (lives in Wisconsin) | 783 | 1 |
| M-jick-ne-quah | 785 | 2 |
| M-jis-sepe, Henrietta (dead; land sold) | 618 | 8 |
| M-jis-sepe (dead; heirs determined) | 492 | 8 |
| M-jim-nah | 121 | 9, 10 |
| M-joe-tah (Albert) | 136 | 10 |
| M-joe-tah, Joseph | 680 | 26 |
| M-jish-kee (wife of Kee-sis) | 472 | 26, 29 |
| M-kit-tah-now (dead; heirs determined) | 787 | 2 |
| M-kose-quah (dead; land sold) | 299 | 7 |
| M-kit-tam-wah (dead; heirs determined) | 231 | 10, 11 |
| M-ko-quah-wah, Elezabeth (Wabaunce-Coffin) | 628 | 17 |
| M-ko-zee (dead; heirs determined by court) | 442 | 21 |
| M-ko-quah-wah (Mrs. Sac-to Wabaunce) | 193 | 24 |
| M-kose-quah (dead; heirs determined) | 202 | 24 |
| M-kit-tah-p-nes-see-quah (dead; heirs determined) | 245 | 27 |
| M-kuk-ko (dead; heirs determined) | 185 | 39 |
| M-ko-meese (lives in Wisconsin) | 806 | 41, 44 |
| M-ko-quah-wah (dead; heirs determined) | 735 | 41 |
| M-ko-i-gih-maw (dead) | 350 | 42 |
| M-ket-tam-ko-quah (dead; heirs determined) | 395 | 42 |
| M-nis-no-quah (lives in Wisconsin) | 729 | 29 |
| M-nis-no-go-quah, Wahb-no-quah (Angeline Cadue) | 592 | 30 |
| M-nis-no-go-quah, Nahn-wish-man (Jas. Cadue) | 594 | 30 |
| M-nis-no-go-quah, Wah-we-as-shuck (Earl Cadue) | 593 | 30 |
| M-nis-no-quah (Susie Masquot) | 74 | 32 |
| M-nis-no-quah, Chock-tuck (Willie Wiskeno) | 595 | 50 |
| M-nis-no-go-quah (dead; heirs determined) | 92 | 58 |
| M-nis-no-quah (Mary Ann Wiskeno) | 328 | 37 |
| Mo-yah, Maria (Peek-nuk) | 812 | 5 |
| Mo-nahs (Moon Puck-kee) | 576 | 7 |

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| M-sco-tah-quah (lives in Wisconsin) | 426 | 36 |
| M-spet-to (Arthur) | 265 | 37 |
| M-sco-o (dead; lived in Wisconsin) | 545 | 48 |
| M-spet-to, Nas-se-kaw (Arthur Kitchkumme) | 671 | 53 |
| M-she-kah (lives in Wisconsin) | 211 | 57 |
| M-tuck-quah (dead; land sold) | 750 | 6 |
| Murray, Mary M. | 58 | 8 |
| Murray, Clay A. | 274 | 47 |
| M-wah-tow (blind) (dead; land sold to Maggie Tweedy; patented 90 acres; now known as John D. Lasley place) | 334 | 56, 57 |
| M-wah-wah-ge-zhuck (lives in Wisconsin) | 716 | 14 |
| M-zhick-e-kah-bah (Dewey M-jis-sepe) | 496 | 8 |
| M-zhick-ten-o, Myrtle | 664 | 20 |
| M-zhick-ten-o, Franklin | 663 | 20 |
| M-zhick-ten-o, Louis (dead; land sold) | 458 | 21 |
| M-zhick-ten-o, Pah-nah (Pete) | 457 | 21 |
| M-zhick-ten-o | 452 | 21, 22 |
| M-zhuck-no (lives in Wisconsin) | 438 | 21 |
| M-zhuck-que-ah (Joe Simon) | 386 | 31 |
| M-zhuck-quah-gah (O-ketch-e-show-o-now) | 532 | 32 |
| M-zhan (dead; heirs determined) | 486 | 33, 34 |
| M-zhup-kah (dead; land sold) | 326 | 48 |
| M-zhick-e-ne-quah | 341 | 61 |
| **N.** | | |
| Naw-gohn-wah-tuck (dead; heirs determined) | 786 | 2 |
| Nah-tah-qua-tuck (lives in Wisconsin) | 797 | 2 |
| Nah-o-ten-naw | 206 | 3 |
| Nah-quck-qua-bet (dead) | 803 | 4, 7 |
| Nage-won-nah-quah (Annie Wilmot) | 86 | 5 |
| Nah-o-kuk-qua-bit (lives in Wisconsin) | 297 | 7 |
| Nah-min-nuk-skuk | 479 | 7 |
| Naw-qua-kah-pon (lives in Wisconsin) | 581 | 7 |
| Nadeau, Joseph E. (Co.) | 199 | 9 |
| Nack-twa-tuck (lives in Wisconsin) | 543 | 9 |
| Nadeau, Eli G. (dead; land sold) | 69 | 10 |
| Nadeau, Mary T. | 658 | 10 |
| Nadeau, John A. (dead; land sold) | 150 | 10 |
| Nadeau, Ramona | 657 | 10 |
| Nache-kish-qua-be (dead; land sold) | 304 | 12 |
| Nash-kah-o-be (dead; land sold) | 151 | 12 |
| Nah-e (dead; land sold) | 541 | 13 |
| Nash-kah-wah-tuck (dead; land sold) | 710 | 16 |
| Nah-wah-ash (dead; land sold) | 553 | 17 |
| Nah-wah-ash, George (dead) | 557 | 17 |
| Nab-nah-quo-uck, Ellen | 596 | 18 |
| Nah-qua-be, Maude | 597 | 26 |
| Nah-qua-be, Pack-shaw (dead; land sold) | 598 | 26 |
| Nah-qua-be, Kaw-no-wah-gah-quah (Ivy) | 599 | 26 |
| Naw-gish (dead; land sold) | 102 | 28 |
| Nan-no-gah (dead; heirs determined) | 243 | 29 |
| Nah-she-o-shuk (dead; land sold) | 577 | 29 |
| Naw-as-nose (dead; heirs determined) | 378 | 31 |
| Naw-qua-be (dead; land sold) | 379 | 31 |
| Nah-ah-gah-quah (Mrs. No-zhack-um) | 482 | 33, 34 |
| Nah-bah-kah (lives in Wisconsin) | 758 | 35 |
| Nah-bah (Mrs. Joe Curley) | 188 | 40 |
| Nah-o-ten-naw | 509 | 40 |

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| Nash-kah-wah-tuck (dead) | 562 | 43 |
| Na-way-zhuck-no-quah (lives in Wisconsin) | 727 | 44 |
| Nah-con-be (Henry Bear) | 175 | 45 |
| Nah-con-be, Josette | 591 | 45 |
| Nah-gan-wah-tuck (John O'Benuck) | 283 | 53 |
| Nah-nah-qua-be (dead; land sold) | 273 | 59, 63 |
| Nas-se-kah (dead; land sold) | 335 | 60 |
| Nah-net-wahb-may (dead; heirs determined) | 340 | 61 |
| Ne-yah (Honnell M-jis-sepe) | 497 | 1 |
| Ne-gohn-sah-quah (lives in Wisconsin) | 780 | 1 |
| Nee-gwen (dead; land sold) | 763 | 3 |
| Ne-gohn-guo-uck (Che-quah) (dead) | 768 | 4 |
| Ne-gohn-ko-uck (John Mat-che) | 62 | 6 |
| Ne-gahn-ko-uk (Walk-kas) (lives in Wisconsin) | 538 | 13 |
| Nes-cod-nah (Mat-twa-osh-she) | 420 | 23 |
| Nes-cod-no-nah (land sold) | 405 | 24 |
| Neb-nah-quo-uck (land sold) | 385 | 31 |
| Ne-bow-o-sah (dead) | 242 | 39 |
| Ne-gahn-ko-uck, Julia (lives in Wisconsin) | 565 | 43 |
| Ne-gahn-ko-uck (dead; heirs determined) | 559 | 43 |
| Nes-schwab-no-quah (Mrs. Charles M-jis-sepe) | 373 | 47 |
| Ne-gon-kum-go-quah (dead; land sold) | 302 | 48 |
| Neb-e-ash-k-mo-quah (dead; heirs determined) | 232 | 52 |
| Neaugh-weg-wah (dead; heirs determined) | 173 | 58 |
| N-gee-was (dead; land sold) | 388 | 48 |
| N-joe-was (dead; heirs determined) | 312 | 53, 55 |
| Note-no-quah, Francis (Shop-teese) | 590 | 6 |
| N-mag-weese, Joseph Ignatius | 70 | 8 |
| Note-no-quah (dead; land sold) | 169 | 8 |
| Now-quash-kum (dead; heirs determined) | 544 | 13 |
| Noche-kish-qua-be (dead; land sold) | 304 | 14 |
| Now-quess (dead; heirs determined) | 419 | 20 |
| No-zhack-um, Charles | 687 | 29 |
| No-zhack-um, Mis-sog-ge-quah (Minnie) | 686 | 29 |
| No-tox-se-quah (O-ketch-e-show-o-now) | 529 | 32 |
| No-zhack-um (Mexico) | 481 | 32 |
| Now-ish-quah (dead; land sold) | 332 | 37 |
| Note-no-quah (dead; land sold) | 564 | 43 |
| Now-quah (dead; land sold) | 317 | 49 |
| Now-quah-ge-zhuck (Joe Mas-quot) | 228 | 52 |
| No-zhack-um (Witch-e-quah) | 229 | 52 |
| No-kum-ne-zee (dead; heirs determined) | 365 | 54 |
| Now-ge-shick (dead; heirs detremined) | 359 | 54 |
| Now-quah-gas-go-quah (lives in Wisconsin) | 807 | 63 |
| Note-no-quah (formerly Mrs. John Rice) | 508 | 45 |
| N-shuck-kah-o-see, Frank M. (dead; heirs determined) | 212 | 12, 15 |
| N-shuck-kah-o-see, Ruth | 623 | 53 |
| N-shuck-kah-quah (dead) | 724 | 52 |
| N-so-wah-quet (dead; heirs determined) | 293 | 55 |
| Num-que (O-ketch-e-show-o-now) | 741 | 11 |
| Nuck-muck (John Wahb-num) | 223 | 12 |
| Num-kum-go-quah (Mrs. Albert M-joe-tah) | 406 | 25 |
| Nup-cheet (Sophia Travis) (dead; land sold) | 36 | 27 |
| Num-kum-go-quah (lives in Wisconsin) | 264 | 37 |
| N-way-o-ben (lives in Wisconsin) | 761 | 12, 51 |
| N-wahk-tote (Joe Kegg) | 198 | 12, 13 |
| N-wahk-tote (dead; heirs determined) | 398 | 30 |
| N-wee (lives in Wisconsin) | 546 | 47 |
| N-zhuck-to-quah (Mrs. Dolly Mat-twa-osh-she) | 502 | 48 |

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| O-ben-uck (old man) | 512 | 40 |
| Ob-mah-gah (dead; land sold) | 155 | 55 |
| O-ge-mah-quah (lives in Wisconsin) | 793 | 15 |
| Ok-pe-o (Addison Shop-y-tuck) | 391 | 30 |
| O-knox-sah (James) | 135 | 10 |
| O-ketch-e-show-o-now (dead; heirs determined) | 527 | 32 |
| O-muck-ko (lives in Wisconsin) | 801 | 3, 35 |
| On-quit (dead; heirs) | 802 | 4 |
| O-nah-gah (Mrs. John O'Benuck) | 122 | 35 |
| On-zha-wah (dead; heirs determined) | 184 | 39 |
| Op-te-gish-ko-quah (lives in Wisconsin) | 792 | 15 |
| Osh-sha-wah (dead; heirs determined) | 161 | 9, 44 |
| O-saw-ge | 249 | 10 |
| Ozh-nick, Annie (formerly Jury) | 624 | 3 |
| Ozh-nick, Susan (Moore-Keesis) | 625 | 5 |
| Ozh-nick, Frank M-go-was (Moore) | 626 | 5 |
| Ozh-nick, Gertrude (Moore) | 627 | 5 |
| O-zha-ock-peese (Paddy Rhine) | 573 | 35 |
| O-zowsh-quah, John (Hale) | 613 | 51 |
| O-zowsh-quah, Joseph (Hale) | 614 | 51 |
| O-zowsh-quah (Mrs. William Hale) | 53 | 56 |
| P. | | |
| Pam-y-tuck (Wah-sah-gas-uck (dead; heirs determined; land sold), | 240 | 35 |
| Pam-y-tuck, John (dead; heirs determined) | 254 | 35 |
| Pam-wah-tuck (lives in Wisconsin) | 782 | 1 |
| Pam-mos-kah, John (Kabance) | 207 | 3 |
| Pack-nah-gah, Patrick (Mat-che) | 61 | 6 |
| Pam-moss-suck (dead) | 712 | 8 |
| Pack-chaa-be (Charles M-jis-sepe) | 495 | 8 |
| Pam-nuck-nuck (Gladys McKinney) | 602 | 14 |
| Pat-se-quck (lives in Wisconsin) | 757 | 14 |
| Pam-nuck-nuck (Pete) | 190 | 15 |
| Pam-o-go (dead; land sold) | 567 | 19 |
| Paw-ese (dead; land sold) | 723 | 23 |
| Paw-ese, John | 678 | 26 |
| Paw-ese, N-wack-toe (Willie) | 679 | 27 |
| Pas-shon-qut-to-quah (Mrs. John Rice) | 381 | 31, 33 |
| Pat-ko-shuck (dead; land divided) | 166 | 34 |
| Pam-mas-kah (Thomas Wah-we-ot-ten) | 500 | 48 |
| Pac-ten-naw-gah (dead; heirs determined) | 209 | 52 |
| Pat-ka-shuck (dead; land sold) | 160 | 54 |
| Pam-y-tuck (O-saw-o-deep) (dead; land sold) | 258 | 55 |
| Pam-y-tuck (Frank Cadue) | 128 | 55 |
| Pappan, Agustus (Walter) | 21 | 61 |
| Pah-kish-ko-quah (Mary Hale) | 56 | 56 |
| Pat-ko-shuck, John (dead; land sold) | 453 | 21 |
| Pappan, John O. | 670 | 14 |
| Pat-ko-shuck, Mary | 649 | 17 |
| Pe-o-ze-o-quah (Mrs. Peter Belair) | 186 | 40 |
| Pe-at-wat-mo-quah, Mabel Ne-gohn-soht) | 329 | 37 |
| Pe-ah-mash-ke (Tapsee) (dead; heirs determined) | 368 | 36 |
| Pe-o-ze-quah (dead; heirs determined) | 205 | 3 |
| Pen-na-sa-quick (lives in Wisconsin) | 771 | 4 |
| Pean, Peter (Shop-teese) | 87 | 5 |
| Pe-noz-wah (Frank Shop-teese) | 88 | 5 |
| Pe-noz-wah, Joseph (Shop-teese) | 634 | 6 |

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| Pe-noz-wah, Ko-che-no-quah | 636 | 6 |
| Pe-an-ish | 444 | 16 |
| Pe-tah (dead; land sold) | 554 | 17 |
| Peek-nuk | 422 | 19 |
| Peek-nuk, John | 424 | 19 |
| Pe-an-ish, Linley (dead; land sold) | 478 | 31 |
| Pe-at-wah-tuck (dead; land sold) | 563 | 43 |
| Pe-quah-no (dead; land sold) | 325 | 48 |
| Pe-nosh (dead; land sold) | 485 | 50 |
| Pe-o-zu-o-quah, Onzha-wah (dead; land sold) | 656 | 50 |
| Pe-quah-no (dead; heirs determined) | 548 | 51 |
| Pe-quah-no, Elizabeth (dead; heirs determined) | 550 | 51 |
| Pe-quah-no, Alfred (lives in Wisconsin) | 551 | 51 |
| Pe-wahm-o, Wah-tam-kee (Green) | 689 | 51 |
| Pe-wahn-o (dead; land sold) | 315 | 53 |
| Pe-ah-wah-no-quah (dead; heirs determined) | 220 | 54 |
| Pe-quah-nah-me (dead; land sold) | 148 | 55 |
| Peet-quas (dead; land sold) | 354 | 57 |
| Pe-an-ish, Mary | 655 | 14 |
| Peek-nuk, Julia Ann | 138 | 9 |
| Pis-she-dwin (dead; heirs determined) | 237 | 45 |
| Pierson, Now-bat-tee | 235 | 25 |
| P-kuk-no-quah (Mrs. Frank Mashkahshuck) | 488 | 33 |
| P-nes-se-quah (dead; land sold) | 256 | 42 |
| Pog-kesh-mo-quah (dead) | 765 | 3 |
| Pow-ee (canceled) | 754 | 11 |
| Po-way (lives in Wisconsin) | 789 | 15 |
| Po-k-to (Wah-we-at-ten) | 503 | 48 |
| Po-nice (Joe Ship-she) | 80 | 59 |
| P-quo-tah (O'Benuck) | 513 | 40 |
| P-quo-tah (mother of Gertie Lasley) | 384 | 30 |
| P-quo-tah (Dora Kitchkumme) | 382 | 31 |
| Preston, Lillie | 665 | 43 |
| Preston, John Dewey | 666 | 43 |
| Preston, James L | 667 | 43 |
| Preston, Nellie | 285 | 49 |
| Preston, Benjamin | 27 | 49 |
| Preston, Emily | 20 | 62 |
| P-shuck-kees (dead; heirs determined) | 788 | 2 |
| P-tes-saw (Mrs. J. V. Blandin) | 510 | 40 |
| P-tish-paw (dead; heirs determined) | 505 | 40 |
| Puck-kee (dead; heirs determined) | 574 | 31 |
| P-yet-ta-sen (lives in Wisconsin) | 759 | 43 |
| Q. | | |
| Quo-tose (dead; heirs determined) | 351 | 57 |
| Quirk, Leona (dead; heirs determined) | 14 | 59 |
| Quirk, Alexanderine (land patented) | 13 | 59 |
| Quirk, James C | 15 | 59 |
| Quirk, James V | 16 | 59 |
| Quah-me (dead; land sold) | 431 | 2 |
| Queah-wesh (dead; heirs determined) | 201 | 3 |
| Quaw-tow, Mitchell (Belair) | 282 | 11 |
| Qua-she (LeClair) | 290 | 15 |
| Qua-qua-che (dead; land sold) | 566 | 19 |
| Quash-maw (dead; land sold) | 467 | 28 |
| Quin-nah-kah (lives in Wisconsin) | 744 | 38 |
| Quaw-tow (dead; heirs determined) | 251 | 39 |

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| Quaw-tow, Elizabeth (Belair-Evans) | 281 | 43 |
| Quash-mo-go (Curley) | 337 | 50 |
| Quatch-ka-bo (dead; land sold) | 773 | 26 |
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| Rice, Richard, jr. (land sold) | 12 | 59, 61 |
| Rice, Richard, sr. (land sold) | 6 | 60 |
| Rice, Isaac (land sold) | 8 | 60 |
| Rice, John | 11 | 60 |
| Rice, Joseph (land sold) | 7 | 60 |
| Rice, Minnie (Mrs. John Wahb-num) | 10 | 60 |
| Rice, Samuel (land sold) | 9 | 60 |
| S. | | |
| Sah-wahs (dead; heirs determined) | 401 | 25 |
| Sah-gah (dead; land sold) | 75 | 32 |
| Sah-sah-wash-kuk (Arthur Wiskeno) | 330 | 37 |
| Sah-kas-kah (dead; heirs determined) | 521 | 39 |
| Sahswah (Frank Cook) (dead; land sold) | 268 | 47 |
| Saw-gah (dead; land sold) | 50 | 58 |
| Schum-nah (lives in Wisconsin; land sold) | 435 | 15 |
| Schum-dah-quah, Jennie (dead; heirs determined) | 400 | 25 |
| Sco-mah (William Kee-sis) | 475 | 28 |
| Se-be-quah (Mrs. Mish-no) | 140 | 38 |
| Shough-nab-noquot (lives in Wisconsin) | 706 | 4 |
| Shop-teese, Catherine (dead; heirs determined) | 583 | 5 |
| Shan-wesh-quah (Alex Onzawah) | 289 | 5 |
| Shough-nen-no-quah, Peter the Great (dead; land sold) | 241 | 11, 33 |
| Shen-wash-quah (Alex Thompson) | 445 | 16 |
| Shen-wesh-quah, Samuel | 647 | 16 |
| Shen-wesh-quah, Edward | 648 | 16 |
| Shop-teese, Francis (son of Mary Ann) | 633 | 20 |
| Shop-teese, M-scop-nash-she (dead; heirs determined) | 632 | 20 |
| Shkeen-wah | 459 | 21 |
| Shah-yan (dead; land sold) | 266 | 21 |
| Sheh-tahs (Mrs. Maggie Witchewah) | 404 | 24 |
| Shough-nas-quah (Jane Williams Sprague) | 411 | 24 |
| Shob-e-nay, Nah-nat-twab-ne | 600 | 26 |
| Ship-she-wahn-o | 526 | 27 |
| Ship-she-quah (Mary Wab-ske) | 85 | 27 |
| Shop-teese (dead; heirs determined) | 84 | 27 |
| Shough-nuk-ko-uck, Jane (lives in Wisconsin) | 377 | 30 |
| Shop-y-tuck (dead; land sold) | 389 | 30 |
| Shug-naab-go-quah (grandmother of Ok-pe-o) | 390 | 30 |
| Shough-nuk-ko-uk (Quo-tose) (lives in Wisconsin) | 375 | 31 |
| Shah-note (Gertie Lasley) | 387 | 31 |
| Shim-nah (dead; heirs determined; land sold) | 276 | 32 |
| Shough-nes-see | 162 | 34 |
| Ship-she, Alice | 641 | 35 |
| Shah-quah-nah (dead; heirs determined) | 370 | 36 |
| Ship-she, Louis | 640 | 38 |
| Shaag-a-na-be (dead; heirs determined) | 147 | 38 |
| Shough-no-quah (dead; land sold) | 517 | 39 |
| Shab-was-noke (dead; land sold) | 737 | 41 |
| She-kone-nee (lives in Wisconsin) | 734 | 41 |
| Shough-non-kote (lives in Wisconsin) | 739 | 41 |
| Shohn (dead) | 522 | 42 |
| Shough-nen-no (dead; heirs determined) | 349 | 42 |

| | *Allotment No.* | *Tract book, page No.* |
|---|---|---|
| Shah-shah-quah-sah (dead; heirs determined) | 396 | 42 |
| Shug-naab-go-quah (lives in Wisconsin) | 560 | 43 |
| Shough-nosh (dead; land sold) | 516 | 45 |
| Shab-bi-ah (Billey McGuire) | 181 | 46, 47 |
| Sheppard, Edmond C. (land sold) | 5 | 46, 49 |
| Sheppard, Charles | 1 | 46 |
| Sheppard, Frank R. (land sold) | 4 | 46 |
| Sheppard, Leroy (land sold) | 2 | 46 |
| Sheppard, Ethel (land sold) | 3 | 46 |
| Shep-she-wahn-o (Young) (Albert Ross) | 117 | 47 |
| Sheppo, James (dead; land sold) | 266 | 49 |
| Shough-nes-see (Francis S. Blandin) | 287 | 50 |
| Shab-e-nay, John (dead; heirs determined) | 585 | 50 |
| Sheppo, James (lives in Wisconsin) | 691 | 51 |
| She-botch-wah | 278 | 52 |
| Shebah-kah-gah (dead; heirs determined; Wisconsin) | 295 | 52 |
| Shim-nah (dead; land sold) | 221 | 53 |
| Shock-to, Mary (dead; heirs determined) | 363 | 53 |
| Shock-to (dead; heirs determined) | 359 | 54 |
| Shep-she, John (dead; land sold) | 76 | 56, 59 |
| Ship-she (Wild Cat) (dead; land sold) | 353 | 57 |
| Shough-nen (dead; heirs determined) | 352 | 57 |
| She-bah-k-nah-quah (dead; land sold) | 267 | 57 |
| Sheek-kah-gab (dead; land sold) | 179 | 57 |
| Sheppo, Frank (land sold; lives in Wisconsin) | 38 | 58 |
| Sheppor, Daniel (land sold) | 39 | 58 |
| Sheppo, Jock (dead; land sold) | 37 | 58 |
| Shough-nen-no (dead; land sold) | 210 | 57 |
| Sheppo, Maggie (Jacobson) | 40 | 58 |
| Sheppo, Rachel (dead; land sold) | 41 | 58 |
| Shough-nuk-ko-uk (John Young) (lives in Wisconsin) | 547 | 13 |
| Shab-e-nay, Martha (John) | 177 | 59 |
| Shough-nen-no-quah (dead; land sold) | 241 | 33 |
| Shan-wo-quo-uck (lives in Wisconsin) | 726 | 44 |
| Shough-ne-gish-go-quah (dead; heirs determined) | 225 | 60 |
| Shuck-to-quah (Nettie Hale Tork) | 54 | 56 |
| Shab-e-nay (Mat-was) | 344 | 61 |
| Shough-nuk-ko-uck (land sold; dead; heirs determined) | 348 | 63 |
| Skish-kee (dead; land divided) | 460 | 22 |
| Skish-kee, Sophia (dead; heirs determined) | 465 | 23 |
| Skish-kee, Ah-que-ah-bes (Wamego) (dead; heirs determined) | 630 | 26 |
| Skish-kee, Kish-ko | 631 | 26 |
| Smith, Hoke (John Smith Cadue) | 333 | 51 |
| Sose-mo-quah (wife of Shab-e-nay Mat) | 437 | 8 |
| Sose-mo (dead; heirs determined) | 134 | 10 |
| Sophia (dead; heirs determined) | 195 | 17 |
| Sow-now-no-quah (lives in Wisconsin) | 376 | 31 |
| Sog-ge-quah, William (Seymore) | 643 | 37 |
| Sog-ge-quah | 309 | 53 |
| Sog-ge-quah (Mary Seymore) | 77 | 59 |
| Soldier, Julia Ann (dead; heirs determined) | 119 | 2 |
| Sog-ge-quah, Mary (dead; heirs determined) | 642 | 13 |
| Squa-ge-zhick (lives in Wisconsin) | 760 | 12, 51 |
| Squap-ko (Scott Gabby) | 83 | 35 |
| Squah-gish-go-quah (lives in Wisconsin) | 524 | 42 |
| Striegl, Philander Rice | 701 | 26 |
| Striegel, Mary (dead; heirs determined) | 126 | 56 |
| Striegel, Maud (Lundeen) | 127 | 56 |

| T. | *Allotment No.* | *Tract book, page No.* |
|---|---|---|
| Tah-bas-suck (dead; heirs determined) | 558 | 17 |
| Ta-bas-sa-quah (lives in Wisconsin) | 719 | 20 |
| Tah-men (dead; heirs determined) | 402 | 25 |
| Tap-see (dead; land sold) | 339 | 57 |
| Ten-o-quah (dead; heirs determined) | 748 | 11 |
| Te-cum-seh (lives in Wisconsin) | 732 | 8 |
| Te-qua-ket (dead; land sold) | 571 | 43 |
| Te-kah-ko (Nag-mo) | 518 | 40 |
| Thomp-son, James | 443 | 4 |
| Thomp-son, Rose Ann (dead; heirs determined) | 96 | 22 |
| Tish-quah-qwin, Henry (dead; heirs determined) | 180 | 57 |
| Toke-ma-ze-zhuck (dead) | 717 | 14 |
| Tow-wah-ne (George Butler) | 143 | 12 |
| To-pen-i-be (dead; land sold) | 569 | 19 |
| Tow-sah (dead; land sold) | 407 | 25 |
| To-pe (dead; land sold) | 575 | 31 |
| To-pen-i-be (dead; land sold) | 213 | 49 |
| T-pis-sum (lives in Wisconsin) | 781 | 1 |
| Tuck-wah (Minnie Dupins) | 154 | 33 |
| W. | | |
| Wah-tos-noke (dead) | 800 | 1 |
| Wah-walk-sum (lives in Wisconsin) | 796 | 1, 2 |
| Wab-kah (liives in Wisconsin) | 795 | 2 |
| Wab-che-quah (Peter Seymour) | 145 | 3 |
| Way-we-yah-kesh-kote (lives in Wisconsin) | 766 | 4 |
| Wap-so-go-quah (dead; land sold) | 767 | 4 |
| Wa-sack-o-mock (dead; land sold) | 769 | 4 |
| Wah-was-suck, George | 200 | 4 |
| Wah-we-at-mo-quah (dead; land sold) | 447 | 4 |
| Wah-no-quah (dead; heirs determined) | 319 | 5 |
| Wah-we-ack-muck | 318 | 5 |
| Wahb-no-quah (dead; heirs determined) | 489 | 9 |
| Wah-we-ah-ten (dead; heirs determined) | 498 | 9 |
| Wahb-num (dead; land sold) | 779 | 10 |
| Wah-was-sah (lives in Wisconsin) | 745 | 11 |
| Wahb-num (dead; land sold) | 222 | 12 |
| Was-cho-wen-no-quah (lives in Wisconsin) | 751 | 6 |
| Wab-ske (Joseph) | 250 | 10 |
| Wah-sash-kuck (lives in Wisconsin) | 536 | 10, 13 |
| Wab-shuck-ko-uck (dead; land sold; lived in Wisconsin) | 537 | 13 |
| Wan-bet (dead; land sold) | 539 | 13 |
| Wab-an-see, John (Wabaunce) | 322 | 13 |
| Watch-kee (Battese) | 196 | 13 |
| Watch-kee, Margaret (Wabaunce) | 197 | 13 |
| Wab-shog-gin (lives in Wisconsin) | 434 | 15 |
| Wahb-walk (lives in Wisconsin) | 433 | 15 |
| Watch-kee, Anthony (Bateese) | 629 | 17 |
| Was-ke-show (Mrs. Charles Greenmore) | 194 | 17 |
| Wah-zow-we (dead; land sold) | 555 | 17 |
| Wah-was-mo-quah (dead; land sold) | 556 | 17 |
| Wam-me-go (dead; heirs determined) | 224 | 19 |
| Wam-me-go, Henry | 226 | 19 |
| Wab-shon-quit-to-quah (lives in Wisconsin) | 704 | 20 |
| Wam-me-go (dead; heirs determined) | 454 | 21 |
| Was-cho-win (dead; land sold) | 439 | 21 |
| Wahb-me-me (Iowa) (lives in Wisconsin) | 436 | 21 |
| Wah-on-i-zib-che-quah (lives in Wisconsin) | 441 | 21 |

| | *Allotment No.* | *Tract book, page No.* |
|---|---|---|
| Wab-skin-ne (John White) | 259 | 22 |
| Wabaunsee, Lewis | 100 | 22, 23 |
| Wabaunsee, Frank (dead; heirs determined) | 253 | 22 |
| Wah-zow-ko-uck (William Skish-kee) | 463 | 23 |
| Wah-pos-so (Joe) | 728 | 23 |
| Wahb-no-sah (dead; heirs determined) | 418 | 24 |
| Wah-quah-bosh-kuck, Richard | 413 | 24 |
| Wah-quah-bosh-kuck, Nancy | 410 | 24 |
| Wah-quah-bosh-kuck (dead; heirs determined) | 409 | 25, 51 |
| Wah-zow-ko-uck, William | 693 | 26 |
| Wab-che-quah (Bert Skish-kee) | 466 | 27 |
| Wab-num, John (land patented) | 60 | 27 |
| Wahb-en-wah (David Pierson) | 236 | 30 |
| Was-cho-win (Mrs. Pewahmo) | 380 | 31 |
| Wab-me-me (dead; heirs determined) | 72 | 32 |
| Wan-be-tuck (dead; heirs determined) | 244 | 33, 34 |
| Wah-wan-quah (dead; land sold) | 78 | 35 |
| Wazh-now (Puck-no-quah) (dead; land sold) | 700 | 35 |
| Wah-kaw-tup (dead; land sold) | 569 | 36 |
| Wap-kesh-ko (lives in Wisconsin) | 430 | 36 |
| Wazh-now (dead; land sold) | 427 | 36 |
| Waagh-mah-de-tuck (dead; heirs determined) | 367 | 36 |
| Wab-shaw (Francis Kitchkumme) | 270 | 37 |
| Wah-sash-kuk (dead; heirs determined) | 394 | 37 |
| Wah-bah (dead; heirs determined) | 393 | 37 |
| Wah-we-as-shuck (dead; land sold) | 323 | 37 |
| Wah-was-suck, Trilby H. | 615 | 38 |
| Wah-was-suck, Ruth | 616 | 38 |
| Wah-was-suck, John | 617 | 38 |
| Wah-sah-no-quah (dead; land sold) | 141 | 38 |
| Wah-was-mo-quah (dead; heirs determined) | 520 | 39 |
| Wah-tos-kah (lives in Wisconsin) | 784 | 41 |
| Wahb-num, John (Peter) | 659 | 41 |
| Wah-sah-kish-koke (dead) | 736 | 41 |
| Wah-box-se-quah (Mrs. Joe Kegg) | 346 | 42 |
| Wash-ket-tah (dead; heirs determined) | 347 | 42 |
| Wam-me-go, George (dead) | 275 | 43 |
| Was-cho-win (Mary Green) | 238 | 45 |
| Wa-wah-tha (Susie Mas-quot) | 118 | 47 |
| Wam-to-go-she-quah, Charles Mitchell | 587 | 48 |
| Wam-to-go-she-quah, John Mitchell | 219 | 50, 54 |
| Wab-ship-she (George) | 291 | 50 |
| Wamto-go-she-quah (Mrs. Mitchell) | 215 | 51 |
| Wah-walk-sum (Blind) | 277 | 52 |
| Wah-sah-kuk (dead) | 159 | 54 |
| Walk-kas | 356 | 54 |
| Wah-was-suck (John) | 204, 208 | 55 |
| Was-ke-show (Annie Hale) | 55 | 56 |
| Wah-was-mo-quah (dead; land sold) | 156 | 57 |
| Wetch-e-quah (Young) | 336 | 3, 50 |
| Weep-kone-nee (James LeClare) | 104 | 1 |
| Wetch-e-wah, Mary | 408 | 24 |
| Weeg-was (dead; land sold) | 414 | 24 |
| Wetch-e-wah (dead; heirs determined) | 403 | 24, 25 |
| Wesh-te-yah (Frank) | 470 | 27 |
| We zhack-wah (dead; heirs) | 740 | 41 |
| We-zoh (John) | 214 | 49 |
| Wesh-ko-no (dead; heirs determined) | 327 | 58 |

| | *Allotment No.* | *Tract book, page No.* |
|---|---|---|
| Witch-e-wah, Kaw-batche (dead; heirs determined) | 637 | 26 |
| Wish-kuk-ke-ash-kuk | 364 | 54 |
| Woz-zo-wan-ko-kuck (dead) | 774 | 11 |
| Y. | | |
| Yah-bah (dead; heirs determined) | 355 | 50 |
| Z. | | |
| Zough-num-kee (dead; heirs determined) | 747 | 3 |
| Zow-kish-ko-quah (lives in Wisconsin) | 715 | 3 |
| Zow-ko-ke-zhuck (land sold; lives in Wisconsin) | 535 | 3 |
| Ze-be-quah (dead; land sold) | 474 | 2 |
| Zaw-ko (dead; land sold) | 578 | 1 |
| Zough-num-kee (Oklahoma) | 372 | 3 |

# LETTERS CONCERNING THE PRESBYTERIAN MISSION IN THE PAWNEE COUNTRY, NEAR BELLVUE, NEB., 1831-1849.[1]

## LETTERS FROM REV. JOHN DUNBAR, SEPTEMBER 6, 1831, TO MAY 7, 1849.

WILLIAMS COLLEGE, Sept. 6th, 1831.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR—Your note of August 16th, has been received, also the *Missionary Herald* for the present year up to this time. Several numbers of the *Herald* are sent in a bundle to the Rev. Mr. Gridley, and it is desirable, the number sent to our Society should be forwarded in this bundle, as thus the expense of postage would be comparatively small. . . .

Your proposal to send us a parcel of Missionary papers, pamphlets etc., was very gratefully accepted, and we embrace this opportunity to send for them. The bearer of this, Mr. Brown will bring to us any thing you may think proper to send. Permit me to express the gratitude of this society for favours already received and the pleasure with which any communication from you hereafter will be received. . . .

Yours with due respect J. DUNBAR JR.[2]

R. ANDERSON

1. The originals of these letters are in the library of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions, Boston, Mass. Great care has been taken in transcribing them to retain the original spelling and punctuation.

2. John Dunbar was born March 7, 1804, in Palmer, Mass. After his service with the Pawnees he moved to Missouri, living there ten years. In 1856 he brought his family to Kansas, and they settled in Brown county, on Wolf river, a little distance west of the town of Robinson. Here Mrs. Dunbar died, November 4, 1856, and a year later, November 3, 1857, Mr. Dunbar passed away. In volume 10, "Kansas Historical Collections," may be found a biography of John Brown Dunbar, a son of Mr. and Mrs. Dunbar. The sketch contains much information on the Pawnee Mission, as well as biographical and genealogical material relating to the Dunbar family. An article on the Presbyterian Mission among the Pawnees, 1834-1836, written by Rev. John Dunbar, was published in "Kansas Historical Collections," volume 11, p. 323.

AUBURN (THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY), March 14, 1834.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR—The object of the present communication is simply this, to offer my services as a Missionary to the Indians west of the Rocky Mountains, should you think proper to accept of them. The subject of Missions is one that had interested me much, since, as I trust, I became a disciple of the blessed Jesus. More than a year since, I resolved on going to the heathen, should Providence open the way, when I had completed a full course of Theological studies, but unexpectedly and very recently, I have been requested to go on the Mission above mentioned. After having contemplated the subject the little time I have had, sought direction from Him who alone can guide aright, and consulted with my teachers and brethren, I have felt it to be my duty to go, provided it should meet with your concurrence. I am a member of the middle class in the Seminary, of this however and things similar the faculty will inform you.—The Rev. Mr. Parker of Ithica will furnish you with information respecting my peculiar circumstances and the conditions on which I offer myself to the Board. You will of course not accept nor reject my services till you have heard from him.

Yours with respect, JOHN DUNBAR

[Addressed to Rev. David Greene, Missionary Rooms, Boston, Mass.]

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[The following letter, written by Samuel Parker, was written on the back of Mr. Dunbar's and sent with that letter.]

ITHACA, March 17th, 1834.

DEAR SIR—I take the blank part of Mr. Dunbar's letter to you to explain to you the cause of its being sent. Mr. G. W. Schuyler has declined going on the Oregon mission. We are disappointed, but God's providences are dictated by infinite wisdom and benevolence. What we know not now we shall know hereafter.

We have some other young men in this place who are willing to go, but we think not so well qualified *at present* as is desireable. We thought it best to go to the Auburn Theo. Sem. By the general consent of the Professors and students, Mr. Dunbar was selected as the best qualified of any in the institution to go. The Professors' recommendation accompany this. There appear to be only two objections, one on the part of the Professors, an unwillingness to part with him on account of his salutary influence in the seminary; the other his own, which I engage to explain to you. He is engaged to a Miss Smith, the daughter of Dea. Smith of Hadley, and sister of the late Mrs. Harvey of Bombay. Miss S. has pledged herself to go on foreign missions, but whether she would be willing to go as *far west* he did not know, that is to go when the way shall be prepared. He scarcely indulges a doubt, otherwise he would not have offered himself before consulting her. If you appoint him and she should refuse, he could not go. Not only from his confidence, but also from my own acquaintance with Dea. Smith's family, I have no fears that she will refuse.

We have strong hopes you will appoint Mr. Dunbar. Dr. Richards thinks it best that he should be ordained and the people here are very

anxious that he should be be ordained in this place. They will receive him as an adopted son.

Mr. Allis continues firm and has his heart more and more set upon the work. As our time is short for making preparation, we want you should give us all the information, counsel, and directions that [you] may think we need.

We have already several hundred dollars collected. Will it not be best not to send this money to Boston, but that you make an appropriation which will authorize the committee to make an expenditure for the outfit. We hold ourselves under your direction and advice.

We wish you to answer this communication as soon as you can.

With esteem SAMU'L PARKER, *Ch. of Com.*

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THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, AUBURN, March 14th, 1834.

*To the Reverend Doctor Wisner*

DEAR SIR—Mr. *John Dunbar* of the middle class in this Institution has been applied to by the Reverend Mr Parker of Ithaca, to join him in a mission to the Indians west of the Rocky mountains,—and he has consented to go, provided those who are competent to advise in the case shall think it best. From Mr Parkers statement it appears that one of the young men at Ithaca who had agreed to embark in this mission has declined; and the object now is to supply his place. We think the Mission important, and if the Board are prepared to commence it, should much regret its failure, for the present, for want of one man. We have consented therefore to name to you Mr Dunbar, as a young man in every respect suitable for such a mission, had he only completed his theological course. He is about thirty years of age, has good health, a good personal appearance and address. His intellectual powers are fully equal to, perhaps above, mediocrity, and his scholarship respectable. But his most prominent characteristics are his *gravity*, his *judiciousness*, his *consistent* and *uniform piety*. he never puts himself forward, nor claims more than his due, but when *properly* called to act, he is *prompt energetic* and *persevering*. Mild and amiable in his natural temper he seems to be much liked among his brethren & enjoys their unreserved confidence. Still as he has not completed his course he has some doubts, and we have doubts also, whether it is his duty, to go at this call. Our doubts have arisen partly on his own acct, and partly on account of others. Doubtless he would be better furnished, and more likely to be extremely useful, were he to stay and complete his studies. But then he is *now* wanted, and his age and experience and natural good sense might compensate somewhat for his want of more thorough training. The kind of instruction, too, which he may be expected to impart, would not necessarily demand all that fulness and accuracy of investigation which is so desireable in those who minister to an intelligent community. We have had some fears, lest taking a man out of the seminary at his stage of study, would have an unfavourable influence on the minds of others, leading them to think that a three years work [?] was not exactly necessary—and hardly *right*, when the calls for the public service were so loud and so multiplied. In the present case

however we shall not object, if you and the board think it necessary to appoint our young brother to the service to which he is invited. You will be able to judge better than any body else, as to what is expedient in the case. Mr. Dunbar appears to feel right on the subject, and will doubtless be satisfied with whatever decision the Board shall make in relation to him. Mr. Dunbar is a beneficiary of the Presbyterian Education Society. How far they ought to be consulted in the case you can best determine.

Very respectfully yours

JAMES RICHARDS
M. L. R. PERRINE
HENRY MILLS

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[Addressed to Rev. David Greene, Missionary Rooms, Boston, Mass.]

HADLEY, April 15, 1834.

REV. AND DEAR SIR—Your communication of March 29, containing my appointment, as a Missionary of the Board to accompany Rev. S. [Samuel] Parker and Mr. Allis [Samuel Allis, jr.] in their proposed tour to the tribes west of the Rocky Mountains, was duly received. Since the receipt of your letter, I have visited my friends, and consulted with them with respect to my engaging in this Mission; I have also written to the Secretary of Pres'n [Presbyterian] Education Society, but have as yet received no reply, of course, I cannot now say what objections to my leaving my studies at this stage shall be made from this source. My friends feel somewhat indisposed to give me up to engage in this work at so short notice, but, I think, they will not throw any insurmountable obstacles in my way. Some think that I am a foolhardy fellow to engage in it, but I have not yet thought I was going mad, because I was about to make a feeble attempt to obey the last command of our exalted Saviour. Be this as it may, I feel perfectly willing, so far as I alone am concerned, to give myself up to the work and to wear out in laboring to promote the cause of my Master wherever he shall send me. I regret, that I am not better prepared for this work, and shall at present go out under rather unfavorable circumstances, not having finished my studies etc. but I prefer that the Providence of God should decide when and where I shall go.

My anticipated companion (of whom Mr. Parker has, as it seems, given you some information) makes no objection to this field of labor, and will be ready to enter it, as soon as shall be deemed expedient, provided she can be conveyed thither in a proper manner. She thinks it would be quite a trial to perform so long and difficult a journey unprotected and with none but strangers for companions in travel. To go out in this manner she would not feel disposed. With a reinforcement, if females should make a part, she would consent to undertake the journey, but would prefer to go out with a *protector*. You would not, I presume, deem it advisable that I should return so soon after commencing a station should we be succeeded in this enterprise. I think I should not desire to return on my own account, as it would tend to retard the

operations of the mission. Miss Smith's parents and friends do not at present feel disposed to have her go beyond the Mountains till I shall return and accompany her to the field of our future labors. How long they will continue to think thus I cannot say. It would indeed be very pleasant to go out to our work with the approbation of all our friends, but this we cannot expect under existing circumstances. I have been free in stating these things and I hope you will be perfectly free in advising us, and in using any means you may think proper to effect a different state of feeling among our friends on this subject. To our friends the difficulties and dangers that are to attend this mission appear like huge mountains, and they are indeed many and great, but so long as we look at and magnify these we shall accomplish nothing—we shall never "preach the gospel to every creature." I hope you will not gather from any thing that I have written that I am unwilling to go on this expedition. I hold myself in readiness to go unless the Education Soc. should bring forward such objections as united with those of our friends should render it inconsistent for me to leave. I am very sorry that there are any obstacles in the way, and shall hope and pray that these may all be removed soon and the work begun and carried forward with success. I shall hope to hear from you very soon. J. DUNBAR.

P. S. Please direct your reply to Ware.

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[Addressed to Rev. David Greene, Missionary Rooms, Boston, Mass.]

ITHACA, April 28, 1834.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR—Your last I received while at Ware. This morning your letter of April 21., addressed to the Rev. Mr. Parker, containing our commissions etc. came to hand. We now anticipate starting from this place on our contemplated tour on Monday 5th May.

Since my return to this place, I have received a communication from the Secretary of the Presbyterian Education Society, containing a dismission from said Society. I do not now know of any obstacles to prevent my engaging in the proposed Mission, heartily and for life, should my present good degree of health be continued. I look on our contemplated field of labor as a very interesting one, and rejoice in the fair prospect I now have of being permitted to enter it. May the blessing of Almighty God attend our feeble efforts to extend the knowledge of salvation by Jesus Christ among our red brethren of the western wilderness.

I have a favor to ask of you, Dear Sir; it is this; (you will of course grant it or not as you shall think proper) I wish you to write to Miss Smith, or her parents, either, or both as you shall see fit, and assure them, that whenever it shall be deemed advisable, she should go out to her field of future labor, such arrangements will be made by your committee for her conveyance thither, either by my returning to accompany her, or her being provided with other suitable company for the journey as shall be entirely satisfactory to herself and friends. This assurance you have given me in your last. What you then said was I believe satisfactory to Miss. S. Her parents are as willing to have her go to the country west of the mountains as to any spot on heathen ground, but they are somewhat

inclined to find fault with any manner by which she might be sent out, unless I should return to be her company. Some assurance of the kind above named would render her situation more pleasant and remove the cause of some unpleasant remarks or feelings on the part of her friends. I wish to leave Miss S. and her friends in a condition as little disagreeabl[e] as possible in this respect. If you can consistently grant this request you will much oblige me.

I shall not have time to hear from you again while in this place, but should be very happy to hear from you when we shall arrive at St. Louis.

Yours respectfully, JOHN DUNBAR.

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[Copy of a certificate received from Rev. John J. Owen, secretary of the Presbyterian Education Society:]

"This may certify that Mr. John Dunbar is a regular beneficiary of the Presbyterian Education Society, and as such he is honorably and affectionately dismissed, for the purpose of entering into the service of the A. B. C. F. M. as a missionary. J. J. OWEN *Sec. P. E. S.*"

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[Addressed to Rev. David Greene, secretary A. B. C. F. M., Boston, Mass.]

CANTONMENT LEAVENWORTH, July 29, 1834.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR—Have the goodness to excuse me for troubling you so soon with another communication. Having waited, with anxiety to hear from you, but hitherto vainly, I have determined to send you this, that you may know where we are and what we are doing. Though midsummer is past we have made but little progress into the Indian country. We had anticipated being at the agency before this, but have been unexpectedly delayed.

Having come to St. Louis, and learned, that on account of the lateness of our arrival we would not have an opportunity to cross the mountains the present year with any safety, a letter was forwarded to you by Mr. Parker, containing information of our disappointment, and of the course we had resolved to pursue till we should receive further instructions from your Committee. To that communication no reply has been received.

*June 5.* Mr. Parker set out on his return to Ithaca by way of Macinaw. That he should leave us and return, was to us, when first proposed, entirely new and unexpected. A main object with him seemed to be the establishment of a mission beyond the Rocky Mountains, not being able to effect his object the present year, he felt himself at liberty to return. By pursuing such a course, he thought, he would best promote the cause of missions. Mr. Allis and myself could not on the whole approve of this course, though we did not feel ourselves at liberty decidedly to disapprove of it. He acted on his own responsibility.

We we were unanimous, that Mr. Allis and myself should proceed, and as soon as practicable visit the Pawnees etc., unless we should be instructed otherwise by your committee. Major Doughety, agent for the Pawnees, Omahaws and Otoes, informed us he would proceed up to his

station about the last of June or first of July. At this season, he told us, the Pawnees would be absent on their summer hunt, and would not return till about the first of September. Instead therefore of proceeding directly to the Pawnee villages, we deemed it advisable to ascend the Missouri to some healthy place on the frontiers, wait his arrival and accompany him to his station. We supposed it would be much to our advantage to be introduced to these Indians by him as he had promised to aid us what he could in our undertaking. He has great influence with these Indians, and is esteemed a candid man.

*June 7.* We left St. Louis in the Steamboat Ioway. Having been detained two weeks by the boat. The boats that ply on the Missouri do not leave St. Louis, till they are fully laden, which is usually some days or even weeks after they have advertised to leave. On account of the sandbars, snags, sawyers and the changeableness of the channel boat on the Missouri do not run by night.

*June 14.* Arrived at Liberty, 400 miles from St. Louis by the course of the river, and 320 by land. We remained at Liberty till 24th and then proceeded by land to the Cantonment, some 30 miles distant. This is truly a beautiful place. The prairie scenery is much finer than I had anticipated. Since we came to the place, I have anxiously waited for Major D. or the ascending boat, but have hithertoo waited in vain. I have become weary of this delay. I shall pass up by land or by boat as soon as I shall be able. The boat may be so full of cholera as to be unsafe, and an opportunity to go by land may not occur for some weeks. I will try to wait patiently.

Since coming to this place, I have visited the Kickapoo, the Delaware and the Shawnee Missions under the direction of our Methodist brethren. I have also visited the Shawnee Baptist Mission, and would have visited some of the Missions of our own Board, and that of our Presbyterian brethren among the Weahs and Piankeshaws, if I had known, we should have been detained so long at this place. The Kickapoo Mission is 5 miles above the cantonment. The Delaware Mission is 23 miles below on the Konzas. The Shawnee Mission is 5 miles from the Delaware on the opposite side of the Konzas. The Baptist Shawnee station is 4 miles from the Methodist. By the missionaries at these several stations we have been received and entertained with the utmost kindness. Our peculiarities have not prevented our having communion, sweet with brethren of a different name. From the Missionaries at these stations I have acquired all the information, I could, that I supposed would be useful to me in my undertaking. From personal observation of the Indians, and conversation with them, I have endeavoured to obtain all the knowledge my means would allow of the Indian character, mode of living, etc. Indians are to be seen at the Cantonment almost every day. Here I have seen Kickapoos, Delawares, Shawnees, Konzas, Ioways, Potawatomies, Wyandots, Sacs, Otoes, Miamies etc. The Otoes are neighbors to the Pawnees. They wear very little clothing during this warm weather. They usually have a blanket or buffalo robe with them but they oftener carry them on their arms or trail them on the ground than wear them. Our Baptist brethren have a missionary at Major D's. agency who is to be stationed

among the Otoes. They say they are intending to send a missionary to the Omahows (whom an agent of theirs has visited) as soon as a proper person can be found. Our Baptist and Methodist brethren have taken occasion to inform us, they had designed to visit the Pawnees with a view to the commencement of a Mission among them. Mr. McCoy, a Baptist said they had obtained permission of the Pawnee chiefs and of the government to commence schools among them. What is to be done in such cases?

Mr. Allis has not enjoyed good health since we set out on our tour. He has now become quite feeble. I think it very doubtful whether he will be able to proceed further this summer. I shall proceed as I have said unless you instruct me otherwise, and Mr. Allis, if he should not recover his health, so as to go on with me, will remain at the Kickapoo Mission. I have just returned from a conference of the Missionaries of different denominations in this section of the Indian country. The conference was held at the Shawnee Baptist Mission. Missionaries present were Mr. Berryman, Peery and Johnson, Methodist. Messrs. McCoy, Lykins, Meeker, Simmerwell and Blanchard Baptist. Pixley, Kerr and myself Presbyterian. The meeting was a profitable one I was disposed to think.

J. DUNBAR.

[Written around the edge of the first page:]

Please direct your communications Cantonment Leavenworth. A weekly mail comes up to this place, and an express once a month comes down from the Bluffs.

I shall hope to hear from you soon.

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ITHACA, July 24th, 1834.

*Rev. David Greene, Miss. Rooms, Boston:*

DEAR SIR—Having ascertained the course which the missionaries from this church have taken, in relation to the Pawnees, the committee of this church passed the following resolution,

"Resolved, That if our Missionary brethern deem it best, under all the circumstances of the case, to locate themselves among the Pawnee Indians on the Platte river, this committee recommend to the church to adopt that as their missionary ground."

At the close of the afternoon service on the following Sabbath, the above resolution was presented to the congregation, when it was approved by a considerable number of the supporters of the Mission rising in favour.

This is done thinking that there will be more interest taken in that mission from the fact, that Mr. Allis is a member of this church, and also Miss Palmer, if the Board see fit to send her to join him in the mission, and that this people have become acquainted in some measure with Mr. Dunbar.

This is also done, that you may know the feelings of this people, holding ourselves ready, notwithstanding, to take your advice and direction in this business, and under the expectation, that the American Board will prosecute the mission, beyond the Mountains

We feel a deep interest in the welfare of those remote tribes and cannot for a moment cherish the idea, that the friends of Missions, in our country would be willing that there should be any unnecessary delay in sending them the Gospel, but the leadings of Providence, in the case of our missionaries, seems to be clearly manifest

As the Rev Mr Parker was appointed to explore, and not expected to remain in any permanent location, we feel, that should we still retain the Mission beyond the Mountains and should the number be filled by young men, who are strangers, there would be less interest felt in them, in Ithaca, than in Messrs Dunbar and Allis

The Committee feel desirous that the Board send out Miss Palmer, at a suitable time to join Mr Allis as a partner in his labours and would hereby recommend her as a suitable person for this service

Our dear brother Parker who comes to you by our advice, will be the bearer of this, and as he will confer with you personally, on all subjects connected with the Pawnee Mission we deem it unnecessary now to say more

With the same ardent love, as we hope for the conversion of the world, we subscribe ourselves

Yours in the fellowship of the Gospel

HARLEY LORD
WM P. LUCE
A. S. JOHN [?]
JUSTUS SLATER
*Com.*

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[Journal of John Dunbar, Bellevue, May 27, 1835, addressed to Rev. David Greene, Missionary Rooms, Boston, Mass.]

Arrived at St. Louis, May 23d, 6 o'clock P. M, and took lodgings for the night at the Missouri Hotel. Next day was introduced to Mr. Torode and his lady, with whom Mr. Allis and myself remained, till our departure from the City. Mr. T. is a member of the second Presbyterian church, and a warm hearted christian. He keeps a chamber for the prophets of the Lord to turn into, when they pass that way. This apartment, we were politely invited to occupy during our stay at the place. The kindness of these christian friends, we gratefully acknowledge, and shall not soon forget.

After our arrival, we proceeded, without delay, to collect what information we could with respect to our contemplated tour across the mountains. On enquiry we learned, the company with whom we should have crossed the mountains, if we crossed at all this season, had started from St. Louis, 6 weeks previous to our arrival. We were now at least 8 weeks too late to have made the necessary preparations, to have acquired the requisite information, and to have been in readiness to join that company at the time of their leaving this City.

The unanimous opinion, of our christian friends, who seemed to feel a deep interest in our mission, and of others whom we consulted, and who were qualified to judge in this matter, was against our attempting

to cross the moutains alone, or attended only by a guide, if we should be so fortunate as to procure one, which was considered very doubtful under existing circumstances. They said, to proceed unattended would be rashness in us, since we were entirely unacquainted with the mode of procuring subsistence in the western wilds, and of the manner of travelling through them. The hostility of some tribes through whose country we should be obliged to pass and the theivish plundering habits of others, would render our way exceedingly unsafe. On the whole such a course was considered by them, as little better than throwing away our lives, without at all benifitting the cause in which we were engaged.

After having weighed these objections, deliberately looked at the subject in all its bearings, so far as was in our power at the time, and scught direction from the great Giver of wisdom, we unanimously resolved to relinquish the undertaking, at least, for the present year. This being done, it became necessary for us to form some plan by which to be guided in our future operations.

We had already acquired information that would be of essential service to us in determining our future course; but knowing, that it is not in man that walketh to direct his steps, and being taught by experience, that our most sanguine expectations may end in disappointment, Mr. Allis and myself thought proper to seek unto the Lord for direction, and commit our ways unto him. We accordingly agreed to set apart a day, which we spent in fasting and special prayer to be guided by wisdom from on high in all our deliberations and undertakings. We felt that a high responsibility devolved on us, that we were not sufficient of ourselves for the work to which we were sent, and we had strong desires, that God would give us wisdom, and open to us a door of usefulness among the benighted tribes of our western wilds.

When we met to deliberate on our future course, Mr. Parker, our elder brother, informed us, he had come to the conclusion, it would most promote the cause in which we were all engaged, that he should return to Ithaca by way of Macinaw, see Mr. Stuart who had resided sometime west of the mountains, acquire all the information he should be able, communicate the same to the Board, and consult with your Committee with respect to the propriety of sending explorers beyond the mountains the ensuing season. If it should be deemed advisable to do so, he thought, he might render essential service to the Board by assisting to procure men for the expedition and in preparing their outfit. That he had an idea of returning, was to us, at the time, altogether new and unexpected. His main object, however, seemed to have been from the beginning, to lead an expedition across the Rocky Mountains, and establish a mission beyond them. Considering this as his appropriate mark, and not being able, at present, to proceed in it, he felt himself at liberty to return.

As the Prudential Committee had mentioned in the instructions given us several tribes, which were represented as in a favorable state to receive missionaries, among which were the Otoes, Omohaws, and Pawnees, on this side of the mountains, Mr. Allis and myself deemed it advisable under existing circumstances, and as following the instructions we had received to proceed to the tribes above named, and if practicable,

to commence a mission among them. Mr. Parker fully concurred with us in this opinion. Our plans for future proceedings were now formed, and communicated to our Committee in a letter written by Mr. Parker, and forwarded from St. Louis.

We had an interview with Major Dougherty, the government agent for the Pawnees, Omohaws and Otoes, who resides near the City, and acquired from him what information he was able to give concerning these tribes. He corroborated what your Committee had said with respect to the two latter tribes. The Pawnees, he thought, were not in so favorable a state for the establishment of a mission among them as the others. The establishment of a mission at all among them, at present, would depend very much, he thought, on the ratification by our government of a treaty stipulated with them during the past year.[3] Should the provisions of this treaty be acceded to by our government, a door of access would, he said, be opened to missionary operations among them. He promised to do all in his power to assist us, should we think proper to visit them. These Indians have not, till recently, had much intercourse with the whites, and have been considered, as a wild, hostile, ferocious, and treacherous people. They are divided into four bands, and number about 11,000.

Having obtained what information we could, respecting the interior tribes, their numbers, manners, customs, etc. etc., and formed our plans for future operations, it was judged expedient to leave St. Louis, as soon as a favorable opportunity should present. At this season cases of the cholera were occurring frequently, and we were unacclimated.

*Saturday, June 7.* At sunset Mr. Allis and myself embarked in the steamboat Ioway, Capt. Shallcross, for Liberty, the county town of Clay, the most western county in the state on the north side of the Missouri. We proceeded up the Mississippi 18 miles to the mouth of the Missouri, where we "laid by" till daylight. Our boat did not run at all during the night on the Missouri. There are so many snags, sawyers, sandbars, etc. and this mighty stream, though it has rolled down its vast flood of waters to the ocean's bosom, ever since the deluge retiring formed its course, is so constantly changing its channel, as to render it unsafe to run by night, especially in ascending that river. The water of the Missouri is very turbid. It is of a clayey colour, owing to a mixture of fine sand, which is soon preciptated, when placed in a vessel, and left undisturbed. Though the water of this river appears so very dirty, yet it is very palatable, and considered very wholesome. The people who live near the stream, I was

3. The articles in this treaty, concluded October 9, 1833, and ratified April 12, 1834, which made the Pawnees accessible to the civilization offered by the whites, had to do with the promotion of agriculture among them. The United States agreed to allow the bands $500 each annually, in agricultural implements, payment to be continued as long as the President thought proper. The government further agreed to allow the Pawnees $1,000 a year for ten years for schools; to furnish them two blacksmiths and two strikers, with shop, tools, iron, etc., for a period of ten years; for five years to furnish each of the four bands with a farmer, and to deliver to the farmers, for the benefit of the Pawnee Nation, $1,000 worth of stock. A horse mill for grinding corn was to be erected for each of the four bands. On their part, the Pawnees, besides ceding all lands south of the Platte, were to locate themselves in "convenient agricultural districts and remain in these districts the whole year, so as to give protection to the teachers, the farmers, stock and mill."—See "Treaties Between the U. S. of America, and the Several Indian Tribes, from 1778 to 1837" (1837), p. 604.

informed, use its waters in preference to those of the fountains in its vicinity. I have become very fond of the river water, and think, I have never tasted any more pleasant. The banks of this mighty rushing stream are very much exposed to be washed away, and are indeed almost constantly falling in. The sites of some of the old French settlements have been borne away by its waters, and where once stood the peaceful dwelling of the peasant, Missouri's deep and rapid current flows. The soil, that is taken from one bank, is carried down some distance and deposited on the opposite side. Thus extensive flats are formed, and these soon covered with a luxuriant growth of cottonwood, which is found in abundance on the Missouri bottoms.

The banks, though for the most part low, occasionally rise into high bluffs, which present an imposing aspect, as viewed from the river. In some instances these bluffs rise, almost or quite perpendicularly, their summits terminating in a solid rock, in others they are covered with shrubbery to the very top. These rocks, in some places, have all the regularity and beauty, that could have been imparted, if wrought by the chisel of the artist.

The bluffs furnish an agreeable variety in the scenery viewed from the river, which, were it not for these occasional elevations, would become very tiresome, on account of its sameness. There are few villages, or settlements of any kind to be seen from the river. In some places not a dwelling of any kind is discovered for many miles together. The few villages that are situated near the river, are mostly built on the bluffs. Generally the settlements are some distance from the river, and at the landing nothing is to be seen but a log storehouse.

*Sabbath, June 8.* Passed St. Charles, situated on a rising ground on the north side of the Missouri, distant from St. Louis 19 miles by land, and 40 by the course of the river. Had religious services today on board the boat. At one o'clock p. m. Rev. Mr. Chamberlain of Boonville delivered a sermon, that was listened to with apparent interest. Most of the passengers attended the meeting. It was a solemn season and I trust good was done. We were expecting to have had a second sermon in the evening, but the boat made a landing just before our meeting should have commenced and we were prevented.

*June 9.* Passed the mouth of the Gasconade, and Portland a comparatively new settlement on the right bank of the river.

*June 10.* Passed the Osage river, and Jefferson City, the capital of the state of Missouri, situated on a high bluff. The site is quite uneven and not remarkably pleasant. It is built on no less little hills than old Rome. Laid by during the night at Nashville.

*June 11.* Passed Rockport [Rocheport,], Boonville, the most pleasantly situated village that I saw on the Missouri, and Franklin, situated on a low unhealthy bottom opposite Boonville.

*June 12.* Passed Arrow Rock, a high bluff against which the river is very narrow, and rapid, and Chariton, situated on a small creek a short distance from the Missouri.

*June 13.* Passed the mouth of Grand River, a delightful spot.

*June 14.* Passed Lexington and Richmond, and arrived at Liberty landing (at 7 o'clock p. m.) having been 7 days on our passage Distance from St. Louis to Liberty 400 miles by the course of the river, and 320 by land. The village is pleasantly situated 4 miles from the landing, and about 10 from the western boundary of the state.

*Sabbath morning, June 15.* Took leave of our christian friends, Capt. S. and Mr. Dunnica, clerk of the Ioway, whose kindness and liberality we would gratefully acknowledge, and walked up to the village, where we attended meeting in the courthouse, and listened to a sermon from Rev. Mr. Yantis, to whom we had the pleasure of being introduced, and for whom I was invited to preach in the afternoon. Mr. Y. is the only clergyman of our order in the county. He is a young man recently from Kentucky, and has a church, consisting of between 30 and 40 members, who are scattered through the entire county.

This brother invited us to take up our abode with him while we should stay in the place. His invitation we gladly accepted, and were treated with christian kindness, both by brother Y. and his lady. With them we passed the time of our stay at Liberty very pleasantly.

This is a pleasant country with a good soil. It produces fine crops with little labor. Indian corn is the grain principally cultivated, and is produced in abundance. The hoe is used very little, if at all, in cultivating the cornfield. Wheat, oats, flax, hemp, etc., are cultivated successfully.

Thunder storms are frequent at this season in this section of country. During our stop at Liberty, I heard more thunder, and saw more lightning, than I have witnessed in Massachusetts for whole years. Indeed we had very few days, while at the place, in which we did not have thunder and rain. Later in the season, I was informed thunderstorms were more rare. Another inconvenience which this country experiences are the violent winds that sometimes prevail. Whole forests are prostrated before the destructive hurricane, and the stubborn oak that will not bend is compelled to break by the resistless blast. The woodlands here extend from the Missouri several miles into the interior, then commences the wide spread prairies. The smaller streams are skirted with forests of greater or less extent.

The Baptists are the most numerous religious denomination in Clay county. There are some Cumberland Presbyterians, a few Methodists, some Campbellites, and a number of Mormons at the present time. It is said, the Baptists, the most numerous and influential sect in the county, are decidedly opposed to Sunday schools, Missionary, Bible, Tract, etc., Societies. It is much to be desired that these days of prejudice may speedily pass away, and the pure benevolence of the gospel expand all hearts.

A strong prejudice prevails in this part of the country against missionaries, and if it is known, that a man is a missionary a sufficient reason is at once furnished for not going to hear him preach. It makes little difference whether the man be sent by a Foreign, or Domestic Board—that he is a missionary is sufficient to prevent his having a crowded audience. Some care little about preaching of any kind, others

dislike to be considered as heathen and have missionaries sent to preach to them. They would prefer to pay their preachers themselves, or do without them altogether.

It is not every eastern man that can interest an audience in this section of the country. Our Home Missionary Society may have erred in sending out men, who were not qualified to be useful in the western field. The missionaries, that have been sent to the west by this Society, may have also erred in endeavoring to introduce eastern customs, and manners before the people were ripe for them—in being too much attached to his own or eastern notions—in being too ready to condemn whatever was not in accordance with his own views—and in not being willing to become a western man and adopt a western mode of living. To be useful here, a man must transform himself into a western man in the first place, and then produce a reformation in society, if he can. It will not do to denounce the existing state of society in toto in any place. This must be done piecemeal. Improvements too must be made a piece at a time. He, that would be useful in this field, must be careful not to excite the strong prejudices of those for whose good he labors. I would not be understood, from what I have said, as attaching any blame, either to the proceedings of the above named Society, or the men employed by it. I only say, they may have erred in some of those things, that I have mentioned.

*June 24.* We started in the morning from Liberty for Cantonment Leavenworth. After travelling a few miles we entered the prairie. Our eyes had not before beheld one of any considerable extent, and we were delighted with gazing on objects, at once so new, and a sight of which we had so long and much desired.

Through these prairies we walked leisurely, that we might have time to view all the beauties of the place, as we passed. Flowers bloomed on every side, diffusing their sweetness through the balmy air, that with gentle breezes fanned us, and beautifully waved the luxuriant prairie grass. It was, at first, but with an effort, I could make myself believe these openings were not the work of man. The scenery appeared doubly fine, when I reflected, that all this was nature's work—the work of God. I now realized, it was the perfection of art to imitate nature well. Art, or man's device could not equal, certainly could not excel, some prairie prospects I have viewed. The prairies, we passed, were not level, but rolling. The rising ground and depressions along which our path led with their different flowers and grass, and their diverse hues, afforded an agreeable variety and kept our route from becoming tiresome. The streams we passed were skirted with woodlands, the width of which usually varied with the size of the stream. Clusters of trees and single trees were often seen standing out some distance in the prairies, and sometimes even in the midst of them.

We arrived at the Little Platte, 25 miles distant from Liberty, at 3 o'clock p. m. Being somewhat fatigued with our walk, we concluded to wait till the next morning before we proceeded farther. A ferry is kept here for the convenience of the establishment at Fort Leavenworth, and others who may wish to pass into the Indian Country. This stream is

fordable at low water, but is now very much swolen by the recent rains. The country on the Little Platte is covered with fine timber for considerable distance on either side, and the soil is considered as excellent. No person is permitted by our government to settle on lands without the boundaries of the state of Missouri.

*June 25.* On account of a thunderstorm in the former part of the day, we did not leave the Platte till 2 o'clock p. m. Our route lay through a dense forest, and for the last two or three miles led through the Missouri bottom, where the mud was 6 or 8 inches deep at every step in the road. If we turned out of the road to walk among the rushes with which the bottom is covered, we shunned the mud, in some degree to be sure, but we came in contact with a species of nettle, altogether more painful than the mud. Beside these evils, a third was to be experienced in an army of moschetoes, which disputed, bravely enough, every inch of our way through the bottom. We, at length however, overcame all these obstacles to our progress, and arrived at the ferry house on the Missouri, in about four hours from the time we left the Platte. Distance 8 miles. We staid over night with the ferryman, and had as good entertainment, as his establishment afforded.

*June 26.* Crossed over to Cantonment Leavenworth. After having given our names to the sentinel, and told him our business, he reported us to the commanding officer. When he had done this, he told us we might pass. Accordingly we passed up to the Cantonment, and reported ourselves to the commandant, Major Thompson, by whom we were very kindly received, and granted the privilege of free ingress to, and egress from the station, while we should remain at, or near the place. We had been introduced to Maj. T. and the object of our mission made known to him, while fellow passengers from Louisville to St. Louis. At St. Louis we had seen him, and he had told us he would do all in his power to assist in our undertaking. He invited us to dine with him. We accepted the invitation and were introduced to his accomplished lady. By both the Maj. and, his lady we have been treated with the utmost kindness. We are happy to see them manifest so deep an interest in our mission.

Soon after we came to this post, we became acquainted with Major Morgan and his lady. They invited us to make their house our home, while we stopped at the Cantonment. This invitation we thankfully accepted, and have been for several days, enjoying their hospitality. Mrs. M. is a member of the Presbyterian church, and formerly from Lexington Kentucky. These people have shewn us much kindness, may the Lord reward them and do them good.

Cantonment Leavenworth is beautifully situated on a rising ground near the southern shore of the Missouri. The bank of the river at this place is composed of limerock, rising several feet above the surface of the water, and is covered with verdure to the very edge. (Recently the earth has all been removed from this rock for several feet, and a fine promenade formed.) This rock at a distance appears like an artificial wall, built to protect the bank from being washed away by the strong current, that continually sets against it. A place has been broken down in this rock to form a landing. From this landing you ascend about 100

feet in going back from the stream some 50 rods. You then come on a level with the Cantonment, and the eye rests with delight on the scene spread out before you. The enclosure, at this season, covered with a beautiful green, and set with fine trees, pruned, indeed, by the hands of man, but purely of nature's growth, the neat white buildings of the establishment, including the residences of the officers, the quarters of the soldiers, the hospital, etc., the fine scenery of the back ground, the wide spreading prairie, the deep green forest, and the distant highlands, are all presented to the view of the enchanted beholder at the same time, and he finds himself at a loss which most to admire. He looks and admires, and looks again, and still admires the untiring variety of beautiful objects, spread in rich profusion before him. From this lovely spot, the wild Missouri too is seen in all its native granduer, skirted with deep untouched forests. An exceedingly fine prairie view is seen off to the left of the Cantonment, extending several miles. It is bounded on one side by the narrow strip of woodland that skirts the Missouri, and on the other by a beautiful ridge of highland, which bands round the prairie in a handsome curve. The summit of this highland presents a fine appearance, being in parts of its course entirely destitute of timber, in other parts there are a few scattered trees or clusters of trees, but all covered with a rich green coat of prairie grass. The southern extremity of this ridge is the highest point of land within some hundreds of miles of the Cantonment. This prairie is for the most part destitute of trees, except on its borders, where are some few clusters of trees or single trees, which, when viewed from a distance, having a striking resemblance to those sometimes left by the husbandman for shades when he clears his lands. A natural, and especially a prairie landscape of this kind has this advantage over an artificial one, however beautiful it may appear at first sight. In the artificial landscape there are certain lines or boundaries, which divide its several parts from each other. The fancy may labor to fritter away these dividing lines, and form others that shall add new beauty to the scene, but can never entirely succeed. The old boundaries are still there. It is the same landscape still, and after a while it tires. But the prairie never wearies. In it there are no dividing lines that may not be warped[?] to please the fancy. So long as this can be done at pleasure, the eye of the beholder does not tire. Fancy loves to play in the prairies. There untrammeled she forms creations of her own, and delights in the exercise of her plastic powers.

*Friday, June 27.* In the afternoon walked out to the Kickapoo village, 5 miles from the Cantonment, where our Methodist brethren have a station. When we arrived the brother, who has charge of the station, was absent, and on account of the rain did not return till Sabbath afternoon. We introduced ourselves to his lady by whom we were kindly entertained till his return. This is a new station. Mr. [Jerome C.] Berryman is the first missionary, that has been stationed among this people. He has been with them about 6 months, and has a school, containing about 40 scholars. The Kickapoos have two villages, about a mile from each other. One of them is inhabited by the prophet's band, which consists of those who have embraced the prophets religion, or are friendly to it. The other village

is occupied by a band of irreligious Indians. The prophets religion is one, that he has compiled from various sources, evidently though he professes to have received it directly from God.

The prophet being the author of their religion has an almost unbounded influence with his followers. Whatever the prophet says is law and gospel with them. His religion has a moral tendency. His followers strictly observe the Sabbath, drink no spirituous liquors, neither steal, tell falsehoods, nor use profane language. These things he prohibits. But whether he prohibits every vicious practice is quite doubtful. His religion may, perhaps, be said to be good, so far as it goes, but how far it does go precisely, I have not been able to ascertain.

The followers of the prophet have religious services regularly on the Sabbath, and frequently at other times during the week. During religious worship many of the worshippers appear extremely devout. The evening we arrived at the Mission, we attended one of their prayer meetings. Several prayers were offered, all in Kickapoo, and apparently with much devotion.

*Sabbath, June 29.* In the morning attended the Kickapoo meeting. At 11 A. M. the hour for commencing their services, criers passed about through the village and called the people together. Their place of meeting was under some large trees in an open space in the midst of the villages. First came 3 or 4 principal men, and took their places, and stood repeating the prayers from their paddles till the congregation was assembled. The women and children began to assemble first. They came in following each other, and passed before these men at their prayers, shook hands with each of them, and then proceeded round to their seats, which were their blankets spread on the ground. Each individual occupies the same seat from Sabbath to Sabbath, at least this is the case with the women and children. The women were seated on the left of the speaker, the children in front, and the men on the right. After the assembly had come together, and were properly seated, the prophet came forward, took his stand, and commenced his discourse, which he continued more than an hour. He was followed by two others who spoke briefly. After prayer and singing the meeting was closed. All again passed round, shook hands, and retired to their lodges, still repeating their paddle prayers. The paddle, as it is called, is a piece of wood, wrought into a peculiar shape. In this piece of wood are cut certain hieroglyphics, which are to be learned by all the followers of the prophet, and the prayers for which they stand to be repeated at their seasons devotion. These paddles are held as peculiarly sacred by them.

During the services at their religious meetings, several men, appointed for the purpose, went about through the assembly, each with his rod in his hand, to keep order among the children and dogs, and to see that each person was in his proper place. One or more of these men attend the school and keep order among the scholars. Friday of each week is called the whipping day with them. On this day all those who may have been charged with misdemeanors, during the preceding week, are tried, and if found guilty receive a flogging on the spot. Parents do not chastise their own children but trust to these regulators to perform this duty

for them. Might it not be well for some parents, who neglect their duty in this respect, or rather for their children, who receive no correction for their misdeeds, if proper persons were appointed for the same purpose in our land?

At four Sabbath afternoon the missionary held a meeting in the schoolhouse, and made some remarks to the audience which were interpreted in Kickapoo. The prophet also remarked. Several prayers were offered, some in Kickapoo, and others in English. All united in singing so far as they were able. The meeting was attended by about 50 natives.

*June 30.* Returned in the morning to the Cantonment, where we remained till July 3. During this time nothing of special interest transpired. Was employed most of the time in writing.

*July 3.* Walked down to the Delaware Mission, 23 miles distant. Our route lay through the prairie, most of the way. Had some fine views of the prairie country. On our arrival we introduced ourselves to the Methodist brother, missionary at this station. He had commenced his labors with the Delawares 5 or 6 months previous to our visit. He has a school of about 20 scholars. A church has been gathered among this people by the Methodist, and another, I think by the Baptist brethren. The Baptist teacher among the Delawares, we did not see on our visit. The Delawares have a good country—many of them good loghouses and cornfields—cattle and horses and would seem to be in a fair way to improve, were it not for whiskey—the deadliest enemy to Indian improvement. Some of them do not use this intoxicating poison and improve rapidly. How the Indians get their whiskey, right in the face of the severe laws of the United States against selling it to them, others know better than I do.

*July 4.* Crossed the Konzas and proceeded to the Methodist Shawnee mission, 5 miles distant. Made ourselves known to the Missionaries at this station, with whom we staid till the next morning. They have gathered a church and have a flourishing school. This mission is in an interesting state. One of the principal chiefs I was informed has recently become a convert. He is very much opposed by the other chiefs. They have threatened to kill him, but he still continues steadfast in the faith.

*July 5.* Visited the Baptist station among the Shawnees, distant 4 miles. Found here two missionaries, neither of whom is destined to remain permanently at this station. One of them is a printer, has been employed in missionary labors about 8 years, and is expecting to locate himself among the Ottawas, when they shall have become settled on their lands. The other is to labor with the Potawatomies, as soon as they remove to their country. There is no school at this station at present, but the brethren go out and teach the children at the houses of their parents. They think they shall succeed better in civilizing and christianizing the Indians to learn their language, prepare books for them, and teach them to read in their own tongue, than to teach them in the English language. This seems to be more pleasing to the Indians, themselves, they say, than learning in our language.

The Methodist Board allow their missionaries at these stations to cul-

tivate a farm, and raise their own provisions, and to give the children, that attend their schools, their dinners, or even their entire board, as they think proper; but the Baptist Board give their missionaries only a bare support, and instruct them to give their whole labor to communicating religious instruction, etc. cultivating no more land, than is sufficient for a garden. There is this difference in the modes of conducting the missions of their respective Boards at these stations. Which mode is, on the whole, preferable, is perhaps not easy to decide.

*Sabbath, July 6.* Attended meeting at the station of the Methodist brethren. Had but one service, which commenced at 12, and continued till three o'clock in the afternoon. One of the missionaries delivered a short discourse, which was rendered in Shawnee by their interpreter. When he had done, a Wyandot preacher, who was providentially present, gave us a discourse in his own tongue, which was also rendered in Shawnee. After he had finished his talk, a Shawnee spoke a short time and prayed. A hymn was then sung, and the assembly dismissed. Our meeting was interesting. It is affecting to meet and worship, with these children of the forest, our common Lord.

*July 7.* Returned to the Cantonment. Had a lonely, and warm walk. Mr. Allis crossed to Liberty to transact some business there, to which it had now become necessary to attend. In our visits to these missions, we have made it our business to obtain all the information we could, that would be of service to us in our missionary work. We have been informed, that both the Methodist, and Baptist Boards have had it in contemplation to visit the Pawnees soon. An agent of the Baptist Board has visited the Otoes and Omohaws. Mr. Merrill is considered by them as stationed among the Otoes. He with his family at present reside at the agency, about 30 miles from their village. They are intending to send a missionary to the Omohaws, as soon as a suitable person can be obtained.

*July 18.* When I left St. Louis, I was assured, a boat would ascend to the Bluffs, about the last of June, or first of July. In this boat I had intended to pass up to the agency. Having remained at the Cantonment, till the time mentioned for the boats passing was now already past, I went out, to day, to the Kickapoo mission, to reside in the family of the missionary, till my departure for the Bluffs. I had been repeatedly invited to do so by our Methodist brother, and not knowing of any opportunity I should soon have of getting up to the place of my destination, I concluded to accept of his invitation. At the station I was treated with much kindness, both by the missionary and his family. Here I, every day, came in contact with the Indians, and had a good opportunity to study the Indian character, some knowledge of which, every person should have acquired by his own personal observation, before taking on himself the responsibilities of conducting an Indian mission. My disappointment in not being able to proceed up the river as I had anticipated is truly perplexing, but I must wait, and be patient. The Lord knows best where I should be. He sees I am not yet prepared to enter on my missionary work.

*July 21.* I purchased a horse, purposing to go up to the agency by land with a company of Otoes, that had come down to the Cantonment, but the next morning, when I came to their camp, expecting they would immediately set out for their village, as they had told me they should do the day previous, they informed me, they had determined to visit the Konzas, who reside on the river of the same name, some 50 miles distant, before returning to their place of residence on the Platte. As it would be several weeks before they would get home by this circuitous route. I immediately gave up the idea of going with them, and returned to the mission. A few days afterwards, I saw several of these Otoes, coming up from the settlements with their horses loaded with whiskey, which they had procured, either from the whites, or the Indians on the borders near them. This whiskey they packed on their their horses to their village, a distance of about 200 miles. I now thought it was ordered in mercy, that I did not accompany them. Drunken Indians are companions, least of all to be desired.

*July 25.* Attended a meeting of missionaries at the Baptist mission house among the Shawnees. This meeting had been appointed some time previous, and it seemed to have been designed by those who made the appointment to have it held annually, at such times and places as would best suit the convenience of those who would attend. Thursday afternoon in company with Mr. Berryman I rode down to the Delaware Mission, where we staid till the next morning, when we crossed the Konzas, and proceeded to the Methodist Shawnee Mission, where we dined, and then rode to the place where the meeting was to be held.

The following persons were present at the meeting, viz. Rev. Mr. Berryman of the Kickapoo mission, Methodist—Peery of Delaware Mission, Methodist—Johnson of Shawnee Mission, Methodist—McCoy and Lykins of Baptist Shawnee mission—Blanchard Baptist teacher among the Delawares—Meeker, formerly missionary to the Otawas—Simmerwell, formerly missionary to the Potawatomies—Kerr, missionary of the Western Board (Pittsburg) to the Weahs and Piankeshaws—and Pixley, formerly missionary of our board to the Osages.

The meeting was organized Friday afternoon, when Mr. Kerr was chosen Moderator, and Mr. Lykins clerk. At this time was also chosen a committee to prepare resolutions, expressive of the views of the brethren present, respecting the mode of conducting missions among the Indians, the feelings missionaries of different denominations should cherish, toward each other, etc. Saturday was spent in discussing, amending and adopting the resolutions offered.

Much good feeling was manifested by those present, till a resolution was offered relating to the manner members should be received from one mission church to another of a different denomination. On this subject our Baptist and Methodist brethren differed, and a spirited debate ensued. During the discussion feelings were manifested that should have found no place at such a meeting. I should judge from what was said, there existed feelings of jealousy on both sides. Such a state of things is much to be deprecated. It is certainly bad enough, when christians of different denominations dispute about forms in a christian land, but still worse on

heathen ground. It is bad management to contend among ourselves on an enemy's ground. Better far to meet united in "phalanx firm" the common foe. If contention there must be, let it be among those who stay at home. Let those only go to the war, who go to fight and conquer. Let those who would contend about dividing the spoils before the victory is won, not enter on the enemy's territory. When the great victory has been achieved, and this rebellious world lies submissive at King Jesus' feet; What will then have become of those bones of contention—these unimportant forms, that now retard the movements of the soldiers of the cross?

The discussion was at length closed, and the meeting adjourned to be held the ensuing year at the Methodist Shawnee mission house. A meeting for prayer was held at 9 sabbath morning. At half past 10 we listened to a sermon from Mr. Kerr. His discourse was well calculated to allay all improper feelings among the embassadors of Christ if any thing of the kind existed. Mr. Pixley preached in the afternoon. Having commended each other in prayer to the Lord of Missions, we separated, each to repair to his respective field of labor.

*July 28.* Returned in company with Mr. B. to the Kickapoo Mission. Here I remained in suspense, no way opening by which I could get to the field of labor, which I intended, the Lord permitting, to occupy. The period of time that has elapsed, since our arrival at St. Louis, has been to me one of much anxiety. My most sanguine expectations with respect to going up into the Upper Missouri country have been repeatedly disappointed. The way is darkness before me. It is so late in the season, that no one is passing up by land, and the water so low, that no boat is expected to ascend the river. I must wait still longer. "Thy will, O Lord, not mine, be done."

*August 22.* Have been sick, but am now rapidly recovering. The season thus far has been very warm, and remarkably dry. Since the latter part of June we have had no rain. Many of the fountains and small streams have become dry. In some creaks of considerable size the quantity of water has been so much diminished by the drought, that they have ceased to flow, and what remains in the deep places has become stagnant. Owing to the extreme warmth and dryness of the season, together with the impure exhalations from the stagnant waters, and other causes common to a new country, the fever and ague have prevailed to some extent.

My health continued to be good, till 10 of August, when I was attacked by a violent bilious fever. During the night, particulary, the fever burned in my veins, and seemed to be fast drying up the fountains of life. During the day the fever did not run so high, but my taste was now gone, my strength soon prostrated, and I could think of nothing earthly with any satisfaction, except a certain cool fountain in the vicinity of the mission, and the pleasure I should enjoy in quaffing the cooling stream, could I be transported and laid on its flowery bank. By the blessing of God on prompt and thorough treatment, I succeeded in breaking the fever, and the ague followed. I did not have many chills

before having recourse to the celebrated bark, a cup full of which I took every hour, till I could take no more. After taking the bark, I had no more chills, but was left quite feeble, and without any appetite. My strength is gradually restoring, and my appetite has now become voracious. I can now walk about considerable outdoors, and am rapidly regaining my health. The warmer part of the season is now past, copious rains have fallen, and the weather has become pleasant and agreeable.

This has been truly a dark time to me with respect to my missionary operations, but I do not despair. I know if God has any thing for me to do on heathen ground, he will spare me, and bring me thither to accomplish it. I feel perfectly willing, he should dispose of me and all my interests according to the good pleasure of his will.

*August 23.* Early this morning Rev. Mssrs. Kingsbury and Byington arrived at the mission. Their visit was very unexpected to us, not having had information, that they had been employed by your Committee to make this tour. Among the interesting information, communicated by these brethren, was this, that a boat, as they had been assured, was now on its way to the Bluffs with the annuities of the Pawnees, Omohaws and Otoes. The agent for these tribes is daily expected at the Cantonment. This afternoon Mr. Simmerwell arrived at the mission from the Shawnees.

*Sabbath, August 24.* Mssrs. Kingsbury, Byington and Allis attended meeting at the Cantonment, where Mr. K. preached. When they returned from meeting, Rev. Mr. Merrill of the Otoe Mission accompanied them. God has in his good providence brought these missionary brethren together at this place to receive and communicate information from distant and different parts of the mission field, also to consult and advise with respect to the advancement of the Redeemer's kingdom among the benighted and long neglected tribes of these western wilds. In the evening had an interesting season of prayer, commending these dying nations to God, and beseeching him to raise up and send forth laborers into this 'field already white to the harvest.'

*August 25.* This morning Mssrs. Simmerwell and Merrill left for the Shawnee Mission. Mssrs. K. and B. remain with us still. The missionary at this station and his family have been absent several days on a visit to the Mission below. As Mr. Merrill intends returning to his station by land, I have determined to accompany him. Mr. Allis has resolved to take a passage to the agency in the boat, not yet having purchased a horse.

*August 27.* After consulting with Mssrs. K. and B. with reference to our future operations, we deemed it expedient to increase our funds before going up to the agency, as also to purchase some provisions to send up by the boat. The boat being expected to pass daily, rendered it necessary, our business should be transacted without delay. Accordingly to day I rode in company with Mr. K. to the Cantonment, called on Maj. Thompson, also on Maj. Morgan and their ladies. We then crossed the Missouri, and rode down to the settlements, and stopped for the night.

*August 28.* To day proceeded to Liberty, called on Mr. Yantis with whom we dined. In the afternoon endeavoured to procure funds in the

village, but did not succeed. Rode four miles from the village to the landing and took lodgings for the night.

*August 29.* This morning rode down to the ferry, 5 miles, crossed the Missouri proceeded 3 miles, and breakfast with a Mr. Irwin, an old disciple whom we found in that region. In the afternoon proceeded to Independence where we succeeded in procuring the requisite funds. Here we found Rev. Mr. Bushnell, who with his family had recently left the Weah and Piankeshaw Mission, where he had been stationed as the associate of Mr. Kerr. The reasons he assigned for leaving the Mission, were the small number of Indians that could be influenced by it, and the peculiar circumstances of his family. With his qualifications, he thought, he could be more useful somewhere else. Twelve miles from Independence we found Mssrs. Byington and Pixley. With these brethren I spent the two following days, Saturday and Sabbath. The advice and counsel of these brethren, who were all experienced missionaries, was very timely, what I much desired, and certainly needed. The time they remained with us was to me spent very agreeably and I trust profitably.

*Monday, September 1.* I rode with Mr. Merrill to the village of Independence, and from thence to the Baptist Shawnee mission, where we arrived late at night. The day was very warm, and the sun pouring its intense rays on my head, rekindled the fever in my veins.

*September 2.* Rode to the Kickapoo Mission, 45 miles distant.

*September 3.* This morning proceeded to the Cantonment to transact some business. Here I found Mr. Yantis with whom I called on Major Thompson, and while sitting with them in the piazza, a cool breeze sprang up which brought on a fit of the ague. As soon as I could with decency, I left them, mounted my horse and set off for home. The chill still continuing on me and becoming more severe, it entered my head, that by dismounting and running on foot, I could succeed in throwing off the ague. Accordingly I dismounted, and after running nearly a mile, I suppose, did indeed get rid of the ague, but my exertion brought on an intense fever and thirst. It seemed to me, that I should literally burn up. If ever a poor creature longed for a cooling stream, that he might quench his burning thirst, I did. I made as much haste as I could to get home, but every motion seemed to increase my torment. At length I reached home and soon found my bed. The next day, I had another chill, and the following my fever burned. I soon had recourse to calomel and quinine, and again succeeded in throwing off both fever and ague. I was now left even more feeble than before. My joints seemed to have lost all their elasticity.

Mr. M. was now to start for the agency in a few days, and if I did not go with him, I did not know, I should have another opportunity of going up this season. Whether it would be prudent for me to set out with him, I was doubtful, as the journey would be attended with considerable hardship. I finally concluded to go. Mr. Allis had before this gone up in the boat. He embarked Sept. 1st.

*September 22.* Near night rode down to the Cantonment, crossed the Missouri, and took lodgings for the night at the house of the ferryman. Here I found Mr. Merrill, who had determined to pass up to the agency

on the north side of the Missouri. Our company consisted of four persons, Mr. M. myself, Mr. O'Neil, (assistant Otoe blacksmith) and a young Delaware woman, who was going up to live in Mr. M's. family. This young woman is a member of the baptist church, and a descendant of "Brainerd's church members."

*September 23.* About 10 this morning we set forward on our journey. Our route to day lay through a fertile and finely timbered country. Toward night we passed a camp of Delaware Indians. They had come to this place for the purpose of killing deer and other game. They invited is [us] to stop with them during the night, but having made little progress to day, we thought proper to decline their invitation. They had killed plenty of venison, and kindly furnished us with a savory piece. We continued our journey till night and pitched our tent in the forest.

*September 24.* This morning it rained quite fast, and we did not leave our encampment, till 10, when the rain ceased The former part of this day's route lay through a fine forest. We at length emerged from the dense woodland and entered the open prairie,—passed the Sac village which was now without inhabitant, the Indians being out on their autumnal hunt. After passing the village our way wound through the high bluffs, till we came down on the Missouri bottoms, which for some distance above are exceedingly rich and beautiful. Our trail now led along the rising ground next the bluff, from which we had a fine view of the prairie bottom off to the left. It was dark before we arrived at Roubadou's trading house at the Black Snake hills. The village of the Ioways is about 5 miles from the trading house, but is not to be seen from the route we travelled. At this establishment we passed the night.

*September 25.* A young Ioway accompanied us as guide from the trading house. About a mile from Roubadou's we passed Roy's trading house. The former part of the day we kept down on the bottom, sometime very near the stream. The latter part of the day our course diverged from the Missouri, and led over more elevated ground. The whole of this day's journey was through forest. About sunset we crossed the Nodaway, and encamped on its bank. The fording of this stream was good, the banks were neither steep nor miry, and the water was not deep.

*September 26.* In the morning we again set forward, and soon came into the prairie, our course still diverging from the Missouri. About 10 o'clock A. M it began to rain. The wind blew strong from the northeast. We were in the open prairie, cold and wet, at a distance from wood, and as we could not pitch our tent without it, we were compelled to proceed in the rain, till at length, we came to timber. We stopped, set up our tent, made a fire, dried our clothes, and had just become comfortably warm and dry, when the rain ceased. Again we mounted our horses and continued our journey. We had not proceeded far however, when it commenced raining powerfully. We made the nearest wood, where we remained during the night.

*September 27.* This morning being pleasant, we again resumed our journey. We passed along some distance on an elevated ridge of land,

which might have been at some distant period the shore of a lake, the bed of which has now become a beautiful prairie bottom. Early in the day we came to a small stream, which was difficult to cross with horses, the banks being steep and miry. We took every thing from our horses, but their bridles, and drove them through. Then carried our baggage etc. across on a tree that had been felled for the purpose. Toward night came to a creek of considerable size, crossing bad, water deep and banks miry. Our baggage had all to be carried through the stream. It was not without much difficulty that our horses could cross with nothing on them. We were detained at this creek about 4 hours before we could get all across and ready to start again. We now proceeded to a point of timber, not far distant, and encamped for the night.

*September 28.* This morning we again set forward, and near sunset came to the Nisinibotany, the largest stream we crossed in our journey save the Missouri. On either side of this stream are beautiful bottoms, but no wood of any consequence. Our route to day was through the prairie—passed little timber. We slept on the river's bank.

*September 29.* Early in the morning set ourselves, all hands, about making a raft on which to cross our luggage. Our bark was at length completed, and at two crossings conveyed us all safe to the opposite side. Our horses swam the stream. We again had a prairie route, passing but little timber. In the afternoon crossed Five Barrel creek, a small stream, but like most others in this country, difficult of crossing. Near night it commenced raining. We made the nearest wood and encamped for the night.

*September 30.* Our route to day wound through the high bluffs, till we again came down on the Missouri bottoms, which were rich, beautiful and extensive. After riding some distance on the bottom, we came to another small creek, in crossing which had much difficulty, particularly with our horses, one of which acted badly, refusing to come out on the opposite side of the stream till at length we succeeded in getting a rope round his neck, when still persisting in his obstinacy, we drew him out by main force. Having all our horses, baggage, etc. safely across, the two Frenchmen, that had accompanied us from the Nisinibotany, and Ioway now left us to proceed to the Missouri by a shorter route, than that we should travel with our horses. We did not come to the Missouri till near dark, too late to cross that night. We pitched our tent in the forest and remained till morning. In the night had a severe thunderstorm. It rained powerfully for some time. (Early in the morning our young Ioway companion came to us. He had passed the night with the Frenchmen, who had neither shelter to protect them from the rain, nor fire to warm them.)

*October 1.* After having prepared and taken our breakfast, we again set forward, expecting soon to arrive at our journey's end, but when we came to the place where we were intending to cross, we were informed the boat was gone. Our only course now was to proceed 20 miles further up the river to the trading establishment of the American Fur Company, where we could cross, and then come down on the opposite side to the place of our destination. Accordingly we started for the trading house

without delay. At first we had considerable difficulty in finding the trail, and wandered about some time before we fell into it. During the former part of the day our route lay through the fine prairie bottom. During the latter our way led over the high bluffs, or passed along the deep ravines between them. The bluffs in this vicinity rise high, and in some places present a peculiar appearance, when viewed from a distance—not unlike the teeth of a saw. Some of them have low stinted oaks scattered over them, which have yet withstood the flames, as they have swiftly swept over these elevated grounds. Night overtook us before we came to the crossing place, and we once more encamped in the forest, and listened to the music of the howling wolves.

*October 2.* Early in the morning we set forward, and about 9 o'clock came to the ferry, the first half of our morning's ride, having been through prairie bottom, the other through the woodland that here skirts the Missouri. Here we were so fortunate as to find a canoe, in which we and our baggage, at two trips, were safely carried to the opposite side. Our horses swam this mighty stream. At the trading house I had the happiness of being introduced to Major Pilcher, the gentleman, who then had charge of the establishment. After pertaking of some refreshments the Maj. had kindly provided for us, we proceeded on our journey and about sunset arrived at the agency. To day our route lay over and among the bluffs, which below the trading house come down to the water's edge, then several miles over the prairie—then again over the bluffs to the agency, which is situated on a declivity near the river. Distance, as we travelled from the Cantonment to the agency, 200 miles. By the usual route on the south side of the Missouri 150 miles.

*October 17.* Since my arrival at the agency have remained till the present time in the family of Mr. Merrill, and have been treated with christian kindness. My exposure during the journey up to this place brought on a third attack of the fever and ague. But again having recourse to the above named medicines, they were both again repulsed. I was, as before, however, left somewhat feeble, but soon with care recovered in a measure my health. A person, who has never been attacked by this disease, can form no adequate idea of the amount of bad feeling and pain, one experiences on whom it fastens.

Before starting for the Upper Missouri, Mr. Allis and myself had determined, if our lives and healths should be spared, to spend the winter with the Pawnees, if they would permit us to do so. When I arrived at the agency, there were no Pawnees at the place, and we could not of course ascertain whether it would be practicable to carry our plan into execution, till we had seen them. We, therefore, thought proper to remain at this post till the agent should arrive, which would be soon, when the Pawnees would be called in to receive their annuities. We then would have a favourable opportunity of making our object known to them. About a week after I came to the agency, Major Dougherty, the agent arrived. The next day the Otoes, being near, came in and received their annuities. A messenger was forthwith despatched to call in the Pawnees. In about 6 days they came in to the number of 7 or 800 from the different villages.

*October 18.* To day the Pawnees received their annuities. The Pawnees are divided into four bands, and rank, according to their numbers, in the following order: The Grand Pawnees, Republican Pawnees, Pawnee Loups, and Pawnee Tapage. As soon as they had learned, that two white men had come who were desirous to go out and live with them, the first chief of the Loupe, immediately made application to the Major for one of them to go with him and live in his village. The agent thought it desirable to defer our business with them, till they had received their annuities, and he had finished his talks to them, when he would make known to them the object we had in view in coming to them, and render us what assistance he could toward the accomplishment of that object. His talks and their replies were not got through with till late this (Saturday) evening, when he declared to them our business. The chiefs only of the four different bands were present. They said they were glad we had come, and wished me to go with them. They also said, they were enquiring about the things of religion, that their minds were dark, that they were in doubt with respect to these things, and would be pleased to receive any information on these subjects, we should think proper to impart to them. To know how much such language means, it is necessary to have some knowledge of the Indian character. I make no comments.

Knowing the Loup chief had applied for one of us, after prayerful and mature deliberation on the subject, and advising with the agent, we had previously resolved; if the chiefs of either of the other villages desired the other to go with them, we would separate and go to different villages to spend the ensuing winter. Previous to meeting with this people we had anticipated spending the winter together, and with the Grand Pawnees. The first two chiefs of this band wished the other to go with them. Accordingly we separate. Mr. Allis goes with the Pawnee Loups, and myself with the Grand Pawnees to their respective villages. I now had some definite information I wished to communicate to your Committee, but had no time to make the communication. The chiefs told me they would start tomorrow for their village, and to go with them, I knew, would be the only opportunity I should have of getting out to their residence this season. All things considered I thought it best to be in readiness, and start with them on the morrow, though by so doing I should leave your Committee and all my friends in ignorance, where I had gone. You and they all knew where I was intending to go. I must confess, I was now again in doubt whether it would be prudence in me to go and live with the Pawnees, in my present state of health, not knowing to what hardships I might be subjected. I did not know but the exposures incident to an Indian life would again bring on the ague, and if attacked by it while with them, I did not know how it would terminate. My final determination, however, was to trust in the Lord and go forward.

*October 19, Sabbath.* To day Mr. Allis and myself started on our winter's tour. It was 10 in the morning before we could get all things in readiness to leave. We now set forward with our unaccustomed travelling companions. We had not proceeded more than a mile from the agency, when our conductors took different routes, and we were compelled

to separate—a thing we had not anticipated before reaching one of the Pawnee villages. Mr. Allis now left me, under the guidance and protection of the first chief of the Pawnee Loupe. I proceeded with the second chief of the Grand Pawnees, who had given me an invitation to go and live with him in his lodge. He said the trader went with the first chief, and there would be many coming in and going out of his lodge by whom I would be often interrupted. I very readily accepted the invitation, the agent having previously assured me he was the better man of the two.

My company consisted of my host, two Pawnee Picts, one of them a chief of some note, and four or five of the Grand Pawnees, not one of them could speak a word of English. I was now alone with a strange people, in a strange land. Our conversation so far as we had any was carried on by signs.—Our route to day was over an uneven prairie country,—but little timber, and that on or near the streams. During the day crossed four streams—the first two were small, but the second bad to cross, being very miry—the third, the Big Horn, crossing good—the fourth the Platte, fording good, the water not being in any place more than two feet deep. The country between the Big Horn and Platte, which were not far distant, is a level prairie bottom.

Toward night we passed many of the Pawnees, who had started earlier on the morning, than my companions, but had travelled with less speed, their horses being packed. It was near dark when we crossed the Platte, and we proceeded a short distance above the ford, and encamped for the night. My sickness had given me a keen appetite and not having eaten any thing since leaving the agency, I was now quite ready for my supper, which was soon prepared and set before me. It consisted of dried buffalo meat and boiled corn. Of these dishes I ate heartily, and they relished well. The dried buffalo meat needs no cooking. The corn was boiled on the spot. Three sticks of equal length were cut, tied together near the top, and then set up. From these the kettle containing the corn to be cooked was suspended over a fire, that had been previously kindled.

When I had finished my supper, a skin was spread on which I was to sleep, and being somewhat fatigued with the journey of the day, I was soon wrapped in my blankets, and stretched on my unaccustomed bed in the open air. My sitting and sleeping place was the first on the chiefs left—the place of honor. The remainder of our party slept round the fire, wrapped in their bufalo robes, according to their rank and seniority. My host seemed desirous to do all in his power to make me comfortable. After commending myself, my friends, my companions and a dying world to the great God, whose presence is every where, I slept soundly.

*October 20.* Our route to the Grand Pawnee village now lay along the south side of the Platte. As soon as it was light this morning, I was called up to pursue my journey. To day passed through the prairie bottom till we came to the Otoe village, when we arose upon the bluff on which it is situated, but soon again descended into the bottom, where we passed among the Otoe corn patches some distance, and then again ascended the bluffs. (The Otoe village was now without inhabitant, these Indians having already gone out on their winter hunt.) Our course now lay over the elevated prairie at some distance from the river. About

the middle of the afternoon, we again came down on the bottom, proceeded some distance, crossed a small stream, (and this the only one we did cross till we came to the village,) passed over a high bluff, and once more came down on the bottom. After we had travelled several miles on this beautiful prairie bottom, we came near dark to our stopping place for the night. Passed very little timber to day. This evening I made a hearty supper of the same materials as the night before, having eaten nothing since the preceding evening. Again committing myself to the protection of the great Maker of all things, I enjoyed quiet and refreshing rest under the open canopy of the heavens. It is pleasant to think that the Great God is as present in the void waste with one alone, as in the city full.

*October 21.* Some time before day this morning the chief awoke me. we soon set forward, and travelled a good distance before sunrise. Our way led us gradually on the bluffs, on which we travelled a few miles, then descended into the bottom, through which our route now lay till we reached their village. As yesterday, passed no timber of any consequence. To day passed the sites, where once stood two Pawnee villages. Yesterday passed a similar site. About noon we stopped, let our horses feed awhile, partook of such refreshments as we had with us, then started for the place of our destination, where we arrived about four in the afternoon. The latter part of this day's travel was on ground, over which the fire had passed the day and night previous. Some 10 miles before we reached the village, we passed the place, where several Pawnees who were ahead of us had encamped the night before. The fire swept over the bottom, and five of these unfortunate men were, either burned to death on the spot, or so badly, that they died in a few days. Many horses were also killed in consequence of the fire. One man lost 18. The Pawnees charged the kindling of this fire on the Otoes, but of this they have no proof. Intelligence of this sad affair had reached the village, and we met the wives, children, and relatives of the burned men, crying, howling, and lamenting sadly their loss. The men that were not already dead of their burns were packed up to the village on horses.—I saw some of the horses that were yet alive, though dreadfully burned. These poor animals could not live. It would have been an act of great kindness to these suffering creatures to have been killed on the spot, but the Pawnees let them linger and suffer till death kindly puts an end to their wretched existence. "Surely the tender mercies of the wicked are cruelty." I now realized, I was standing on heathen ground. A sort of feeling came over me, such as I had never before experienced. The sight of my eyes affected my heart. I felt solemn. But this is only the beginning of my witnessing heathenism in real life.

When we had come to the village, the old chief led the way to his lodge. His daughter, a young woman of about 22, immediately made her appearance to unsaddle our horses and bring in our baggage. The old gentleman dismounted and walked directly into his dwelling. The young woman took my horse by the bridle, and made an attempt to take off the saddle, but my horse having a more just sense of propriety in that respect than the Pawnees, she did not succeed, and I took it off my-

self. I now entered the lodge, where I found the bearskin already spread for my reception. On this I was to sit, eat, and sleep. My seat consisted of a piece of cotton cloth, sewed up in the form of a pillow, and stuffed with deer's hair. As soon as I had seated myself, a bowl of dried bufalo meat was placed before me, and when I sat that aside, a large wooden bowl with boiled corn and beans took its place. This was soon succeeded by another, containing parched corn, that had been pounded in a mortar. A bowl of mush followed, and then an ear of roasted corn. This finished my eating for that day, and I laid down to rest being excessively wearied with my journey.

*October 22.* This morning soon after I had risen, the bowl of buffalo meat was set before me, and the other dishes came much sooner than I could have wished. It now being noised abroad through the village, that la-chik-oots an American (literally big knife) had come, I was invited to six different lodges to eat before noon, besides being abundantly fed at my own residence. This will serve as a specimen of my eating, while I remained at the village, which was five days. (I suppose, I shall be excuseable in speaking of these things, since feasting is so important a business with this people.) When a person is invited to a feast, he does not please, unless he eats as if he loved what is set before him. I was desirous to produce a favorable impression on my first coming among them, and must of course do what would effect it. Though my gnawing appetite was not satisfied, I was literally stuffed with their food and kindness. I think it is well for me, that I have such a voracious appetite at the time of my coming to live with the Indians, for if I had nothing more than my usual appetite, I am sure, I should not, at first, at least, have relished some of the dishes that have been set before me.

The village of the grand Pawnees is situated on the south side of the river Platte, about 120 miles from the mouth of the stream, and about the same distance from the agency. It stands on a rising ground about 30 rods from the water's edge. It is built very compactly, without any regularity, or regard to convenience, and covers but a small space of ground. Of the number of inhabitants, I cannot speak with certainty, probably as many as 2,000.

The Pawnee lodges are built in the following manner. Six, eight, or ten posts (according to the size of the building) forked at the top, 12 or 14 feet long, are set up in a circle, and firmly fixed in the ground. Eight or ten feet from these is set up another, and larger circle of shorter, and smaller posts. The posts last set up do not rise more than 5 or 6 feet above the ground and are also forked. On the posts first set up, timbers of considerable size are laid, reaching from one to another. On the outer circle of smaller and shorter posts, timbers are also laid as on the others. Numerous pieces of wood are now set up in an inclining position, enclosing the outer circle of posts, one end of each of which rests on the ground, while the other leans against the timbers laid on the outer posts. To these pieces of wood large rods are tied with slips of bark. Large poles of a sufficient length are now laid on, the larger end of each resting on the timbers laid on the outer circle of posts, while the other passes over the timbers, laid on the inner posts, leaving only space enough at the top for

the smoke to pass out. To these poles large rods are also tied. All these together constitute the frame work of the edifice.

The covering consists of a coat of grass laid on these poles and rods. On the grass is laid earth about 12 inches deep. The outward appearance of a Pawnee dwelling very much resembles that of a large wood coalpit. The entrance to these dwellings is through a long narrow spaceway, which projects from the main building, always in this village toward the east, and like it is covered with grass and earth.

Within these buildings the earth is beat down hard, and forms the floor. In the center a circular place is dug about 8 inches deep, and 3 feet in diameter. This is the fireplace. The earth that is taken from this place is spatted down around it, and forms the hearth. Near the fireplace a stake is firmly fixed in the earth in an inclined position, and serves all the purposes of a crane. Mats made of rushes are spread down round the fire on which they sit. Back next the walls are the sleeping apartments. A frame work is raised about two feet from the floor, on this are placed small rods, interwoven with slips of elm bark. On these rods a rush mat is spread. At proper distances partitions are set up, composed of small willow rods interwoven with slip of bark. In front of these apartments, either a partition of willow rods is erected, or rush mats are hung up as curtains. But this is not always the case. In some lodges the simple platform alone is to be seen, without either partitions, or curtains. In others there is not even the platform, and the inmates sleep on the ground.

In these lodges several families frequently live together. I believe there are as many as three different families in the lodge where I stop. Each family has its particular portion of the dwelling, and the furniture of each is kept separate. When a member of either of the families residing in the same lodge cooks, a portion of the food prepared is given to every individual of the household without regard to family distinctions. They are very accommodating, borrowing and lending almost everything they have without any hesitation.

*October 25.* Some time during the first night after my arrival at the village, one of the burned men, of whom I have before spoken, was brought into our lodge. He was dreadfully burned, and after languishing 3 or 4 days died. I now had an opportunity to see something of their mode of treating the sick. The wives of the sick man showed their affection by preparing food for him, and urging him to eat. But their kindness in this respect was cruelty. They were also very attentive to give him drink, whenever he wanted, and to change his position when he desired it. Twice each day this dying man was carried out into the open air, as soon as it was light in the morning, and twilight in the evening.

Early the next morning, two of their physicians called to see the sick man. In the first place, they sat down and smoked, which was done with many ceremonies. After receiving the pipe, one of them held it up over his head, and muttered over something, then brought it down before him, and took from the bowl with his thumb and finger a very small quantity of that with which it was filled, and carefully placed it on the hearth. This being done, another person held a brand to the bowl, by which the pipe was

lighted. He now puffed the smoke upward two or three times, then downward as many, then east, west, north and south, then taking the bowl in his hand, held the pipe to the other person, who taking hold of the stem with his hand, and putting it to his mouth, proceeded to puff the smoke as the other had done. The pipe was now passed back and forth between these two persons till its contents were consumed, when came the ceremony of emptying the pipe, which must be performed by the person who had the honor of lighting it. The ashes were carefully poured out on the hearth, on that which had been before deposited there. He then put the ends of his fingers on them, and proceeded to pass his hands in succession upward from the bowl to the end of the stem. When he had done this several times, he handed the pipe to the person to whom it belonged, who did the same. Smoking holds a prominent place in all their important business. It is, indeed, a part of their religion, and intimately connected with all their religious observances. Having gone through with these preliminaries, they now began to examine the sick man's burns. When they had finished their examination, they commenced their incantations. A bowl of water was placed before one of them, who, having filled his mouth with it, groaned, grunted, beat his breast with his hands, crept backward, then forward on his hands and feet, took up dust and rubbed it back and forth in his hands, made many horrible jestures, and then pretended to vomit the water on the hearth, which had all the while been in his mouth. He again took water in his mouth, and having repeated all that I have mentioned, and even more, he proceeded to separate the sick man's hair and blow the water in small quantities on his head, then on his breast, and various parts of his body. When these things had been repeated several times, he again separated the burned man's hair and placing his mouth, previously filled with water, close to his head, groaned, and grunted sadly, as if endeavouring with all his might to suck out something, then spurted the water on the hearth, as though it had been drawn from the man's head. This operation was repeated on various parts of his body. He now took up dust and having rubbed it awhile in his hands, put his hands to his mouth, and blew the dust on the sick man's head, breast, etc. After all this conjuration had been completed, he sprinkled a brownish powder on his burns and departed, leaving the poor man to groan under increased misery. These men repeated their visits, twice each day till his death. Wearing their robes with the hair side out, together with all their fiendlike actions, and unearthly noises, they appeared to me more like infernal spirits, than human beings. The night that this man died, being in the agonies of death, these horrible creatures were sent for. They came and with redoubled fury repeated their savage, foolish, and fiendish actions, helping by their noise, etc. the expiring man to die. As soon as the man was dead, his wives, children, and relatives broke out in the most doleful lamentations. His wives were particularly vociferous in their grief, venting their sorrow at the highest pitch of their voices, wringing their hands, beating their breasts, dishevelling their hair, letting it hang down over their faces, covering themselves entirely with their robes, together with many other expressions of savage grief. As soon as it was light, the dead man was taken out and

buried. His wives and friends followed loudly howling, and weeping to the grave lamenting their loss. When they came into the lodge, they covered themselves entirely with their robes, and set mourning in silence.

When I had witnessed all this, I felt it was no small blessing to be born and educated in a christian land, where the pure light of the gospel sheds its heavenly influence. What inestimable privileges are there enjoyed, and how little prized! How blessed the calm and quiet scene, where the good man meets and conquers death, compared with that, I have just attempted to describe! It is all owing to the mere grace of Almighty God, that I am not even viler than the vilest of these heathen. O to rich, free and sovereign "grace, how great a debtor!" Shall I then think it a great, or hard thing to endure a few hardships in serving him, who has done so much for me?

*October 27.* From the time of my arrival at the village till I left, the women were very busily employed in making preparations to go out on the winter hunt. All things having been previously put in a state of readiness, we started this morning. All the movables belonging to the family of my host, together with what little baggage I had with me, were packed on horses, nine of which were owned by different members of the family. This was not done till past 9 o'clock, when we set forward in the midst of the multitude. The Pawnees of course travel in Indian file. The procession was, I suppose, when all got under way, about 4 miles long. The women, boys, and girls lead each of them a horse, and walk in the trail before them. The men straggle about anywhere. They sometimes walk beside their wives, and assist them in managing the horses, but this is rare.

This was much the largest company of horses, mules, asses, men, women, children and dogs, I had ever seen. The Pawnees have numerous horses, some single families having more than 20 of these animals. Their dogs are also many, but the Grand Pawnees do not use them as beasts of burden. Of all the different animals above mentioned, there are probably as many as 6,000. We traveled, I should judge about 8 miles, and then camped for the night.

*November 1.* With the Pawnees, while traveling, the same things are repeated from day to day with little or no variation. Early in the morning heralds pass back and forth through this moving village, and proclaim the order of the day, as directed by the principal chief. If it is to go forward, the boys are immediately despatched to bring up the horses. The women proceed forthwith to take down the tents, fold the covers, and pack them with all their contents and appurtenances on their horses, and then set forward without waiting for company. It is usually as much as three hours before all get started in the morning, and as many, before all come to the stopping place at night. As soon as they arrive at the place of encampment, each household selects its spot, the horses are immediately unpacked and the tents set up—that now becoming a populous village, which was a few hours previous, a solitary place. They do not travel more than from 6 to 8 miles, if wood and water are to be found at such distances. The Pawnees, except the little children, do not usually take any food in the morning before they start on their day's journey, but

as soon as they stop at night and the tent is set up, food is prepared without delay, and they make ample amends for having fasted during the former part of the day. Several dishes are prepared in succession, and they eat till they are tired.

Their movable dwellings consist of from 12 to 20 poles (the number varying with the size) about 16 feet long, and a covering. Three of these poles are tied together near the top and set up. The string, with which these poles are tied together, is so long that one end of it reaches to the ground, when the poles are set up. The other poles are now successively set up save one, the top of each leaning against the three, first set up, and forming with them a circle. This string is then wound round them all at the top several times and fastened. The cover is tied to the top of the remaining pole by which it is raised up, then is spread round them all and tied together on the opposite side, where is the entrance formed by leaving the cover untied about three feet from the ground. Over the entrance the skin of a bear or some other animal is suspended. The tents are always set up with their entrances toward the east. At the top the smoke passes out among the poles a place being left for that purpose. The fire place, crane and hearth are similar to those in their fixed habitations. The furniture is placed back next the cover. Rush mats are then spread down forming a sort of floor. On these they sit, eat and sleep. The large tents are about 18 feet in diameter at the base. The tent covers are made of buffalo skins, scraped so thin as to transmit light, and sewed together. These when new are quite white, and a village of them presents a beautiful appearance. Some of them are painted according to Pawnee fancy. They carry their tent poles with them during their whole journey. From 3 to 6 of them, as the case may be, are tied together at the larger end, and made fast to the saddle—an equal number on each side—the other end drags on the ground.

*November 7.* Our route, since we left the village, has been along the south side of the Platte. This is a very broad stream, as its name indicates, but very shoal, except during the spring and June freshets. It is easily forded when the water is low, but when it is high, the crossing is difficult, an account of the numerous quicksands. It abounds with islets, some of which are nothing more than a cluster of bushes, while others are several miles in extent. These islands are usually covered with wood, but not always, some of the largest of them are prairies. There is no wood of any consequence on the banks of the Platte. A few scattering trees only are to be seen at intervals. During the dry season the channel of this river appears like a broad bed of sand with several small streams, winding their way through it. The bluffs are usually some distance from the Platte, but in some places come down to the water's edge. Our trail led through the bottom, passing on the elevated grounds, when they came down to the river.

When we had travelled 11 days in the manner I have mentioned, we came to the bufalo, which were at that time plenty on the Platte. To day the village does not move, the Pawnees, all hands, have gone up the river a few miles to make what is called a surround. My health not being yet perfectly restored, I did not think it proper for me to go up and

witness this work of destruction. Tidings came just at night that they had made sad havoc among the bufalo. They killed, as near as I could learn, about 300 of these animals. As I have not yet seen a surround made, I shall not attempt to describe how it is done.

*November 8.* To day the village moved up to the place of slaughter. As soon as we had come to the spot, and the tents had been set up, the meat that had been killed the day before, was brought in, in abundance. They now invited me from one lodge to another, to eat their good bufalo meat, till I did really wish myself delivered from such unreasonable creatures. When I first came to the Pawnees, I was very lean and meagre, as might well be supposed, from what I have said with respect to my sickness. They would look at me, rather pitiffully, as I thought, thinking probably my leanness had been caused by my not having had enough to eat, then feel of my arms, and tell me, I would become fat after living with them awhile and eating their good, fat bufalo meat. They were now showing me great kindness in their way, but I could have dispensed with a large part of it, without any prejudice to my own comfort, or convenience.

*November 11.* We stopped two days at the place where the surround was made, that the women might have time to dispose of their meat. To day the Pawnees have moved up the Platte about 6 miles, and we are encamped once more on its banks. We are now about 100 miles from the village. The Platte and country adjoining have very much the same appearance, as below. Coming up we encamped near the Republican Pawnees. Their Trader invited me to drink a cup of coffee with him. He resides with the first chief of that band. I was desirous to see the chief, but while I was present he was absent. This trader speaks broken English, but the one, who goes with the grand band, can speak but few English words. For the last three days, we have been with the Tapage band. Yesterday one of their chiefs invited me to eat with him. He showed me his little son, about a year old, and told me he would have me learn him to read, when he was big enough. It is considered honorable with them to have a numerous progeny, and they are fond of showing me their children—pointing out their sons particularly.

*November 12.* Today turned off from the Platte and travelled in a scutherly direction; the former part of the day, keeping near the dry channel of a small creek, the latter, turning off to the left, rose on an elevated prairie, on which we continued our journey till sunset and then encamped on the highest part of it. Four lodges only stopped on this elevated spot, which had been detained in the morning, and did not start so soon as the remainder of the village. From this elevation I could distinctly see three large droves of bufalo in different directions. It was now so late the Pawnees did not molest them to night.

Last night the Loups encamped within about 5 miles of our village. Early this morning I rode out, in company with a son of my host, to the Loup camp to visit Mr. Allis. After a pleasant morning's ride through a beautiful bottom, we came to the encampment. I found Mr. Allis in good health and spirits. He told me, he had been kindly

treated by his host, and family, and with respect by others. I remained with him about half an hour, and then returned to my people, whom I overtook before night.

*November 13.* All the men, belonging to our company, but myself and the trader, started off this morning early to kill bufalo, two bands of which were still in view. After they had gone, all our things were put in readiness, and we proceeded to the place, where the remainder of the village had encamped the night previous. We travelled the first half of the way over the high prairie, then descended into a deep ravine, and soon came to a small creek, on which was some wood. We stopped with the village. I saw from the preparations that were made, when the lodges were set up, they were intending to stop sometime at this spot. At night a large quantity of meat was brought in.

*November 20.* The buffalo are abundant on all sides of us, and we are making a large quantity of meat at this place. The men bring in more or less meat every day. When the meat is brought to the lodge, the women take their knives and cut it for drying, rolling it out in very thin large pieces. This being done, a sort of framework is set up within the lodge over the fire, on which they spread the meat to be dried. When it is dried some, but not so much as to become hard, it is taken down and pounded out flat. This operation is usually performed with their feet, but sometimes with a wooden pestle. It is repeated several times while the meat is drying, and is done, that the meat may pack close, when dried hard. When it has become thoroughly dry, and fit for packing, it is taken down, and folded in pieces two and a half feet long, and one and a half broad. These pieces are done up in bales, and enclosed in skins prepared for the purpose, and often fancifully painted. They some times hang up their meat on frames out doors, but it does not dry fast at this season, and freezes at night, which injures it.

One cold morning as I was returning from my walk, I saw several women, bearing the lifeless remains of a little child, that had died the preceding night, to its burial. They carried it a short distance, then placed it on the ground, stopped and wept awhile, then took it up and went forward, all the while howling sadly. The father, a young man, followed at a little distance, apparently, in an agony of grief. Though it was very cold, the ground being covered with snow and ice, he wore no clothing, save the indispensable garment. In this condition, he remained weeping at the grave, probably two hours, perhaps more. I should have thought, he would have frozen to death in this time, but his mind seemed to be so much absorbed in his grief, that he did not appear, at all, to regard the cold.

*November 30.* To day the great eclipse of the sun took place. It was stormy, and when the eclipse came on, became quite dark. I do not recollect my ever having witnessed so dark and gloomy a time during the day, at any previous period of my life. Several of the Pawnees came into my lodge, and said the sun was bad. They manifested considerable anxiety, and told me a bad thing had happened. They also told me, many of their wives and children would die after this event, and that it would be very

cold. I told them, the white people did not think such things bad, and I did not think, more than an usual number of their women and children would die the ensuing season, or that it would be uncommonly cold. What I said to them seemed somewhat to allay their fears. After they were gone out, I endeavoured to explain the matter to the old chief, and tell him how the eclipse was occasioned. He listened very attentively, and I think understood something of what I told him, for afterwards I saw him showing others what I had shown him. By this time the bufalo about this place have, either been killed, or scared away. No meat of any consequence has been brought in for several days past. It is now anounced, we are to leave this place in a few days.

*December 3.* All things having been put in a state of readiness the night before, early this morning we started from our long encampment. Passing up a deep ravine we rose at length on the high prairie, on which we travelled till sunset, then descended into another ravine, and encamped. Here we found a little wood, but no water. Our water for cooking, etc. was procured by melting snow.

*December 4.* To day we started early, and early in the afternoon came down on a small creek, where was plenty of wood. This creek, as also that, on which we made our last encampment, empty into the waters of the Kansas. At this place the bufalo were numerous, when we came, but were soon scared away. At this place we stopped six days.

*December 11.* This morning we again set forward, and gradually rose on the elevated prairie, over which we passed, till near night, when we came down into a ravine, and encamped. Here we found a little wood, but no water, except what was procured by melting snow.

*December 12.* One of our horses being unable to proceed this morning, we were left behind. In the afternoon, however, we travelled about 4 miles, and again encamped.

*December 13.* Our horse having recovered, early this morning we started. Having risen again on the high prairie, we travelled on it till the middle of the afternoon, when we came down on the low grounds, on which the village were encamped. At this place we obtained water from a small creek, on the banks of which was a little wood. Here the day previous, they had killed some bufalo.

*December 16.* We stopped at the place mentioned in the above date till to day, one day longer than the village, our horse having again failed. From this spot we rose by a gradual ascent on the high prairie grounds, travelled some distance, descended into a deep ravine, rose again on the highlands, on which we passed till near night, when we came down where the village was encamped. To day they had killed and brought in an abundance of meat, and I was invited to not a few places to eat of it. At this place was no wood of any consequence, and no water, but what had been formed by melting snow, and had run into a deep ravine, where it stood.

While encamped at the place, from which we started on the fourth instant, a party of Rees [Arickaree] stole a number of the Pawnees' horses. They had driven them some distance, when they were espied by

a young Pawnee, who was out looking for the bufalo. He without delay communicated intelligence of this affair to the village. Several of their bravest men immediately mounted their fleetest horses, and set off at full speed in pursuit of the thieves. By taking a shorter route than that the Rees had travelled, they succeeded in getting ahead of them, met them, took their horses from them, caught them, gave them a severe flogging and let them go. So say the Pawnees. (One of the Rees, I have since understood, died of the wounds received from the Pawnees.)

*December 20.* We remained at this desolate place till to-day, that the women might have time to dry their meat. Early this morning we again set forward travelling first through a broken, barren country, then over a high prairie, when we came into another tract of broken barren country. In this solitary place we encamped—no wood of any consequence, and water as at the last stopping place.

*December 25.* On this cold barren spot we remained 4 days, but did not kill any meat, the weather being too cold, and the ground too slippery to follow the buffalo. To day we left this undesirable spot, and having come upon the high prairie, proceeded till about three in the afternoon, when we saw many buffalo on both sides of us. Our procession was ordered to stop, and the young men, mounting their horses, set off at full speed to kill them. Our company again resumed their march, and came near sunset to their camping place. I now, for the first time, had an opportunity of witnessing the chase. They get as near, as they can on their horses, to the bufalo without being seen by them. They now set off at full speed toward their prey which on seeing its pursuer moves off with all the rapidity it is capable. A race ensues, but it is not long usually, if the ground is favorable before he overtakes his prey and despatches it. When they come up with the bufalo, they are pursuing, they ride alongside of the animal, at a little distance from it, and in the twinkling of an eye, shoot one, two, three, or more arrows (just as they happen to take effect) into it. The beast when shot in this manner sometimes falls dead on the spot, sometimes stops, stands still, shakes it head, menaces its pursuer and bellows and groans till exhausted, it expires, again it becomes furious, turn on its pursuer, and if he is not so fortunate as to get out of the way, upsets both the horse and his rider. It is a dangerous business, but the Pawnees are excellent horsemen, and often escape, when to any other, but an Indian, there would appear, but a forlorn hope. Tonight large quantities of meat were brought in. At this place is a scarcity of wood—water as at the two last encampments.

*December 30.* At this place we remained four days, and made a pretty good supply of meat. While here I had an opportunity one evening of seeing how this people manage when the flames of the burning prairie grass threaten to sweep through and destroy the village. The flames were already sweeping over some of the high ridges, not far distant from our camp. The old men passed back and forth through the village with haste, calling out, at the top of their voices, the young men and boys, and sending them off in parties in different directions to drive in the horses, and set back fires, on the high grounds where the grass was short, and the fire on that account could be easily extinguished. They performed their

business and came in about an hour from the time they were ordered out. Our village was illuminated all night by the various fires around it.

This morning we resumed our journey, and having travelled toward the Platte through an uneven, broken tract of country till about three in the afternoon, we came to a good watering place, where we encamped. The wood at this camp was all to be brought from a distance.

*January 8.* While we stopped at the encampment we leave this morning, an abundance of meat was killed and dried. Passed today through a broken tract of country, and over elevated prairie, and 4 hours from the former, made our present encampment. Wood was procured with difficulty at this place—water obtained by melting snow.

*January 12.* Early this morning we started from our encampment, and having passed over three high prairies, and crossed as many deep ravines, we came near sunset to the Platte, on the bank of which we made our encampment. We had been absent from the Platte, just two months, wandering about in a zigzig direction, our course being directed by the bufalo. We came to the Platte on our return many miles lower than we left it.

*January 20.* Yesterday travelled 5 hours toward the village, then stopped for the ensuing night. To day travelled 5 hours and encamped again on the banks of the Platte.

*January 25.* Yesterday the Pawnees went down the Platte, a short distance, made another surround, and killed a large number of bufalo. To day we came to the place where the surround was made in three hours. I am now compelled to undergo another feasting. The bufalo have not, for several years past, come down so low as this place. They have often told me during the winter, they had not been obliged to go as far to find their favorite bufalo this season as usual. They say, they have gone a great distance some winters before coming to the bufalo —have been obliged to encamp in a bad, cold country with little or no wood for many days—have endured many hardships—lost many of their horses, etc. Indeed I have recently been informed, the bufalo are numerous at this time as many as 20 miles below the Grand Pawnee village. They have not been found so low, as that, probably for the last 20 years. The Pawnees have repeatedly told me, that it was because I had come to live with them, the bufalo had come down so low. They say the bufalo have been gone a long time, but now a man has come to live with them, who loves Te-rah-wah, and he has sent back the bufalo. Soon after we came to this encampment, the old chief took me out, and showed me the spot, where 5 years before, a battle had been fought by the Pawnees and Poncahs. Five of the Poncahs and one Pawnee were killed in this fight. The old men pointed out the identical spot, where three of their enemies were slain. He said their young men beat them to death with their war clubs.

*February 6.* Yesterday was a severely cold day—the coldest we have had during the winter. Today is very cold, but not so cold as yesterday. Owing to the cold weather, and poor keeping many of the Pawnee horses

are dying. My old host has lost three. They lose more or less of these animals every year.

*February 28.* The past winter has not been so cold, as those I have experienced in New England. The two days, I have mentioned, were the coldest, I have witnessed in this country, but these were not colder than many I have experienced in my native land. The first snow fell on the 14. Nov. about 6 inches deep, but melted in a few days. On the last day of Nov. about the same quantity fell, as before, but was gone in about a week. Our next snow storm and most severe, came on about the middle of Jan. The snow began to fall about daylight, and continued till night. It snowed very fast and the wind blew violently. The snow at this time fell 18 inches deep on the level. In the latter part of Jan. and former part of Feb. we had several falls of snow, but none of them more than four or five inches deep. By the middle of Feb. the snow was all gone, and we have had none since. The winds on the prairies are strong and violent. During the winter season, when they blow from the north and East, they are cold and very disagreeable. After we came to this encampment very few bufalo were killed. Now came a time of feasting. When a man wishes to make a feast he orders one of his wives to hang the big brass kettle over the fire, and fill it with corn and beans, and water sufficient to boil them. This is done at night. Early in the morning he sends for two men, whose business it is to serve on such occasions. When they come he smokes with them, then orders one of them to go and invite the first chief to his lodge, and in case he should be absent the second. When the chief comes he brings his pipe and tobacco of course, after smoking together, the man who makes the feast makes known his object to the chief, who directs the two men who serve to go about through the village, and invite such persons as he names to the feast. The kettle is now taken from the fire and placed near the entrance of the lodge, and a quantity of bufalo tallow put into it. No woman or child must now be about the dwelling till the feast has ended and the guests are gone. When the men have given the invitations directed, they return to the lodge, and smoke again, then are sent to borrow bowls for the feast. When the guests have come in, (they are the chiefs, and first men in the village) who were invited, if there are not enough to fill the lodge more are sent for, and so on, till it is completely filled. The guests are seated in two circles—the one near and around the fire (this is the most honorable) the other back next the tent cover. Every man on entering the lodge stands till he is pointed to his seat by the master of the feast. The man who presides, now names the persons, who are to make the speeches, a certain number of which are to be made on every such occasion. Three or four old men are permitted to attend, and pay for their attendance by having a large part of the talking to do. One of the old men, (sometimes two,) begins by making a speech in commendation of the individual, who feasts them, the chiefs, etc. and if there be any public business to be transacted, he states it and gives his views on the subject. He is followed by the master of the feast, and he by another chief, or any distinguished person who

may choose to speak. When they have sufficiently commended their feaster, and transacted the business before them, an old man makes a sort of prayer, which ends the talking. Some person must now count the company, and make out how many bowls will be needed, two persons eating out of each. When this has been determined, some person is designated to distribute the contents of the kettle equally in the bowls placed around it. One of these bowls is sent to one of their principal priests. Another is placed before the master of the feast, who takes a spoonful of its contents, and after carefully draining it, gives the spoon to the person who made the distribution. He passes round near the entrance, puts his right hand on the contents of the spoon, and ceremoniously raises it toward the door, or east. He now passes to the opposite side of the fireplace, where he puts down the contents of the spoon in two places about a foot apart—in one place about three fourths, and in the other the remainder of the spoonful—the larger heap for the bufalo—the smaller for Te-rah-wah. From the time the guests began to assemble till now, the pipe and tobacco of the master of the feast are made free use of. The remainder of the bowls are now distributed to the guests, who soon devour their contents, and return them. After the bowls have been sent home the company thank their benefactor and retire. Sometimes two or three such feasts follow each other, the guests going from one directly to another. For about a month such feasts were held every day to my no small annoyance.

*March 2.* To day a Ree has been to the village begging. Though the day was very cold, the shameless being went about through the village the whole forenoon, naked as he was born. In his left hand he held a bow and two arrows, in his right a stick about two feet long. He went, singing at the top of his voice, beating time with his stick on the bow. When he entered a lodge, he stood and sung till they gave him something, or told him to go away. The Pawnees gave him a piece of cloth to cover his nakedness, the first lodge he entered, but the brutish creature instead of wearing it carried it about with him till he went away. The Pawnees called him a dog, and not a man.

Tonight this benighted, superstitious people held what they called a bear dance. The first chiefs of the Grand and Tapage bands and about 30 of their warriors dressed themselves fancifully, each differently, and with many ceremonies commenced dancing at sunset. Their dancing and singing continued all night, stopping only at intervals to eat. As I saw their foolish actions, but for a few moments, I shall not attempt to describe them. The dance held to night is to procure success for a large party, which starts tomorrow to visit the Itans [Iatans], Kiewahs [Kiowas], Pawnee Picts, etc. Their object is to trade for horses, of which the above tribes have an abundance. They carry a large quantity of goods on their backs, consisting of blankets, guns, powder and ball, knives, tobacco, paint, etc. They think to accomplish their journey in about 60 sleeps.

The Pawnee women are very laborious. I am inclined to think, they perform more hard labor, than any other women on this continent, be they white, black or red. It is rare, they are seen idle. When a Pawnee

woman has nothing to do, she seems to be out of her element. They dress the skins for the tent covers, which is done with no small labor, sew them together, and fit them for the tents—make all the robes, which are many, both for their own use and the market—cut and bring all the wood on their backs—make all the fires—do all the cooking of course—dry all the meat—dig the ground—plant—hoe and gather all the corn, of which they raise an abundance, as they also do of beans and pumpkins—cut the timber, and build all their dwellings, both fixed and movable—set up and take down the portable tents—bridle and unbridle, saddle and unsaddle, pack and unpack all the horses—make all their moccasons, mats, bags, bowls, mortars, etc. etc. and if there be anything else done, beside watering, bringing up, and turning out the horses, (which the boys do) killing the bufalo, smoking and feasting, the women do it. Since the ground has thawed, they have bestowed some hundreds of days of hard labor in digging Indian potatoes. A woman does not succeed in digging more than a peck, laboring diligently from sunrise till sunset. Soon after light I have seen droves of the women and girls with their hoes or axes on their shoulders, starting off to their day's work. The men do not fail to call up their wives and daughters, as soon as it is light, and set them at work.

Their women are mere slaves. Whenever a Pawnee wishes to take a ride, he sends a boy after his horse, which, when brought up, his wife saddles. When he returns, he dismounts, and walks directly into his dwelling. His wife must without delay take off, and bring in the saddle. When he goes out to kill the bufalo, his wife must bridle and saddle his horse. When he returns, she must meet him without the village, and lead in his horse with the meat, which she throws off, and brings into the lodge, then unbridles and unsaddles his horse. If he kills the animal with a gun, and brings the meat on his back, his wife must meet him, as before, take the meat from his back on her own, and bring it to the lodge.

When together in the lodge, their wives and daughters occupy the coldest and most inconvenient part of it. If there happen to be as many men present, as can conveniently sit around the fire, the women must sit back behind them, however cold it may be. If they have more than their horses can conveniently pack, their women must carry it. They carry huge loads, as far as we travelled during the day, many of them without stopping at all to rest by the way, that I discovered. When they stop for the night, the horses are to be unpacked, and unsaddled, the furniture to be arranged, the tents set up, wood and water brought, fire made, victuals cooked, moccasons mended, etc. before taking any time to rest, thus their labor is excessive. They are naturally bright and active, but their treatment renders them what slaves always are. They are much degraded. They become, as much slaves to their sons, when they arrive at manhood, as to their husbands. They are exceedingly loquacious. Several of them often talk at the same time. they either possess the faculty of talking and hearing at the same time, or are so predisposed to garulity, that they talk without caring to be heard. They not only talk much, but often scold. Their ill treatment frequently renders them excessively illnatured.

The men are abominably lazy. When I say this, however, I would not be understood, that they are more indolent, than other wild Indians.

They procure their meat with far less labor, than the tribes east of them, and of course have more time to spend in idleness. They say their proper business is killing the bufalo and war. Since the recent treaty with the United States, they have been obliged to give up the last mentioned business. They now smoke, talk, feast, sing and lounge away the time. Their women neither smoke, nor sing. This important business, in their estimation belongs only to the men. When not employed, the men sleep, as much, perhaps more, during the day than night. It is common for several of the men, when they are, neither journeying, nor killing the bufalo, (for when doing either of these, they are usually quiet) to come together to some lodge, where is both pipe and tobacco, and there sit, smoke, and tell over their exploits till a late hour, when instead of separating and going to their lodges, as they should do, they not unfrequently fall to singing, and sing some hours. I have been an eyewitness to many such meetings, when I would have much preferred to have been asleep. When they awake in the night, they frequently fall to singing, which they continue till they are weary of it, or sleep again. It is seldom, silence reigns through the village, even during the season of 'solemn stillness.'

*March 5.* To day we left this encampment, and after traveling 6 hours made another. This is not a good stopping place, food for the horses being short, and wood at this stage of the water difficult to be obtained. I think we shall stay, but a few days.

*March 9.* Yesterday had a fine fall of rain—first we have had this season—last night had a thunder storm. As this was the first time it had thundered this season they said, Te-rah-wah had spoken; they intend holding a religious festival in a few days, and offering some sacrifices to him. To day we again move. After 4 hours travel we encamped in a sparse grove of cottonwood on the bank of the Platte.

*March 20.* This is beautiful weather. It seems like May it is so warm. The grass is already begginning to start, and the spring birds sing finely. The sand banks of the Platte are covered with multitudes of wild geese, ducks, and other water fowl, that quackle, and croak with all their wonted hoarseness. On a fine spring day since coming to this place, when all seemed joyous, the men walking to and fro through the village the women busily engaged in their various kinds of work, and the children sporting gleefully; suddenly a doleful howling was set up in one part of our camp, and soon responded to from every quarter. On enquiry I learned, a man of some note had suddenly fallen dead, while sitting in his lodge. Every countenance was solemn. That gladness, which one moment before was depicted on every face was now gone, and sorrow marked each savage form. I went to the place, and as soon as I could for the crowd entered the lodge thinking probably the man had only fainted, or something of the kind, and that something might yet be done to restore him but the dwelling was so much crowded, I could not get near enough even to see the unfortunate man, and I soon retired. His wife, children and relatives appeared to be inconsolable, and gave vent to their grief in the most frantic manner.

The religious festival was held after coming to this place. I did not attend, but saw some of the ceremonies performed outdoors. Early in the morning the old men (who are the ministers of their religion) assembled in several lodges in different parts of the village, and I saw mutitudes of bufalo tongues and hearts (the heart and tongue are cut and dried in the same piece) carried to these lodges by those, who wished either to procure the favor of man, or conciliate their deity, or both. About noon I saw the big pipe brought out and ceremoniously emptied four times towards the different points of the compass at a little distance from the lodge, and on opposite sides of it. A small quantity of the smoking material was brought out at four different times and deposited on the emptyings of the pipe. Next were brought out four small painted rods about a yard long, to one end of which was attached a piece of human scalp about the size of a sixpenny bit. These rods were stuck in the ground on the four sides of the tent, where the other things had been placed. Lastly were brought out four hearts and tongues, and four little bundles of faggots on which to burn them. These were brought out at four successive times, and burned near the several rods. At these different times two persons came out, one bearing the sacred pipe and the burnt offering, I have mentioned, the other the materials to consume it. The latter person remained without till the whole tongue and heart were burned. The rods I have named, I saw standing for several days and the human hair suspended from them waving in the wind. This hair they told me was that of their enemies the Shiennes [Cheyennes], whom they killed in battle.

*March 28.* Weather continues fine. To day travelled four hours and encamped once more on an island in the Platte.

*March 31.* Weather remarkably warm for the season. To day travelled to the village in four hours. We had been absent from the village five months and five days—made 33 encampments and travelled 300 miles. I have mentioned all our journeyings and stopping places not because there is any thing specially interesting in them, but to give a correct idea what a wandering life these Indians lead. Such a winter's tour they have made every year since they were born. In making this tour they endure many hardships, particularly the women (who have all that is hard to do) and children. The men have done just nothing, since I have been with them, so far as labor is concerned. To kill the bufalo is mere sport for them.

*April 2.* The women are now busily employed making robes of the skins of the bufalo that were killed last winter, or in preparing timber to build new dwellings. As there is no wood near the village, they cut their timber some miles above it in the islands of the Platte and bring it down by water. Two, three or 4 of the largest timbers, they use in building, are tied together, and a cord attached to them, by which they are drawn down the stream. I have seen no small number of women, boys and girls, since the spring opened, wading in the water, and dragging these timbers after them. When they commenced bringing them down, the water was nearly as cold as ice. If their women were not very hardy, the Pawnees would soon be without wives or daughters.

Notwithstanding all the hardships attendant on this mode of life, the Pawnees love it, and will never, I fear, entirely abandon it, till they are compelled to do so, either by force, or a prospect of starvation. The men gain their subsistence with so little personal effort, and so love their ease, that they never will, willingly, adopt a mode of life that will render them dependent on their personal exertions for a livelihood. Their being satisfied with the wandering mode of life may arise from their not knowing of any other, all the tribes around them, living in the same manner. When I have told them how the white men lived, they have said it was good, but never have manifested any anxiety to change their present mode of life for that of the white man.

Happily for them, the Pawnees have had less intercourse with the whites, than almost any other tribe on this side the mountains. When I first came to the village, I was gazed at, not a little. My fur cap and boots excited special attention. The men would take my cap and examine it, then put it on their heads, and tell me, it was good. The women would look with surprise at my boots, and as soon as they dare, feel of them, and desire me to take them off, that they might see how it was done, and examine them. The other parts of my dress did not attract so much attention. Their only curiosity with respect to them was to know how they were put on and taken off. When I have told them how the white women dressed, the females have expressed much surprise, very few, if any of them having seen a white woman.

The dress of the Pawnees, like that of other indians, is very simple, consisting of very few garments. That of the men consists of a pair of buck skin leggins, girdle, breechcloth and bufalo robe. That of the women consists of a pair of leggins, extending from the knee downward, a garment, tied about the waist with a girdle, and extending below the knee, another worn about the chest, suspended by narrow pieces, passing over the shoulders, and extending below the waist, and the bufalo robe. The neck, shoulders and arms are uncovered, except with a robe. The garments of the females are made of cloth, if the wearer can afford it, if not, of the skin of the bufalo, wrought soft and pliable. Both the males and females wear a blanket in warm weather instead of the robe, if they have the means to procure one. The males are suffered to arrive at six, eight, or even ten years of age before the breech cloth is put on them, the females wear some sort of a garment from an early age.

Polygamy is practiced by the Pawnees. The first chief of the Grand band has four wives. The second chief of this band has two. Among the Loups it is usual for one man to marry all the sisters of the family, if he chooses. Whether this practice obtains among the other bands, I am unable now to say.

Of the moral character of this people I cannot now speak so definitely as I would wish. The first and second commandments, I do not know, that they outwardly violate. I have not a sufficient knowledge of their language to judge concerning their observance of the third. The fourth is wholly disregarded—the fifth violated—the sixth sometimes broken—the seventh very rarely if ever kept—the eighth disregarded—the ninth and tenth are not known. The Pawnees, as a people are not addicted to

drunkenness. Perhaps the only reason, why they are not, is their remote situation, or the difficulty of obtaining the material. They are much given to gambling, and play away any thing they have almost. They acquire all the vices of the whites that live among them.

The Pawnees are very fond of music, and spend much of their time in singing. Their hymns and songs are very brief, consisting only of a few words, which they repeat. Their singing (which is to all intents and purposes, sufficiently devoid of melody without any accompaniments) is accompanied with two instruments (of any thing, but) music. One of them is a gourd, which being emptied of its natural contents, a handful of small shot are put in their place, and the aperture closed. This is shaken in time to their singing. The other is a sort of drum, made by straining a piece of buck skin over the end of a powder cask. This is beaten in a tiresome monotony with one stick. The character of their singing may be judged of by the company it keeps. They have another instrument, which is not of their own invention. It is a piece of cane, cut in imitation of a flute. Its sound (not music) is not unlike that, I have sometimes heard little boys make, in my native land, with the stem of a pumpkin leaf.

Through the favor and influence of the old chief, with whom I have lived, I have been permitted to witness many of their religious ceremonies and observances. They have many religious festivals. These feasts are often, if not always, gluttonous feasts. For instance, a young man devotes a bufalo he has killed to Te-rah-wah. This is often done, and where done, the entire animal is carried to the lodge of some person, to whom this business belongs, who invites about a dozen of the old men to come and feast with him, and assist in performing the ceremonies usual on such occasions. I was present at one of these festivals. Twelve old men attended. They commenced operations just at sunset. The bundle of sacred things, which is always suspended from the poles of the tent, directly opposite its entrance, was taken down and its contents arranged in due order. Among them were a bufalo robe, the skins of several fur animals, as the beaver, otter etc. the rods of arrows, taken from their enemies, the skull of a wild cat, two ears of corn etc. etc. Various ceremonies were performed over these sacra by different persons, as directed by the master of the feast, such as puffing smoke on them, stroking them with the hand, etc. etc. Some speeches were now made, and one of their prayers offered. The whole animal was now cut in pieces, and cooked with the exception of the heart and tongue, which were burned without the tent. Now came the most desirable part of the services, as was manifest from the smile, that lighted up the countenances of all present—I mean eating their delicious bufalo meat. The flesh of the animal, when cooked, was divided into so many equal shares, as there were persons present. I had a portion with the rest. When we had feasted, the sacred things were again put in the bundle, and suspended in their accustomed place. The old fellows now retired, apparently very well satisfied with their stuffing.

The day after we came back to the village a great festival was held, as is customary after coming in from their winter's tour. This festival

was held in as many as ten lodges in different parts of the village. Both old and young men attend this feast. The design of it is to procure a good and healthful season, good crops, and prosperity in all their undertakings. Early in the morning, I observed the bufalo tongues and hearts passing through the village in various directions. About 8, I was invited to one of the lodges, where I found 12 men, 40 tongues and hearts, and one large piece of bufalo meat beside. The bundle of sacred things was already taken down, opened and its contents arranged. Among them were the bufalo robe, the furs, ears of corn and arrow rods, as before, also several bundles of scalps, and the stuffed skins of a number of sacred birds. The cranium of an old bull was also set out in its proper place. Some red paint was now prepared with tallow by one of the men, and handed to the master of the feast, who painted his face, breast, arms and legs. He then divided the paint, and gave one half to the person next on his right, and the other, to the one next on his left. These persons imitated his example, then passed the paint to those next them, and so on till all were painted. The skull of the old bull must next be painted. The persons who officiated in this senseless service, stood behind the skull and passed his right hand, besmeared with paint three times from the nose backwards over the central part of the bone, then each hand, once, from the angle of the mouth on either side to the tip of the horn. Five rods were now whittled out and painted. To these rods pieces of scalps were attached, in the manner, I have mentioned above. Four of these were successively taken out and set up—one to the east—one to the west—another to the north—and another to the south of the lodge. The other rod was set up within the lodge directly in front of the old bull's muzzle. Next was to be performed the ceremony of smoking the sacred pipe. The smoke was puffed upward, downward, toward the four points of the compass on the sacred things, on the bull's pate, etc. etc. Four of the least bufalo tongues and hearts were now taken out and burned, after the manner I have already described. During these various services several speeches were made by different individuals present. A sort of prayer was also offered, as is usual at feasts before eating. Two large kettles full of boiled corn were brought in soon after I arrived. The contents of these were despatched at different times before noon, though it prodigiously tried the receptive capacity of the old fellow. The old bull's head did not fail of a liberal offering of the boiled corn, which was carefully placed before it. Though it was utterly senseless to place this food for the dry bone to eat, yet it was wiser, perhaps, than to place it before these stupid creatures, who had already eaten too much. When the corn had been put out of the way, the bufalo tongues, hearts and meat were cut up and cooked. Of these we had three large kettles full. When all was cooked, the whole was divided into 13 equal shares and placed before the persons present. I had for my portion more meat, than I could eat in a week, and I sent it home to the family with whom I lived. After feasting thus gluttonously, the sacred things were again ceremoniously packed up, and put up in their appropriate place. It was now three in the afternoon, and we separated. I left the place perfectly disgusted with this senseless round of ceremonies. When shall these dark minds be en-

lightened by the bright beams of the gospel's light, and serve God in sincerity and in truth?

The old men frequently spend whole nights commencing at sunset, in singing and feasting. They sing on these occasions, as loud as they can, shaking their gourds, and beating their drums at the same time. They do this to bring the bufalo, to make cold or warm weather, to prevent sickness, etc. etc.

I have not yet discovered, that their religious duties extend any farther, than they are accompanied by some sensual gratification, such as eating, smoking, singing, or the like. Were it not for these things, I think their religious services would be very few, unless when excited by fear, or something of that nature.

They say Te-rah-wah is every where, and this is the only correct idea, they have of the Diety to my knowledge. In the winter when it was cold, they said he was bad, and when it was pleasant, they said he was good. When it thunders they say, he speaks. They seem to think, he is changeable like themselves—sometimes angry, and sometimes pleased. It is very evident, they have more of fear of, than love to him. Though they tell me, they love him very much. They, like all other Indians in a state of heathenism, are exceedingly superstitious. There are imposters among them, who perform many feats of legerdemain, which the mass of the people, as firmly believe, to be realities as they do, that they are living beings. These imposters exert a great and pernicious influence over the people.

Their minds are dark, as midnight, with respect to eternal realities. Not a ray of hope shines through the dark passage of the grave, and shows to them a blessed immortality beyond. Of Jesus and the blessings, that flow to dying sinners through the atonement, he has made, they have not heard. "That dear name, on which our hopes of heaven depend" has not, understandingly, been declared to them.

*April 12.* To day returned from making the tour of the several villages. Started from the Grand Pawnee village on the 6 inst. The first day in company with Mr. Allis, I crossed the Platte and proceeded 25 miles to the village of the Republican and Tapage Bands. This village is built on a high bluff on the north side of the Loup Fork about thirty miles above its junction with the Platte. The Loup Fork is a large stream, and difficult to ford, except when the water is low, the bottom at high water being a mere quicksand. We took lodgings with the first chief of the Tapage band, who has always treated me very kindly. We called at the lodge of the first chief of the Republicans, but did not find him at home. The Omohaws are now encamped near this village. They have come to trade for horses with the Pawnees. We called on their principal chief. He told me no missionary had yet been sent to his people.

The next day we passed up on the right side of the Fork to the Loup village, 7 miles distant. About 4 miles from the Tapage village, we passed what is called the little Republican village, at which a part of that band reside. This is also situated on the high bluff near the stream. The Loup village is quite ancient, and built on the bluff very near the river. The bank of the Fork is high and steep against the three villages.

The Loup village contains about 70 lodges. We found the Pawnees at all the villages afflicted with a prevailing influenza. With the Loups we remained till the 11 inst. when we set out on our return, crossing the Fork at the Loup village. Night overtook us before we arrived at the Grand village, and we slept in the prairie. The next morning we came to the village.

*April 24.* To day we arrived at the agency. We started from the Grand Pawnee village on the 17th. We had an unpleasant time to perform our journey. It was rainy, cold and windy. We did not intend to stay at the agency more than 8 days, when we came in, but when we were informed the agent had not yet arrived, we concluded to remain till he came, as we did not know how to make our arrangements for the ensuing season, till we had seen him, and learned what he intended to do toward settling the Pawnees at the place proposed. The agent told me last autumn, he thought he should be at this post in the former part of April, but for some reasons he has not yet arrived. It is now the 27 May. We have recently heard, that he is now on his way, and his arrival is daily expected.

I have now been with the Pawnees, excluded from civilised and christian society more than 6 months. This time I have passed much more pleasantly than I had anticipated, before going to live with them. By this people I have been treated with uniform kindness and respect. With respect to my host and his family, I am constrained to acknowledge, that in my opinion, they have been desirous to do every thing in their power to render my condition comfortable, since I have been with them. I think the Pawnees are a good Indian, but I will not say too much for them till I have proved them farther.

True I have witnessed many of the abominations of the heathen, and my heart has often been pained in view of their deep degradation, and cruel superstition, yet have I been cheerful. Melancholy, that withering blast, has not been permitted to bear down my spirits. I have cheerfully trusted in the Lord, committed my ways to him, and tried to go forward in what I considered to be the path of duty. He, that said, "Lo I am with you even unto the end of the world," has been with me in my lonely situation. He has given me health, caused the savages to feed me in the wilderness, and abundantly supplied all my wants. "Great is the goodness of the Lord!" "The promises of God are sure, not one of them shall ever fail."

In all my intercourse with this people, my object has been: 1. To acquire a knowledge of their language in order to. 2. To communicate religious instruction. 3. To learn the habits, customs, manners, etc. etc., of these Indians. I know you may say my second should stand first, but I could not talk, till after I had learned to speak. I have now made some little progress in the acquisition of the language. It is a mere beginning, however. I can converse with them some on common subjects. The Pawnee I consider, as a difficult tongue to acquire.

I am aware, that the course, pursued by Mr. Allis and myself, in going to live and wander with the Pawnees, is one, that has, in very few instances, if in any, been adopted by the missionaries of our Board. In so

doing we have acted conscientiously. We hope your Committee will express their views fully on this course in your next communication.

We would acknowledge our obligations to the agent for the kindness shown us, and the assistance granted us in the prosecution of our work thus far. J. DUNBAR.

Bellevue, May 27, 1835.

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[Addressed to Rev. David Greene, Missionary Rooms, Boston, Mass.]

BELLEVUE (UPPER MISSOURI), Oct. 8th, 1835.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR—It is now a long time since I have been favored with a communication from you, and perhaps a still longer time since you have heard from Mr. Allis and myself. We came to this place in the latter part of last April and remained about 8 weeks. During that period I made out something in the form of a journal and Mr. Allis wrote a letter or letters, all of which were addressed to you and forwarded by a trader to St. Louis with directions to have them mailed at the postoffice in that place. Since we came to this place, 5 days ago, Mr. A. saw the trader by whom our letters were sent last spring. He informed Mr. A. that he had forgotten his directions with respect to leaving the letters, and had brought them safely back and would hand them to him the next day. Thus instead of hearing from you as we had strongly desired, when we came to this place, we had the letters, we had sent to you returned to us. This was to us quite a disappointment. What has become of the Journal I do not know. I apprehend it has been mislaid or miscarried. If you had received it, I think, I should have heard from you ere this.

On the 2nd. of October 1834 I arrived at this place. On the 19th. of the same month Mr. Allis and myself left this place with the Pawnees. Mr. A. with the Pawnee Loups, and myself with the Grand Pawnees. On the 21st. I came to the Grand Pawnee village and on the 27th. started with them on their winter hunt. We returned to the village the last day of March. On the 24th of April in company with Mr. A. I came to this place, and did not return to the Pawnees till the last of June. About the 1st. of July I started with them on their summer hunt. I returned to the village again on the last day of August. Since that time I have visited Cantonment Leavenworth, and am now again at this place. Tomorrow Mr. A. and myself expect to set out for our respective villages. We intend to wander with the Pawnees the ensuing winter, and if our lives and health are spared we shall return to this place next spring when they come in from the hunt.

We hope, we shall then find communication not only from yourself, but also from our other eastern correspondents. We have received no letters from the east during this visit. It is probable letters will not now reach us, if sent, till we come to this place in the spring. We shall write you during the winter as we have opportunities to send letters.

The Pawnees have treated us very kindly since we have lived with them. We feel ourselves safe under their protection and hope, neither our friends, nor our patrons will indulge any fears for our safety, though they should not often hear from us.

We have made some progress in the acquisition of the Pawnee language. To acquire of knowledge of their tongue is our main object in living and wandering with them at present.

I think the prospect of benefiting the Pawnees by Missionary labors to be at the present time as flattering as that of any other tribe with which I am acquainted. We hope you will soon see fit to send more laborers into this field. In haste yours respectfully, J. DUNBAR

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BELLEVUE, May 5th, 1836.

*Rev. David Greene, Missionary Rooms, Boston, Mass.*

DEAR SIR—I have, at length, come in from a third tour with the Pawnees. They returned to their village April 9th, and on the 30th. of the same month. I arrived at this place. Mr. Allis came in several weeks earlier, and went below before I arrived. He is expected to return in the steam boat in a few days.

My health has been invariably good during my residence with the Pawnees. The journey of the past winter has been more laborious, than that of the preceding, and my fare not so good. I am not aware, that this has happened from any diminution of kind feeling on the part of this people, but from the want of means to treat me as well as formerly. They have made a bad hunt the past winter. Particulars hereafter.

Your letters of Aug. 18 and Feb. 8th. have come to hand since coming to this place. To the enquiries, contained in the former, I shall, in this, attempt to reply. It is probable, Dr. Whitman has communicated to your Committee a mass of information, since the above communication was penned, which will in part obviate the necessity of my replying to your enquiries; yet I shall be happy to communicate any information in my possession, or to express an opinion on any subject connected with the establishment of missions among the Indians, when such an expression shall tend to promote the cause of Christ among the red men of the prairie.

With respect to the enlargement of the Pawnee Mission, I think it very desirable, the number of laborers should be increased. The Pawnees are one of the most important nations east of the Mountains, both in regard to numbers, and location. Few tribes outnumber them. It is probable, that on no equal space of territory in the Indian country, are to be found so many immortal beings, as on that which embraces the Pawnee villages. Their location on the great thoroughfare between the States and Rocky mountains, renders it important, that this post should be strongly occupied. This seems to be necessary in order to the successful prosecution of missions among the tribes more remote.

The Pawnee Loups speak a language dialectically different from that of the other bands. The Pawnee Picts to the south, and the Rees (Ah-rik-ah-rahs) to the north, if I have been correctly informed, speak a language similar to that of the Pawnees. The Rees and Pawnees converse with, and understand each other, and it is my impression, that the Picts and Northern Pawnees do the same. If so, then here are, probably 15, or 16,000 immortal beings, that may be approached more, or less di-

rectly through the medium of the same language. These considerations may be sufficient to show the propriety of increasing the number of missionaries at this station.

With regard to the men, that should be sent to this country as laborers:—They should be men of deep and ardent piety, sound constitution, and good common sense. They should be men of great equanimity, of unyielding patience, and untiring perseverance. Men, who can cheerfully accommodate themselves to the circumstances in which they are placed,—Men, who can endure hardships, and "hardness as good soldiers,"—decided, laborious, and discriminating men. One of them should be a physician, the others may be missionaries, or catechists, as you may be able to procure the men.

As to the time, when they should be sent, the sooner, the better. The sooner, they come, the earlier, they will acquire the language, and the sooner they make themselves masters of the language, the sooner they will be prepared to labor for the salvation of the perishing. As soon as you can obtain the proper men, send them.

The adoption and prosecution of the plan pursued by myself and Mr. Allis, are plain indications, that we approve of it. When we first came to the Pawnees this seemed to be the only course by which we could essentially benefit them, till they should, in some measure, relinquish their wandering mode of life. From the information I have gained in reference to other wandering tribes, it is more than probable, that nearly or quite all the tribes East, and many of those west of the Rocky Mountains may be reached in the same manner. It seems to me, that the present is a favorable time to occupy this large extent of country. Let not the churches wait, and say the door of access to these wandering tribes is not yet opened. If the way is not now prepared to reach them when, I ask, will it be prepared? Is it answered? 'When they cease to wander, and become settled.' This may be too late; it certainly will be too late with some generations of them. They will die before that time, and lift up their eyes being in the place of torment. I am inclined to think, that the door of access, instead of opening wider, is now closing. Cannot selfdenying men be found in the churches, who will go forth after the example of their Divine Master into this wilderness, and on these mountains to seek these wanderers, and to save these lost. Traders for filthy lucre go forth with nearly all these tribes, and fare as hard as would a missionary. This should put us to the blush. A country, through every nook and corner of which the sons of gain pass and repass, unharmed, and with whose inhabitants they dwell in safety, unprepared for the reception of Missionaries!!

Let no person think of entering on a course similar to that which has been pursued with the Pawnees, with any of these tribes, till he has first counted the cost. Sacrifices he must make, and trials he must endure,—but I believe the work can be done, I hope it will soon be done. The pure principles of the gospel, made to bear on the hearts and consciences of these wild men will prepare them to settle sooner than any thing else. The practicability of presenting the gospel to these wanderers can no longer be questioned.

My progress in the language has been such, that I can now understand nearly all they say. The circumstances of the Pawnees the past winter have been peculiarly unfavorable to the acquisition of their language. I can now converse with them on most subjects, so as to make myself understood. I can hear much better, than I can speak. An interpreter might now be profitably employed. None of the Pawnee interpreters (perhaps) understand grammar, and of course can render little assistance in forming a Pawnee grammar.

As soon as I was able, I commenced imparting religious instruction, and have continued to do so ever since, so far as my knowledge of the language would admit. My instructions have, however, been very limited on account of not having terms to express with precision my ideas. They have usually listened attentively to what I have said—sometimes apparently with interest. They have never manifested a disposition to dispute with me.

Wandering with the Indians without an interpreter will probably be admitted by all, who, reflect on the subject, to be the best mode of acquiring their language. This course is approved by many of the traders and others, with whom I have conversed on the subject, and who have had opportunity to test it. Those, only, speak good Pawnee, who have lived and wandered with them; those, who have employed interpreters, speak it indifferently. My own experience goes to confirm this. When words have been given to me by others who understood the language, I have usually forgotten very soon, or if retained, have been obliged to have them corrected by the Indians, either in sound, or use before they were of service to me. Whereas the words, I got from the Pawnees, themselves, I retain, and they need no correction either in sound, or use. By pursuing such a course a person may sometimes be placed in a perplexing situation, especially, when first coming among the Indians, but he will soon be able to make himself understood either by signs, or words.

Our future plans are conditional. Should the Pawnees locate themselves, we intend establishing ourselves with or near them, and commencing missionary operations, as at other stations of the board. When we came in from our first tour with the Indians, we were hoping something would be done to locate them. Nothing, however, was done to effect this to us desirable object. When we returned from our second expedition we had similar expectations, and now, when come in from a third excursion, we are anxious something should be done to effect their settlement. Whether any thing will be done this spring to locate them, we do not yet know. The agent is still below, but is expected to arrive in a few days. Previously we have been obliged to shape our plans to existing circumstances.

With regard to sending missionaries to this country. I think it will be right, and proper to direct them to establish themselves among the nearest unoccupied tribes, that will receive them. It will be good policy to take possession of this land systematically. By this, I mean, that the stations, which shall be formed among these tribes, should be as intimately connected, as the circumstances of the case will admit, and

afford to each other all the facilities of communication with the East, and the West, that their situation will allow. The tribes on this side of the mountains should first claim the attention of the Board. I would not be understood to say, that no missionaries should be sent beyond the mountains, till every tribe on this side shall have been supplied. But I do think, few should be sent beyond, while there is so much land to be possessed on this side. Why is it, that a small tribe of Indians beyond the Rocky Mountains should excite so much interest in the churches, while several tribes on this side, far more numerous, and equally interesting are scarcely thought of?

The Shiennes [Cheyennes], occupying the country west of the Pawnees are said to be very interesting Indians and well disposed to the whites. West of the Missouri and north of the Pawnees are several bands of Sioux—all said to be friendly to the whites. Farther west are the Crows. They are very mischievous with travellers, but kind and respectful to those who come to live and wander with them. Southwest and South of the Pawnees are the Arrapahoes, Kiowas, Comanches, and Pawnee Picts. The first of these are said to be very friendly. With respect to the last three, I have no recent information. Besides these there are other tribes on this side of the Mountains, as the Gros Ventres and Manduns [Mandans] on the Missouri, the Gros Ventres de prairie and Blackfeet farther west. The two former are friendly—the Blackfeet are hostile, but it is even said of them, that they treat whites kindly who live with them. Some of these tribes do, I think, claim the immediate attention of your Committee.

I do not know, that the actual difficulties to be encountered in the prosecution of our work, exceed those mentioned in the instructions of the Prudential Committee. A missionary, who goes to live with these wandering Indians, must expect to fare somewhat hard. So long as the Indians have provisions, he will have enough to eat, but his food will be of a coarse kind, yet very wholesome. He will sometimes be very much fatigued, and without a bed of down on which to rest his weary frame. He will be exposed to all kinds of weather, cold and hot, wet and dry—to all kinds of travelling, and will find the streams without bridges or ferries. The notions of the Indians with respect to propriety, will probably be quite different from his own, and he will need much patience and forbearance, in order to get along pleasantly. Their conversation will sometimes be such as to vex his righteous soul. The sorest trial to be endured by the herald of the cross among these wild Indians, arises from their impurity. Much will depend on his being introduced to the Indians by the proper authorities, and in his appropriate character. J. DUNBAR.

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BELLEVUE, June 4th, 1836.

*Rev. D. Greene, Sec. A. B. C. F. M., Boston.*

DEAR SIR—Your communication of Feb. 8th. was duly received. My journal, and the letter, dated Oct. 8th. 1835, both of which you mention as having been received, are the only communications I have sent you since coming to the Indian country, previous to the last month. Your letters of Sept. 2nd, 1834, and Aug. 18th, 1835 were received. Thus it appears,

none of our communications have miscarried. All the numbers of the Missionary Herald for 1835 have been received, with the exception of the Jan. July, and Sept. Nos. The Sept. Nov. and Dec. Nos. of the same for 1834 were received. Of the other publications you send me, I have received none.

Our present arrangement for receiving communications from the East, is perhaps, as good as any, we are able to make at this time. Please address letters, etc., as follows: J. D. (missionary to Pawnees) Bellevue, Upper Missouri; Via Cantonment Leavenworth. Major Morgan, Postmaster at the Cantonment has always had the kindness to forward our letters, etc. by the first opportunity. The residence of the Pawnee agent is now at Leavenworth.

I regret, that in my former communications, I have been able to say so little definitely with regard to the Pawnees becoming located. The chiefs have ever told me, when I have conversed with them on the subject, they were ready to settle, whenever their agent would show them a suitable place. Should the agent with the chiefs select a spot for their location, it might still be doubted, whether the different bands would remove to it. Were this properly done, my opinion is, that a part of them would be induced to relinquish their wandering mode of life, and locate themselves. Should these pioneers prosper, and affairs at the settlement be properly managed on the part of the whites, the Pawnees would, I think, at no distant day, abandon the erratic and adopt a fixed mode of life. It might not be good policy to attempt to break them off from their present course of living too suddenly, or endeavour to remove them all at once to their new location. The chiefs of some of the bands have become dissatisfied with their present place of residence, and are desirous to remove to a better. They are not yet agreed on the place, at which they would all be pleased to build their new village. The chiefs, who are desirous to move, expressed their wishes to the agent, when they came to this place last month to receive their annuities. The agent desired them to agree among themselves on some spot, to which they would all be willing to remove. The lapse of a year will, probably, find some of the Pawnees at a location, or locations, different from those they now occupy. Their agent visits them again in September.

I do not know, that there is now any thing to prevent my preaching the gospel, directly to the Pawnees, had I a competent knowledge of their language. With regard to schools, etc. we have not thought it advisable to enter largely into any system of instruction, till they should become stationary, and have schoolhouses erected for their accommodation. Still we have taught some of the Pawnee children enough to satisfy us, that they are capable of improving rapidly, when the proper means shall be furnished them. Books, etc. we shall prepare for publication, as speedily, as we shall be able. In this work we shall be subject to many delays.

The reinforcement of the Pawnee Mission arrived at this place May 27th. God in his righteous Providence has seen fit to remove by death before entering the field of labor, one from this little band, destined to assist us in building up this infant mission, and declaring the glad tidings of salvation through a crucified Redeemer to this sin-destroyed people.

The wife of Dr. Satterlee is no more. She died at Liberty while on their way to the Indian country. To reach her heavenly home it was not necessary, she should take the Upper Missouri, and Pawnee country in her way. She was permitted in mercy to enter her rest before enduring the toils and hardships of a missionary life. She has been removed from the evil that is in the world to enjoy, we trust, the immediate presence of her Saviour, and her God. In this dispensation of his wise Providence, God has moved in a way to us mysterious. He has laid his afflicting hand on our incipient Mission. I had no personal acquaintance with the deceased; but the relation, she held to our mission rendered her and her associates objects in whose welfare my feelings were strongly enlisted. We mourn—we sympathize with our brother in his affliction. Under existing circumstances his bereavement must have been peculiarly trying. From his fond embrace has the resistless hand of death snatched the beloved friend of his bosom; and this too at a moment, when a wife's advice, confidence, and prayers were most needed. We submit to this chastisement, knowing that it has been inflicted by our heavenly Father's hand. And though we know not now his benevolent design in afflicting us, yet we are assured we shall know hereafter, and have occasion to rejoice in the wisdom and goodness of our God in thus causing us to mourn. May God sanctify this afflictive dispensation of his providence to the surviving partner and relatives of the deceased--to each member of the mission to which she belonged—to our patrons—to the church—and to the everlasting good of the dying Pawnees.

Mr. Allis met his intended at Liberty, where they were married by Rev. Mr. Spaulding of the Flatheat Mission. Mr. and Mrs. A. and Dr. S. came up to this place in company by land from Liberty. They had intended to come up in the steam boat, which passed, while they were at L., but were disappointed. After their disappointment they purchased an ox team and wagon with which to transport their effects, and travelled by land. The Mission family are now occupying one of the most pleasant situations in this upper country, and enjoying as many of the comforts of this frail life, as ordinarily falls to the lot of white men in the Indian country.

Mr. and Mrs. A. will stop at this place during the summer. Dr. S. and myself intend to wander with the Pawnees during their summer hunt. We shall leave this place for the Grand Pawnee village about 20th. of present month. Early in Sept. we shall, probably, return to this place, and make arrangements for the labors of the ensuing winter.

Dr. Whitman, Mr. Spaulding, their wives and Mr. Gray arrived a few days in advance of Mr. A. and his party. May 21st. They left this place for their distant station among the Nez Perces and Flatheads. I accompanied them, as far as the Big Horn, on the opposite side of which, I left them on the morning of May 23d. The party with whom they were intending to travel to the Mountains had started a few days in advance and some fears were entertained, that our missionary brethren would not be able to overtake them. From information, I obtained after leaving them, from one of the advance party, who had been sent back to find some lost horses, I think the Dr.'s party would overtake them about the time,

they would reach the Pawnee villages, and consequently before travelling separately with this little party would be dangerous. They had procured a guide to accompany them till they should come up with the advance. The brethren and sisters were well, when I left them with the exception of Mr. Spaulding. He had been indisposed, but was recovering.

Southwest, West, Northwest and North of the Pawnees are many numerous, and interesting tribes of Indians, the principal objection to the establishment of missions among whom, is, that "they are wandering people"; not that they are unfriendly to the whites, or unfavorable to the introduction of missionaries among them. That they are wandering people is true—how long they will continue to be erratic in [is] known only to Him, who has all knowledge—but that most of them will continue to move from place [to place] for a succession of years, and that some of them must, from the circumstances in which they are placed, wander to procure a subsistence till their location shall be changed, or they become extinct, is, I think, quite evident. I believe the time has come, when even the wanderers demand the serious, prayerful and immediate attention of the Prudential Committee. Is the objection, that they are wandering people, which has heretofore precluded every effort in their behalf, valid? Can nothing yet be done for their eternal welfare? Did our Savior except these wanderers, when he commanded his disciples to go into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature? Can the church still neglect them, and be blameless? Is the prospect of benefitting the distant unsettled tribes by missionary labors less flattering, than that of improving the border and more vicious tribes by the same means? These questions should be carefully examined, and answered. Will not some friend of missions, who has the means, and leisure at his command, fully investigate the subject, and show from the history of the past, whether the mere circumstance of a people's being migratory has proved favorable, or unfavorable to the introduction and cultivation of true religion among them? I am aware there are some advantages to be derived to missionary operations from a people's being permanently located, especially with regard to the establishment of schools, and the instruction of the youth, if the old mode of imparting instruction must always be followed. Still it may be questioned, whether these advantages outweigh the disadvantages, which rise from the introduction of intoxicating liquors, and the increase of vice that usually follow a free intercourse with the whites. The Indians acquire, perhaps, every vice of the white men with whom they have intercourse, but none of their virtues. As to the mere matter of preaching the gospel to the Indians, the wandering mode of life is, probably, not less favorable, than the fixed, perhaps, fewer prejudices are to be encountered. I am inclined to think favorably of sending missionaries to the wandering tribes. The little experience, I have had in missionary labors, leads me to desire the adoption of such a course. If the work of evangelizing the roving tribes be undertaken with a proper spirit, and prosecuted with due perseverance, the result would, I apprehend, be such as would be satisfactory to every christian heart, and encourage to increased effort to gather these outcasts, and bring home these wanderers to the folds of Zion. The expense of Missions to those tribes would, prob-

ably, be considerably less, than that of conducting them among the permanent tribes. The greatest obstacle to the commencing, and carrying forward missions among the wanderers would be the difficulty of procuring suitable men, who would be willing to engage in them. But I believe, there are men still in the church, who would cheerfully offer their services for this work, were the subject properly laid before them. Particular care should be taken in selecting men for this arduous enterprise. It must be a work of selfdenial from beginning to end; still the solitary laborer would experience those joys, that always spring up to the christian in the pathway of duty, and if true to his trust, when his brief work shall have been finished, he shall have the approbation of his Divine Master, and receive the never fading crown of the righteous. No flattering prospects should be held out to induce young men to engage in missions of this kind, that can never be realized. Men of a changeable disposition, subject to great elevations and depressions of spirits, and persons of very romantic feelings, would be improper to engage in such a work. They should be pious, evenminded, principled, sound sense men—men, who having weighed the subject in all its bearings—calmly calculated the cost, and set their faces to the accomplishment of the work, would not suffer themselves to be turned aside from it, till they had attained their object, or Providence had clearly indicated, it was not their duty to prosecute it farther. It might be proper they should be unmarried. It would be necessary for missionaries to these tribes to live and wander with the Indians. It would, perhaps, be judicious to send them forth by twos as did the Great Lord of missions. Their food would be course, yet wholesome; occasionally their fare might be hard, but the Indians would not allow them to suffer, so long as they had the means of supplying their wants. The whites who live and wander with the Indians usually enjoy excellent health. I am desirous to see something done by our Board for these numerous, wandering, and interesting tribes.

I have consulted with the brethren with regard to the propriety of my returning to the East next autumn, and they say "go, if you choose." Under existing circumstances, I have thought it advisable to undertake the journey. I shall start from this place soon after returning from the hunting tour with the Indians. Write me soon after receiving this, that I may receive your communications before leaving this place to return to New England. Yours with christian affection

J. DUNBAR

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HADLEY, Jan. 18, 1836.

*Rev. David Greene.*

DEAR SIR—I received your letter of the 6 of Jan. stating the request of Mr. Dunbar that my daughter should accompany a reinforcement who are expecting to join the Mission next spring. I have ever been deeply interested in the Missionary operations of the day & have endeavored to follow the leadings of Providence so far as duty has been made clear, & should it be his will that another of my daughters should enter the Missionary field however trying to parental feeling I should hope to submit without a murmur.

We have received no communication from Mr Dunbar relative to my daughter's joining him next spring & have had no information respecting it, excepting what your letter contained. I have delayed answering yours expecting to receive letters from him but as none have yet come to hand I thought it best to defer it no longer.

I have no doubt but my daughter has made up her mind to devote her life to Missionary labor as an assistant with Mr D but I feel some objections to her going unmarried so long and arduous a journey. It would be a great relief to my feelings were she to go out under the protection of a husband & would it not be asking too great a favor of your committee I would ask if it would not be consistant for you to make arrangements for Mr D to return to N E [New England]—after the reinforcement shall have joined the Mission and accompany her out himself. Could this be done my anxiety would be greatly relieved, & I think good for that Mission might be accomplished, I make these suggestions & submit the subject to the wisdom of the Board. Should they decide that this request can not be granted, but that it is expedient for her to go out next spring I think she will need some assistance from the Board in furnishing the outfit.

Praying that in your deliberations you may be guided by heavenly wisdom I am Dear Sir, Yours Truly JACOB SMITH.

I should wish to know your decision as soon as practicable. Dr Brown wishes me to say that requisite testimonials will be forwarded if necessary.

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HADLEY, December 29th, 1836.

*Revd. Messrs. Anderson, Greene & Armstrong.*

DEAR BRETHREN—I take a pleasure in stating to you that Miss Esther Smith—daughter of Deacon Jacob Smith of this place—and sister of the late Mrs. Harvey of the Bombay Mission—was admitted to the Church under my Pasteral care in the year 1827—and has, so far as I know—since honoured the profession then made in her life and conversation. She is a young Lady of discretion & prudence—and, I hope—of devoted piety and I have no doubt will be eminently useful in the connection contemplated with the Revd Mr Dunbar and in that portion of the vineyard in which he is expecting to labor—

Yours—Dear Brethren very sincerely JOHN BROWN.

The undersigned, members of the same church with Miss Smith—and having been acquainted with her from her childhood, cheerfully recommend her to the A. B. C. F. M. as one fitted by education—by sound discretion and prudence—and above these by sincere attachment to the Redeemer's Kingdom to be connected as a wife and an assistant with the Missionary operations of the present day.

Hadley, 1836.

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|---|---|
| CHAS. DARSO | WM. PORTER |
| WM. DICKINSON | MOSES PORTER |
| TIMOTHY HOPKINS | EPHRAIM SMITH |
| DUDLEY SMITH | ELIJAH SMITH |

ITHACA, Feb. 7th, 1837.

*Rev. David Greene, Boston, Mass.*

DEAR SIR—Your favor of Jan. 11th. was duly received. Jan. 30th. with Mrs. Dunbar I set out for this place and reached here Feb. 1st. Our journey was as pleasant as could have reasonably been expected at this season. Mrs. D's. health seems to be very much improved since I saw you. We were married Jan. 12th. We expect to leave this place for the far West about 13th. of the present month.

A box containing a part of Mrs. Ds. outfit will be forwarded from Hadley to the Missionary Rooms. All the articles (clothing principally) contained in the box belong to the same person and it will not be necessary to open it at the Rooms. Will you have the kindness to forward this box (soon) by way of New Orleans.

Permits for Mr. Allis and myself have been received at Ithaca.

I *did intend* to bid you goodbye before leaving Boston on the day of my departure, but the coach was sent for me much sooner than I anticipated, and I was prevented.

I do hope the Pawne Mission will soon be reinforced. Let not the Indians in their extremity be forgotten.

Yours respectfully JOHN DUNBAR

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BELLEVUE, June 8th, 1838.

*Rev. David Greene, Boston, Mass.*

DEAR SIR—Your favor of March 19th, [17th?] was received May 31st. The circular apprising us of the pecuniary embarrassment of the Board came duly to hand. These are the only communications I have received from you since returning to the Indian country. July last I forwarded by way of Ithaca as full and particular account of the circumstances of Dr. Satterlee's decease as I was then able; also a statement of the prospects of the Pawnee Mission at that time; but it is probable that communication did not reach you.

I am aware my expenditures for the year ending June 7, 1837, were unusually large. They will be much less the present year. We have felt ourselves bound to practice strict economy, and have had many unpleasant feelings, that we were expending the bounty of our patrons without being able to accomplish much for the good of the Indians.

You will doubtless recollect, that when at Boston, I mentioned to you that Mr. Allis had offered his services to the agent to become a Pawnee farmer under the patronage of government. Since that time I have not enjoyed his cordial cooperation as a missionary. This being the case, and having now a family, and there being no place in the vicinity where I could safely leave them (the people who formerly resided at this place having been ordered to their respective tribes), I have been obliged to remain here with them, and have been able to do little directly for the Pawnees. Had we entirely cooperated, one of us might have spent his time with our people, while the other provided for our families. This want of unity in missionary effort has been, and still is, a source of grief to me.

May 31st. I received a letter from the committee at Ithaca directing me to accompany Mr. Gray[4] and his party beyond the Mountains. This order was received too late to be executed. Should we travel two thousand miles farther, I am not sure that we would be able to find a people who would treat us more kindly, or more readily listen to the truths of the gospel. I hope the expectations of our christian friends at the East are not too highly raised with regard to the prospective success of Missionary efforts among the tribes West of the Mountains, but I apprehend, that when the novelty of the enterprise shall have passed by, and our brethren there have become more thoroughly acquainted with the true character of the people generally, they will not be found to differ materially in any important respect from those we are now endeavoring to benefit.

After writing to you in July I was apprised that a delegation of Pawnees would visit Washington last winter, and I was encouraged to hope that something would then be done to induce them to locate. When they returned from the abodes of civilisation they stopped with us two or three weeks. A very favorable impression seemed to have been made on their minds with regard to the advantages of civilisation. They had seen many things to them new and marvellous. Their passage on the railroad excited their admiration to the highest pitch. They said the white man does many things like Te-rah-wah.

The old chief, with whom I lived three terms of my residence with them, was one of the number. He attended family worship with us frequently while here, and was present twice during our services on the Sabbath. He told me he should bring his youngest son with him, when they came to receive their annuities in the spring, and wished me to take and educate him as a white man.

They said the president and other great men at the different places which they visited advised them to relinquish their present wandering mode of life, to become fixed at some place, and to cultivate the arts of civilised life. They seemed to be inclined to do so. I expected to have seen them last spring, and learned what they had decided concerning their location, but they were not called in, and will not receive their annuities till autumn. When they come to receive them I intend to get what information, I can, from them on this subject, and urge on them the importance of immediate settlement. They have now no blacksmith. The one they formerly had was dismissed last autumn for want of faithfulness in the discharge of his duties.

From the traders who went to their villages last spring to trade their robes, I learn, they made a very bad hunt last winter, lost many of their horses, and are now miserably poor, having little or nothing to live on except corn. The Loups, not long after they went out to hunt, had a fight with the Sioux, killed some and took about 20 women and children prisoners. On their return the smallpox broke out among the captives, and but three or four of them survived. After the fight they

4. W. H. Gray, of Utica, N. Y., who accompanied "Messrs. Whitman and Spaulding, with their wives, and a reinforcement for the Pawnee Mission."—Gray's "History of Oregon," 1870, p. 112.

were afraid the Sioux would revenge themselves, and returned immediately to their village, where they lived wretchedly poor during the remainder of the winter and spring. From the plunder and captives their children (all above 13 or 14 years of age having had it previously) took the fatal disease, and I believe the greater part of them died with it. Thus their victory was extremely dear bought. Their condition being now extremely wretched, they imagined they must have recourse to extraordinary means to retrieve their good fortune. Accordingly last spring one of their captives fell a victim to their superstition. The custom of offering human sacrifices were formerly practised by this band; but through the intervention of their agent and other white men, none had been offered for some years. The last (before this) was shot from the horse on which she was sitting behind the agent. He had purchased her, and paid the full amount demanded for her, in goods, and when proceeding out of the village with her, the 'medicine men', deeming that if they should let her go, their good fortune would depart with her, since she was devoted, shot her as before mentioned. A part of the village was ready and would have immediately revenged the insult offered to their agent, had he not interposed to prevent bloodshed.

The Loups are far more superstitious than either of the other bands. Though they had solemnly engaged that this cruel custom should not be renewed, yet their deeprooted ferocious superstition has sacrificed another victim. Young females are the objects this horrid infatuation devotes [devours?] and the more beautiful the subject the stronger the medicine. A man, who has thrice witnessed this revolting transaction accounted of it as follows: After having performed all the various preliminary rites and ceremonies their superstition requires, the victim is stripped nearly or quite naked, and one half of her person from head to foot is painted red, the other black, a scaffold is erected, and the feet and hands being extended, the right wrist and ankle are tied to an upright piece of timber, and the left wrist and ankle to another at a proper distance and thus the wretched creature is suspended. Various ceremonies, such as smoking the medicine pipe, etc. at different stages of the operation. The young men and boys, each having provided a handful of arrows about a foot long, made of the stems of a species of tall grass that grows on the prairies, now advance and commence shooting these arrows into the breast and other parts of the unfortunate sufferer. This tormenting sport is continued till all their arrows are expended. These arrows enter just enough to adhere and the breast is literally filled with them; but they do not destroy life. This being done an old man comes forward and shoots an iron pointed arrow through the vitals and the illfated creature is released from farther suffering. The chest is now cut open and the heart taken out and burned. The smoke that rises from this fire is considered a most potent medicine, and their implements of war, hunting and agriculture are passed through it to insure success in their use. The flesh is now wantonly slashed off with knives and thrown to be devoured by the dogs, but the skeleton remains suspended till it decays and falls. The above is a mere outline of the barbarous custom. I make no comments. "The dark corners of the earth are full of the habitations of

cruelty." The chiefs of the other bands refused to witness the bloody spectacle though specially invited to be present.

The small pox spread to the other villages, and multitudes of their children died in consequence. The first chief of the Grand Pawnees lost some of his children, and among the rest, the heir apparent, a bright active little fellow, whom the father loved as his own eyes. The old chief, in the height of his grief, considering himself now poor, and deeming that his family might loose its rank and the chieftainship pass out of it, headed a party and proceeded to the South. It was supposed his object was war, but, I recently hear, he has returned, has made a friendly visit to the Pawnee Picts and Camanches. A part of the Grand Pawnee village was burned last spring before they returned from their hunt by a war party of their enemies.

What bearing these things have on their location, I cannot tell; of what will be their feelings on this subject next autumn, I shall not venture to predict. I hope God is preparing them by these things for the introduction of the blessings of the gospel of Christ. Let us unitedly and perseveringly supplicate the throne of all grace and consolation, that these apparently adverse circumstances may be overruled to the promotion of the best interests of this benighted people for time and eternity.

It is confidently said that a military post is to be established [next?] season within a mile of where we now are. This will exert an important influence relative to the cause of missions in this region. We hope this influence will be a salutary one. We expect much from it. Some of the tribes in this vicinity very much need restraint.

For my own part I do not like to think (with our Ithaca patrons) of the Mission to the Pawnees being abandoned, at least so long as there is any reasonable prospect of its being ultimately successful. Should this be done the enemies of truth and righteousness would triumph. It is my opinion the Pawnees will ere long locate. Should they locate very soon, I should hesitate whether it would be my duty to remove alone with my family and settle with them. Not that I should fear for our personal safety, but I doubt whether I could sustain myself properly. What could one alone do among so many degraded savage people? Certainly a small fraction of what should be done in order to the prosperity of the Mission. When a location is effected the mission should be largely reinforced, at least a farmer, a missionary and a physician should join it at the outset. Then if our Board do not fully occupy the ground others will do it. Three Roman priests, I am informed, have recently come to the Pottawatomies, who live on the Missouri opposite this place and but a few miles distant. It is probable their labors will not ultimately be wholly confined to the people with whom they now are. I have been informed that both the Baptist and Methodist Boards were contemplating a mission to the Pawnees.

I suppose you may, perhaps, think proper, not to send any more missionaries to the Pawnees till they shall have located themselves, and even then the pecuniary embarrassments of the Board may be such that you will not feel authorized to incur the increased expenditure. You may deem it best, all things considered, to relinquish the Mission entirely till they be-

come fixed. This feeling prevails at Ithaca among a majority of the Committee judging from what was contained in the last communication I received from them. Their not being settled seems to be the great obstacle to the success of missionary efforts among them in our circumstances. Were we circumstanced otherwise even this might in some measure be overcome. They appear to be quite as friendly as ever before, notwithstanding their adversities. Under existing circumstances what shall I do? I shall hope to receive instructions soon after you receive this. Some additional information with regard to Dr. Satterlee's decease I hope to be able to forward soon—nothing however very important.

Yours very truly, JOHN DUNBAR

BELLEVUE, July 27th, 1838.

*Rev. D. Greene, Boston, Mass.*

DEAR SIR—In the former part of June I saw the man who resides at the Grand Pawnee village and trades for the American Fur Company and conversed with him relative to Dr. Satterlee's decease and the circumstances under which it took place. This man has resided with the Pawnees about 25 years and is master of their language. He is a Canadian by birth, his father a scotchman and mother a French-woman. For aught a have known during an acquaintance of more than three years he is a man of veracity. He and Dr. S. lived in the same lodge and were intimately acquainted with each other.

If you received a communication sent you about a year since by way of Ithaca, you have the Dr's history so far as it was known to me at the time. From the source stated above I have derived the following additional information.—When Dr. S. left the trading post, or fort, he had two horses, one of which was a present from the Shiennes [Cheyennes]. His two Pawnee companions had several which were given them on smoking the pipe of peace with their former enemy, the Shiennes [Cheyennes]. All the horses of the Pawnees, and one of the Dr's died before they separated. Most of the horses of that country are brought from Mexico and do not bear the winter's well. In the spring till the grass starts they are so poor and feeble that they will endure neither long journeys, nor forced marches. The surviving horse of Dr. S was a hardy Shawnee (eastern) pony, and in good case when the Pawnees left him. The Dr. and his two Pawnee friends proceeding on their homeward course encamped for the night near the forks of the Platte. In the morning the Pawnees descried a smoke on an island in the Platte about three miles below their encampment. They told the Dr. what they had seen, and that the smoke was caused by the Sioux their enemies. He replied he thought not, and presumed that it was made by white men. The Pawnees were affrighted on account of the proximity of their supposed enemies, and told the Dr. that though the Sioux would not injure him, yet it would be death to them to be discovered. They wished him to go with them directly back from the river to the bluffs among which they could pursue their journey undiscovered. He told them he was quite certain the fire was made by white men and he should proceed in the usual route by the river. Seeing him decided they lost no time in fleeing to the bluffs. When they left him

he had a good horse in good case, plenty of meat, sugar and coffee, was in good health and spirits, had traveled on foot most of the way from the fort and led his horse. He had also good, warm, clothing, three good blankets, a good supply of warm mocasins, two very nice Shienne [Cheyenne] robes, wrought with porcupine quills. Further he had a gun and plenty of ammunition, and there were an abundance of geese, ducks, etc. at the time in the Platte, and he was an excellent marksman hence we infer he did not starve. The weather was at no time so severe after the Pawnees left that he would suffer from the cold.

His gun was found some twenty miles below where he was killed in the position named in the communication referred to above. His saddles were not found as stated in that. [Written down the side of the page.] Dr. S. was killed about 30 miles from the encampment of the Pawnees at the time. My informant says they loved him too well to injure him. He exonerates them entirely. I do the same. You will form your own opinion on this subject.

On the island where the Pawnees saw the smoke, [word lost in binding] three white men, a partner, a big, doublefisted, savage fellow and a lad about 16. They had concealed a quantity of robes there and were waiting for their companions to join them with more robes when together they would proceed down the Platte. About the time Dr. S. and the Pawnees separated, the partner said to the big fellow tomorrow we will go to meet our companions and help them along. The fellow declared he would not go. His employer remonstrated with him. After a while he told the partner he was in fun in refusing to go, was now willing and would go. He then proceeded to put his rifle in prime order. Having done this he loaded it, and as the unsuspecting partner stood near shot him dead. He now told the lad to bury the partner, and if he refused he would share the same fate. The lad was frightened and did as he was bid. He told the lad also that they would starve if they staid there and that they would start down the river. Further if he told what has been done he would kill him outright. The big fellow rode, and compelled the lad to carry all their baggage on his back on foot. You will refer to the story of these men given in my letter of July last. That is in the main correct, except that the big fellow did not die at the village as there stated. He was still alive when the boats arrived, was carried on board, taken down a short distance, and my informant says buried alive. When questioned these men declared they had not seen the Dr. They must have passed him, and travellers in this country are not so unobservant as to pass a man on horseback and not see him. It is possible they did not see him, but it is more probable they did. My informant says he thought within himself as soon as he saw the big man that he had killed Dr. S. You will reccollect that this man had a gunshot wound. A suspicious circumstance though said to have been inflicted accidentally. Further developments may yet be made.[5] Yours truly J. DUNBAR.

5. The following account of the murder of Doctor Satterlee is found in "Transactions and Reports Nebraska Historical Society," vol. 2, p. 149, and is by Samuel Allis: "After they had traveled several days on their winter's hunt, Doctor Satterlee left with the Pawnees for Bent and Sauvrois' fort on the Arkansas river. On their way back, when they got below the forks of the Platte, they discovered a smoke near the head of Grand Island. The Indians said it was probably Sioux, and proposed going around by the

[The following written across the front page of the letter.]

Mrs. D. and our little son enjoy very good health. Any thing you may think proper to send us direct to the care of G. W. Kerr, St. Louis. I should be happy to receive the last two volumes of the Comprehensive Commentary. Mrs. D. would be pleased with the memoirs of Mrs. E. Smith.

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BELLEVUE, March 18, 1839.

DEAR SIR—Your letter of Oct. 27 was received Dec. 23. Yours of July 27 came to hand Feb. 28. This last had probably lain in the office at Cantonment Leavenworth from the time it should have been duly received. For the last 6 months we have not received communications so frequently from the Cantonment as formerly, on account of the passing between this country and Missouri being recently on the North side of the Missouri.

Perhaps an apology is due for not writing more frequently, I might mention several things as such, but shall only say, I will endeavor to do better for the future. Now I have little to write that will interest you, and if I should delay till I might have something quite full of interest to communicate, it might be a long time before you would hear from me. Really I have become weary of writing and doubtless you have of reading, about the same things over and over again. Still I would be submissive to the Divine Will, and wait and hope for better days, both with respect to ourselves and the oppressed, abused Indians. I wish you to be kept fully informed with regard to the state of the Pawnee Mission. This has not greatly changed since the date of my last. We are still at Bellevue praying, hoping and laboring, so far as we have opportunity, for the good of our people.

The Pawnees were not called in to this place to receive their annuities last autumn, as was anticipated when I last wrote you. Consequently I did not have the conversation, I expected, with the chiefs in regard to their location. After the Pawnees had remained at their village till about the usual time of their going to hunt—when it was too late for them to come in if they had been sent for—the first chief of the Grand Pawnees with three others came here, and after waiting about two weeks their agent arrived—about a dozen of the Loup band were present with

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bluffs. The Platte bottoms were wide there. The doctor told them that they could go around, but he was going straight down the Platte. Above there, however, his horse had died, and he hung his saddle on a tree. When the Indians left him he was afoot. They were then about seventy miles from the Pawnee village. The two Indians got to the village, but the doctor never arrived. The smoke mentioned proved to be from the camp of three Indian traders—two men and a boy. The head man's name was Brady, who had some dispute with the other man, who probably killed Brady. The doctor being present, and probably taking Brady's part, was also killed. The man and boy came to the Pawnee village. The man, being wounded in the bowels, appeared to be crazy, raised up from his bed in the night, tried to tear open his wound, and to kill the boy. He left the Pawnees, and was supposed to die from his wounds, or killed himself. In June, afterwards, some men were coming down the Platte in skin boats, loaded with robes. When landed at Plum creek, near the head of Grand Island, found the clothes of Doctor Satterlee, his bones, some hair, and his rifle standing by a bush, with the muzzle down, and the powderhorn hanging on the gun. Some of his ribs were broken. His silver pencil was found in his pocket, and a paper with some writing. He was brave and a good shot, and would not stand to be killed without defending himself, and probably shot the crazy man, and died in self-defense. Here we are deprived of another of our associates. The doctor's bones were left to bleach on the prairies and be destroyed by the wolves. His labors were short, but his heart was in the work." (See, also, vol. 10, "Kansas Historical Collections," pp. 100 and 102, note 9.)

their principal chief at the time—the chiefs told the agent they chose to have their annuities remain till spring, when they would bring in their people to receive them. With the Grand Pawnee chief Us-a-ru-ra-kue-el[?] the man of greatest influence in the nation, I had several interesting conversations. He said the agent told him, he wished to see all the chiefs together, when he would give them a talk with regard to their location. He said he was willing to locate so soon as a settlement should be commenced. They seem to want either the government or mission to go ahead in this thing. The government could doubtless hold out the more inducements to the Indians to change their mode of life, should it act efficiently, but that it will do so, we have no proof. It seems desirable that the mission be able to do something in this business. In order to this we must be strengthened. Even should government fulfill the treaty stipulated with the Pawnees promptly, and the Indians readily locate, from a knowledge of the circumstances of the case, I think the Mission at the outsett, should consist of not less than two ordained missionaries, one judicious physician and a good farmer. Should the mission prosper, this number to be of course increased as circumstances shall require. I do not know what your funds will allow you to do for us or how much you will be disposed to do, but from what you wrote Oct. 27., we are encouraged to expect that a reinforcement will be sent to join us this spring, or as soon as may be. I need not say to you that we should be exceedingly happy to greet our new companions, and welcome them to their sphere of future labors. I do hope your treasury will be in such a state as to enable you to send out such a number that we may soon try what can be done for the Pawnees.

Last summer 52 ploughs were sent up for the Pawnees and harness for working them. This looks more like doing something for the settlement of the Indians than any thing we have before seen. A blacksmith was sent them last November, but from him they have little to expect. The smiths and farmers in this vicinity, who are employed by government for the Indians, are generally negative quantities so far as their improvement is concerned.

Should our reinforcement arrive sufficiently early and be strong enough, we must make an effort to get [word torn out] the Pawnees during the ensuing season. I do not wish to stay at this place much longer. It is too far from my field of labor. Indeed while here we can do little for our people. They do not come here often and their stop is brief.

That the Pawnees have no trading house near them—they they do not trade for whiskey—and that very few of them have become fond of it, are in their favor in a missionary point of view. That they are so unsettled at present in their mode of life—that some of the bands so often send out war parties—and that they are visited by war parties of their enemies; are against them. They are oftenest visited by the Sioux in a hostile manner, but I doubt whether they would intentionally molest missionaries.

Mr. Allis tells me he has written you, explaining the course he has pursued. You of course judge whether his explanations are satisfactory. He seems to have labored under a mistaken notion with regard

to his becoming a government farmer and still continuing his relation to the Board. He now says he wishes to continue his relation to the mission and is willing to cooperate with his brethren in promoting its interest. Respectfully yours JOHN DUNBAR.

[The following written across the first page of the letter:]

Myself and family have enjoyed very good health for the most part since I last wrote. In the summer and autumn our little son was severely afflicted with the bowel complaint. This disease proved fatal to Mr. Allis child. Mrs. Dumbar had a severe, but brief attack of the ague in the autumn. I had a very slight one about the same time.

("Benedict Satterlee" our second son is about two weeks old.)

[Addressed to Rev. David Greene, Missionary Rooms, Boston, Mass.]

BELLEVUE, May 15, 1839.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR—You will see by this that I am rather anticipating my quarter this time. Since my last (about the middle of March) nothing has been received from you. We are very desirous to hear from you, that we may know when to expect the help you spoke of in your last.

The Pawnees came here May 2. to receive their annuities for 1838. Their annuities were delivered to them the 3, and on the 4, they set out on their return to their villages. While here the chiefs requested that the treaty of 1833 should be fulfilled on the part of the United States, alleging that they were ready to comply with its conditions on their part. The agent told them, that he would present their request in writing to the proper authorities, and if they deemed it advisable, it would be granted.

The Republican band have, mostly (if not all), removed from the place where they formerly dwelt on the Loup Fork, and settled on the south side of the Platte, a short distance above the village of the Grand Pawnees. The principal chief of the Loup band said, he was pleased with the place, and intended to settle there himself with his people. This position is chosen by them on account of its being a fine corn country. The Grand Pawnees have rarely failed of having a plentiful crop. On the Platte there is very little, if any, wood on the banks. What there is, is confined to the Islands, which are abundant. Some of these are of considerable extent, and partially covered with timber. There is perhaps, as much timber in the vicinity of the location they have pitched upon, as at any other that could readily be found in their country. I have passed over the ground repeatedly, and for aught I know, it may be about as good a place for a settlement, as I have seen on their lands. It being the only spot, selected by them with any thing like unanimity, shows that it has in their estimation not a few advantages.

The chiefs were decided in their application and will be disappointed if their desire is not granted. The late tour of some of them through the states will I think be beneficial to the tribe. They have seen somewhat how the whites live; they feel that education and a knowledge of the arts of civilised life confer a superiority, and are ready (were the proper

means used to effect it) to commence a career of improvement. You are aware, that we have anxiously waited for a considerable time, that a way should be opened in divine providence, through which we might enter, and labor directly for the spiritual welfare of this benighted people. Such an opening seems now to be, (or about to be), made, and we rejoice in the prospect of soon being permitted to bestow our direct efforts for the promotion of the enduring good of those who have so long enjoyed a prominent interest in our prayers.

The chiefs with whom Mr. Allis and myself formerly lived were very desirous that we should go out to their settlement, build houses, and live with them. They wish to have their smiths, farmers, and teachers to be with them as soon as may be. They expect them in the autumn, but it is probable, that orders from Washington will not arrive in time to procure the men and send them out the ensuing season. It is more probable that they will be sent out early in the spring. We should be pleased to be able to get with them the coming autumn, but if we cannot, we must endeavor to be ready very early in the spring.

On the receipt of this, we wish you would have the goodness to inform us, as soon as consistent, how large a reinforcement you will be able to send us this season. How soon may we expect them to arrive? They should be here this season to be ready to go with us in the spring. Will the pecuniary state of the Board allow of increased expenditure at this mission? We should be happy to receive any instructions with respect to building, et cetera, that you shall feel disposed to give.

Unless government shall in some way interfere, we have now some confidence with reference to the improvement of the Pawnees. We have seen enough to know that what government does for the improvement of the Indians may be done in such a way as effectually to prevent their improvement. The Pawnees have had a smith and his assistant for about 3 years. Their salary for this time together with the tools, etc. that have been purchased for the shop has cost probably not less that 3,000 Dolls. but all that has been made for them might have been purchased and delivered to them for probably less than 200 Dolls.

Yours very truly, JOHN DUNBAR

Do you think it advisable that your missionaries should become government teachers? Myself and family are well.

[Addressed to Rev. David Greene, Secretary A. B. C. F. M., Missionary Rooms, Boston, Mass.]

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BELLEVUE, October 1st, 1839.

*Rev. D. Greene, Boston, Ms.*

DEAR SIR—Your letter of June 26. was received August 4. We were gratified to hear that you had voted to reinforce our Mission, and should have been still more so had you been able to assure us that this reinforcement would join us the present autumn.

Since I last wrote you Major Dougherty, agent for the Pawnees at that time, has resigned, and Major J. V. Hamilton has been appointed as his successor. The request made by the Pawnees last spring with regard to

the fulfillment of the treaty on the part of the U. S. has been presented to the president and an appropriation made for that purpose.

When the Pawnees came in about the middle of September. to receive their annuities their new agent informed them what our government was disposed to do for them. They demanded that he should go out to their country and shew them where they should locate, and they would forthwith commence a settlement. The agent declined going out at present on acount of his arrangements being such that he had not time. This being the case he appointed Mr. Allis and myself in his place and Louis La Chapelle, the Pawnee interpreter, on the part of the Pawnees to go out and select a place for their location. We were instructed to let the Pawnees select the spot if they would. We started for the Pawnee country on the 18 Sept. with a party of the principal chiefs who had waited to accompany us to their villages, and came to the Grand Pawnee village about noon of the 20. After visiting all the different villages and learning that the chiefs and head men were mostly in favor of settling on the north side of the Loup Fork, we proceeded to examine the country, and decided that the place was, all things considered, perhaps, the most eligible, that could be found within their territory. The great fault with this country is the want of timber. There is not timber enough at this place but there is as much as could be found any where on an equal extent of country. The region selected is from 90 to 115 miles from this place. There are no bad streams to cross going to it.

I have little doubt that if our government do what they have encouraged the Pawnees to expect, they will be on the ground in one year from this time. We are desirous to go out early in the spring and erect a temporary residence in which to remain till we shall be able to determine where to establish ourselves permanently. Our doing so would encourage the Indians. For this reason we are anxious to to have the promised reinforcement come on the present autumn.

The agent requested that Mr. A. [Allis] and myself would become teachers for the Pawnees under government. He also gave us permission and requested us to procure the farmers which our government is to furnish the Pawnees. He is desirous to get eastern men. If the right sort of men could be obtained for farmers, they might do very much for this people. We promised to use our best endeavors to procure such men. For this purpose we now write you. Can you find the right kind of men, and will you send them. It seems to us very important that good men should be employed. Bad men may do us and the Indians great evil. We do hope you will find and send the men. We submit the subject to you being satisfied that the Board will do what is proper and best.

The farmers are to be employed for five years. They will be paid 600 dollars a year for their services. They should be men of decided piety, enterprising, good farmers with small families. We suppose there are many such men, if they could be looked up who would be willing to come out and labor to promote the best interests of these Indians for time and eternity.

The agent is desirous they should be here early in the spring. The men should come well recommended and be directed to call on Major Ham-

ilton at Cantonment Leavenworth, who will employ them, and furnish them with teams and farming utensils, and direct them how and when to proceed to the place of their destination, and how to employ themselves there. We hope you will let us know what the Board conclude to do with regard to the farmers immediately on the receipt of this, as there is no time to be lost.

Our new agent has thus far shown himself very friendly and manifested a desire to improve the Indians of his agency.

If the Board conclude to send farmers, let us know as soon as practicable when they will reach here. They should be here next spring. Shall Mr. Allis and myself become teachers?

The Grand Pawnee village contains 84 lodges. The Republicans live in four different places and have in all 81 lodges. The Loups have 64 lodges in their village, and the Tapage 41. It is estimated that from 25 to 30 individuals inhabit each of these lodges. About 400 children are now living in all the villages who have been born since the small pox visited them in the winter of 1837 and spring of 1838.

(270 lodges 6700 to 8000 Indians.)

The boxes which you sent us in the spring have not yet reached us.

It would accommodate us very much if you had an agent in St. Louis on whom we could draw for money. Cincinnati is a great distance from us.

We are all well. Respectfully yours, J. DUNBAR

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BELLEVUE, December 25, 1839.

DEAR SIR—Your favor of Oct. 24. came to hand 22 inst. We were gratified with its contents, and our gratification would have been, not a little, augmented, had you been able to inform us by it, that the reinforcement promised this mission were about to join it. We are sorry to learn that another pecuniary pressure has come over the land, and that the Board is so straitened with regard to funds.

My last letter to you was written Oct. 1st. As it contained some things of importance with reference to the Pawnee mission, we are waiting with no small share of anxiety to receive your reply, which we hope will soon come to hand. We fear the depressed state of your treasury will forbid your furnishing the requisite number of farmers to be paid by our government. Still we hope you will. Our only hope that the Pawnees will be at all benefitted by the appropriations of government depends on this.

We still intend, providence permitting, to locate with the Pawnees next spring. It seems very desirable that we should be strengthened before this step is taken. It will look too much like leading a "forlorn hope" to go out as we now are; still we must not let this favorable opportunity pass without making an effort. Neither men nor money can ensure success, we must trust in the Lord (who is mightly to the pulling down of strong holds) and go forward.

The locating of the mission with the Pawnees will be attended with considerable expense. Be as economical as we may it will be necessary

to expend at least one half of our 800 Dolls. allowance for provisions and clothing. The other half will not go far in hiring help, purchasing tools and teams, and articles for building, even if we should perform most of the labor ourselves. We might get along somehow to shelter our families comfortably, but it would be attended with much inconvenience. 1200 or 1500 Dolls. could be expended profitably. But perhaps it is useless to speak of expenditure, while the treasury is more than drained.

For aught that I can see the door for missionary labors among the Pawnees is now in the providence of God thrown wide open but there seems to be a deficiency of men and means to enter and occupy. We might appeal to the Committee for a supply of these essentials, but (they having promised to do the best they can to supply us) we forbear, supposing you are already pressed on every side with appeals for help which you are unable to furnish.

We hope you will write us soon on the receipt of this and inform us fully how much you intend to do for us and direct how to proceed in conducting the mission. Yours very truly, JOHN DUNBAR

P. S. Jan. 4, 1840 We are all well. Nothing of importance to communicate at this date. An opportunity to send letters occurs at this moment—

[Addressed to Rev. David Greene, Mission House, Boston, Mass.]

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BELLEVUE, July 13, 1840.

*Rev. D. Greene, Boston*

DEAR SIR—Your letters of Nov. 20th, 1839 and of Feb. 19th. 1840 were received May 26th. My only apology for not having written you before is that I had nothing definite to communicate with regard to the measures, we should adopt for the good of the deluded people to whom we have been sent, till we should be informed what the Board was willing to do for them in furnishing farmers etc. I could inform you of no change among the Pawnees with respect to their location, and further my time has been quite too much occupied of late to hold much correspondence with any one.

Last spring I went out to the Pawnee villages in company with their agent. We set out on the 19th. of April and returned the second of May. We visited all the different villages 6 in number, and counseled with them in regard to their removal, etc. Concerning their new location their views remain unchanged, and there appeared nothing in the way of their removing immediately (except the lateness of the season) but the absence of the head chief of the tribe. The other chiefs told us that he was like our president, they could do nothing without him. His return was expected every day, but we could not stay for him. The agent directed that after his return that all the chiefs should come together in a great council and determine the time when they would remove, and inform him of their decision as soon as might be. I have not yet learned their determination. The agent gave them some very good advice. While at the villages a census was taken, which may be relied on as correct (or nearly so), when it appeared that there were in the Loup band 469 males over 10 years of age and 367 under 10 years—598 females over 10 and 472

under 10—in all 1906. In the Republican band 404 males over 10 and 371 under 10—609 females over 10 and 439 under—in all 1823. In the Grand band 330 males over 10 and 416 under—563 females over 10 and 472 under 10—in all 1683. Tapage band 246 males over 10 and 134 under 315 over 10 and 137 under—in all 832—Total 6,244 which is much less than they have been usually estimated. They made a very bad hunt last winter, lost multitudes of their horses, and were extremely poor. They made a very fine crop of corn last season and were much in need of it when they returned to their villages, but the Otoes had been there in their absence and stolen and destroyed much of it. Many families were entirely destitute of provisions. Poor creatures, their subsistence for this life is very precarious, and their prospects with regard to the life to come extremely gloomy. May God, of his infinite mercy, remove the darkness, show them the true light, and bring them to enjoy the great salvation that is by Jesus Christ.

May 26th. Mr. Gaston arrived at this place with his family, having come by land from Weston (the uppermost village in Missouri on the river) a distance of about 175 miles. We were very glad at his coming, and it relieved us at once from a painful suspense in which we were held; for from that we could learn of the state of the treasury of the Board we were anticipating instead of a reinforcement to the Mission a farther curtailment of our expenses if not an order to withdraw from this field. After his coming it became for Mr. G. and myself to go down to Weston and bring up some supplies for the Mission that had been left at that place. We went with ox teams, and after a fatigueing journey of 22 days came safely home. I brought up the first two boxes that you sent me, and saw the last two at Cantonment Leavenworth.

In your last letter you speak of a correspondence you have had with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs at Washington with regard to Major Hamilton's request for farmers and that he thinks Major Hamilton altogether too fast. We think he did not go too fast, and very much regret that any thing has taken place that will have a tendency to retard his operations. To construe the treaty as I understand you to say the Commissioner does, that the Pawnees shall at first all remain at their location the whole year, or a whole year before any thing is done for them by government, sounds too much like saying that for the improvement of the Pawnees, a big grave will be dug and, the whole tribe buried in it in the space of one year, instead of suffering them to diminish gradually as at present. The harshest explanation I had ever before heard given to the treaty was that so many of them as were necessary to protect the public property should remain with it, and the remainder might go and hunt at their option.

We hope the other farmer you speak of will come soon, and then we shall adopt measures as soon and as fast as prudence shall warrant and Providence open the way to being with the Pawnees. Mr. Gaston is now living with *us*. He and Mr. Allis are endeavoring to make a living and to be ready for removal as soon as it shall be deemed proper.

JOHN DUNBAR.

I hope to write you soon and shall be happy to hear from you often. Mr. G. & A will each write you soon—.

My family are now well. Mrs. D. has not enjoyed good health for some time past, but is now much better. She has suffered frequent attacks of the fever and ague for the last year or two.

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BELLEVUE, INDIAN TERRITORY, Oct. 12, 1840.

*Reverend David Green, Mission House, Boston.*

DEAR SIR—At our last quarterly meeting held on the tenth instant, it was resolved that a joint letter of the Mission be sent to you & each of us state what we consider to be the state & wants of the Mission. I think it is agreed by us all that time enough has been spent at this place waiting for the Indians to locate & that if nothing in the Providence of God prevent we will move to the Pawnee Country as early next spring as *possible*. It appears to me verry important in order that the Mission may become permanent & prosper immediately, that more men be sent to join us as early in the spring as possible. I understand that the Indians have always said that when the whites would come to their country & build that then they would settle with them. The Pawnees expressed the same thing to Mr Dunbar this fall. Major Hamilton has ever said to me that as soon as the Indians settle he would give them farmers. A Physician is *verry much needed* here. It appears to me important that a Missionary, an assistant Missionary should be sent that so many Indians may be benefited by Missionary labour. If the board intend to supply the farmers (as Maj. Hamilton expects they will) I think they should be sent, at as early a day as possible for unless they are here when they are wanted, such men as can be found in this land of darkness & moral death will be sent there. One Blacksmith & striker have allready been appointed, both of them Catholicks, & one of them is living with an Indian woman as his wife, & Major Hamilton gave me to understand that he had another in view that he intended to appoint. So you see that men are going with us to the Pawnees that will not assist us much in bringing them to an acquaintance with the Gospel. The Lord has prospered the labor of our hands so that we have a good supply of corn & potatoes for the coming year.

Yours truly

GEO. B. GASTON

*Assistant Missionary to the Pawnees.*

BELLE VUE (UPPER MO.), Oct. 12th, 1840.

*Rev. David Greene, Missionary Rooms, Boston.*

DEAR SIR—I shall write but little in addition to what Mr. Gaston has written, and leave the remainder of the sheet for Mr. Dunbar. The condition of the Pawnees at present is much as it has been when you have heard from us from time to time.

They still feel anxious, to settle down and avail themselves of the benefits of Missionaries & others promised them and whom expect soon to have among them.

Your Committee are probably aware that we *verry much* need more assistance, before we can well commence a location among the Pawnees, and we hope you will consider our request favorably, and speedily send

us more laborers. It appears to me that we want at least, one Missionary, one Physician, & one assistant Missionary (the latter to come out as a farmer for the mission) with their families. You probably are aware Sir, that among tribes remote as the Pawnees, there is much labor to be performed & that too at a disadvantage, and consequently more help is needed. Much has been said formily, by Mr. D. & myself of the importance of a reinforcement, I feel therefore, for my part, to leave the subject to the decision of your Committee, hoping they will consider the deplorable condition of the Pawnees, and speedily send us (if possible) the above named laborers, besides lending their aid in sending farmers as mentioned, on the other page by Mr. Gaston. The subject of a location has been talked about, and sometimes with a *good deal of feeling* & interest by the Pawnees, ever since I have been with them, but they have never been united in the spot for a location, and it is my candid opinion they never will be, until our government, or Missionaries first go among them and build; and we need not expect any thing from the government until we break the ice. Much might be said upon the above subject, but I will leave it for Mr. D. to finish, who is *much* more capable of doing it justice than I am. Yours with much respect SAMUEL ALLIS.

As it has already been intimated, that I also am to give my opinion, neither preface nor apology are called for on my part. I proceed therefore directly to the subject of our triple communication. With regard to the number of persons with which this mission should be reinforced before it is located with the Pawnees I have already expressed by views to your committee. You will see from what is written on the preceding pages of this sheet, that my associates have similar views on this subject. You know it is said that "a threefold cord is not easily broken." Could you send us forthwith a missionary, a physician, and an assistant missionary, we should be glad, and feel that so far as flesh and blood are concerned we might in the spring place ourselves among our people and commence our labors for their improvement with a prospect of success. The pay of the two teachers [$500] per annum each is to commence as soon as we remove to the Pawnee country. Thus the agent has assured me. He also told me, that if we would "go out to the Pawnees and make a beginning, he was satisfied he could carry the rest," i. e. that he could procure the fulfillment of the treaty on the part of our government.

Mr. Gaston has mentioned our intentions with regard to removing to the Pawnee country in the spring. We are doubtful whether we should go where the Pawnees now are or to a more favorable place and endeavor to induce them to remove to us. It seems very desirable to us, that when we do remove that we get with the Indians at once. A place as you are aware has already been selected for their location, but we are quite sure they will not go there, till they see us on the ground and perhaps not for some time afterwards. It would be inconvenient living where they now are on account of the scarcity of wood and timber. May the Lord guide us by his spirit and then we shall do right.

Yours very respectfully JOHN DUNBAR

*Rev. D. Greene*

We should be happy to hear from you *soon* after the receipt of this.

BELLEVUE, December 9th, 1840.

*Rev. D. Greene, Mission House, Boston Mass.*

DEAR SIR—Your favor of August 6th was not received till Nov. 11th. My letter of July 13th. I learn from the Herald of Sept. has been received. On the 12th. of October a joint letter was sent you which I presume has reached you ere this.

Doubtless you have been informed that the draft Mr. Gaston gave on Mr. Budd has been paid, and what were the reasons Mr. Budd did not honor it when first presented. We were not a little surprised when we learned the draft had been protested and indulged some gloomy forebodings. It would seem that if Mr. Budd is unwilling to assume the responsibilities of an agent, the agency should be given to some other person.

Mr. Gaston reached this place May 27th. When he arrived at Cantonment Leavenworth he met Major Hamilton for the first time and also received a letter you had forwarded to him (Mr. G.). Either to introduce himself, or for some other purpose (probably because he could not read it himself so soon as was desirable, the boat making but a short stop) he permitted Major H. to peruse your communication. You will recollect the contents of your epistle. It related in part, I think, to your correspondence with the Superintendent of Indian Affairs at Washington. The agent was not well pleased with a part of it, and, perhaps, was somewhat prejudiced against Mr. Gaston. We have not, however, perceived any material alteration in his carriage towards us. It is expected, I believe, that Mr. G. will become a farmer in the employ of government whenever the proper time for employing farmers for the Pawnees shall have arrived. What his prospects of usefulness to the Indians are we cannot at present definitely say. We suppose he may be usefull as a farmer, perhaps eminently so. We all have much to learn after we arrive at our field of labor, however much we may think, we know before, and however ready we may be to propose plans, or to dictate to those who have preceded us. Mr. G. you know, is from Oberlin, and as a matter of course retains more or less of the Oberlin peculiarities. He professed not to be fully decided with regard to the truth of the doctrine of christian perfection (or 'entire sanctification') as there taught, but evidently leans strongly that way. His lady has swallowed the doctrine, it seems 'without note or comment.' However perfect a person may think himself, he will, probably, find those among the Indians, who, in their own estimation, are even more perfect than himself.

I have doubts, occasionally, with regard to the propriety of becoming 'a government teacher.' I should much prefer should the circumstances of the case admit of it to occupy my whole time in preaching the gospel to the Pawnees, but, perhaps, I might be more useful as a teacher. Were a suitable person for a teacher on the ground, I should not, probably, engage in that capacity. I hope my duty will be made plain in regard to this thing. Mr. Allis' education is not what it should be in order to his becoming a teacher professedly. He might do well enough, perhaps, for a time, but a man of better education would do better, other things being equal. He would prefer to engage as a farmer, but is ready to do whatever all things considered may be deemed best.

When the Pawnees were brought in last autumn to receive their annuities they were anticipating that a final decision would be made as to the place of their location. They had during the summer been counseling among themselves on the subject according to directions given them by their agent in the spring. The question was to have been decided when they came for their annuities, but the agent studiously (in the brief council he had with them) avoided allusion to the subject. As I felt deeply interested in this matter, I enquired the reason of his course. He informed he had received instructions from the department at Washington to stay where he was and to let the matter of fulfilling the treaty rest till it should be decided who should be our next president. If this be correct the thing will rest for the present. The pay of the two teachers is to commence as soon as they are on the ground.

It is to be presumed that ere long some persons will be receiving pay from government as farmers for the Pawnees. The salary is a generous one and there are many who would gladly avail themselves of it, and with a majority of these persons the improvement of the Pawnees would scarcely be taken into the account. We earnestly desire that the men furnished them in all the departments may be men who shall have the fear of God before their eyes and strenuously endeavor to promote the best interests of the Indians for time and eternity. May God grant that a redeeming influence be shed on these wasting tribes.

Very truly yours— JOHN DUNBAR.

I cannot be otherwise than grateful for the 'American Biblical Repository' which you (I suppose) send me. I have received the 4 numbers for 1840.

N. B. I should be pleased, should you have occasion to send us a box soon, to find in it a coat and fur cap—the cap should be of a large size. Mrs. D. would like a pair of slippers No. 5.

Will you please send me some work in which is a candid and thorough discussion (or examination) of the doctrine of 'Christian Perfection,' (or entire sanctification) as taught by Mahan, Finney, and others. Mr. Gaston is quite willing we should peruse 'the Oberlin Evangelist' which teaches their doctrine.

[The above notes, following the signature, are written across the face of the letter.]

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COUNCIL CREEK (PAWNEE COUNTY), July 31st, 1841.

*Rev. D. Greene, Boston Mass.*

DEAR SIR—At length I am permitted to address you from the country of the Pawnees. We started from Bellevue on the 30th. of April and came to this place May 17th. Our progress was slow on account of the badness of the traveling at that season. The low grounds were yet wet and soft and we could pass over them in many places only by doubling our teams or unloading and taking part of a load through and then returning for the remainder. Our oxen were not so strong for the journey as the[y] would have been had there been more grass, especially when we set out, and our families could not well be hurried. We had

three teams along—one for each family—two of them had two yokes of oxen each, the other but one.

Including the two men we had hired one for six and the other for three months we were in all 15 souls. Besides the four yokes of oxen that pertain to the Mission we had 26 head of cattle and one horse—(for 13 of these Mr. Allis is accountable—Mr. Gaston for three, and myself for 10 and the horse). Four days before we reached this place we met the first chief of the Grand Pawnees with a small party of his men who had come to greet us and to endeavour to induce us to locate on an Island of the Platte near his village. To his proposal we could not listen for a moment of course gave him no encouragement. Though it was not yet noon he pressed us to turn aside and spend the night with him. We did so. He used various arguments to persuade us to comply with his request, but we were inflexible and in the morning he pursued his journey to the agency and we ours to this place. Toward night we met the first chief of Tapage band with about twenty of his men on horseback. He had already been out one sleep waiting for us and had come to welcome us and desire us to locate at this place. We spent the night with him and in the morning he returned to his village.

This spot is that which Mr. Allis and myself selected for their location when we came out for that purpose in the autumn of 1839. It is on the north side of the Loup Fork—some 30 miles from its mouth—from 8 to 15 miles from the different villages and from 100 to 125 miles from Bellevue. We are thus far from any whites. After coming to this place our first object was, as the phrase is, "to put in a corn crop," which was done on a small creek something less than two miles below this. The crop now appears promising. Our gardens are doing well, when the lateness of the season at which they were planted and that the land had not before been cultivated are taken into account. This is a fine corn country and I know not why wheat may not be cultivated to advantage. On the little creek where we now are are a multitude of (I shall call them) little low bottoms containing from ¼ of an acre to 5 acres each. These are covered with a luxuriant growth of weeds and when these are burnt off or removed in the spring the soil is very mellow and may be easily ploughed with one yoke of oxen or dug up with the hoe and when properly tended produce an excellent crop of corn, pumpkins, melons, etc.—just the thing for Indians. Since coming here we have erected three log huts 16 feet by twelve—covered with earth. After camping out about nine weeks my family think they have a pretty good house. In the autumn we intend making a permanent location on Plum Creek less than two miles from this. It was the request of the Indians that we should locate on that creek as they would be pleased to occupy all the corn ground on where we now are. Though the situation on Plum Creek is not so sightly as that where we now are yet as it is the desire of the Pawnees, and as there is more timber we have determined to settle there.

The same day that we reached this place the agent with his carriage and an ox team laded with flour, sugar, and coffee also came. He had performed the journey in much less time than we. The flour, etc. was intended as a present to the Pawnees and just before night the

chiefs and some of the principal men of the villages met him near our encampment. He held a council with them and they determined to come here next spring. They will come in the autumn and cut the timber for building and get all things in readiness to set up their dwellings early in the spring. They may not all come at once, but will I think all ultimately settle here. The chiefs have paid us very respectful visits—so have many of the most respectable men. Some of them seem to take a deep interest in our we[l]fare. They brought us a pretty good supply of bufalo meat and corn till we were obliged to tell them to stop. We gave them in exchange, calico, domestic cotton cloth, etc. at the rate of a yard of the latter for a bushel of corn. We could probably buy almost any quantity at that rate when they have a good crop.

With regard to our prospects I know not what to say but for my own part I think they are on the whole brightening. We greatly need 'more hands than ours' to do all that should be done here. If you have any instructions to give with respect to our building, etc. we should be happy to receive them soon. Very truly yours. JOHN DUNBAR

We shall not now have opportunities to send letters or receive them as formerly. We are sensible we have a great work before us and that there are many adversities. Who is sufficient for these things? We need greatly that wisdom which is from above. Pray for us. We do hope you will be able to send us helpers ere long. Three of the bands will locate within about a mile of our settlement on Plum Creek and the other within three miles. Myself and family have enjoyed good health since we left Bellevue. All are now well.

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PLUM CREEK, April 26, 1842.

*Rev. David Greene, Boston Mass.*

DEAR SIR—I have heard nothing from you since last August, and nothing that has been written since you were apprised of our removal to the Pawnee Country. In February I received the numbers of the "New York Observer" containing the account of the Anniversary of the Board held at Philadelphia. We have received the Missionary Herald up to October. We could not be otherwise than distressed in view of the pecuniary concerns of the Board as stated at the annual meeting.

It is now more than two years since we requested additional laborers at this station, and urged our reasons why we should be speedily reinforced. Our request was kindly received by your Committee and the aid promised as soon as suitable men could be obtained. But up to the latest date of yours that has yet come to hand such men had not been found, and when we are informed that the pecuniary state of the Board is more depressed than before, what are we to expect? Indeed we have been so often pained by reading the same statement in your communications from time to time with reference to the Committee's not being able to procure men for this station and the pecuniary pressure of the Board, that we could almost wish, that in your letters these subjects were passed over in silence.

May 10. Some few from the 4 different bands of the Pawnees have

removed to their new location. Those from the Grand, Tapage, and Republican bands are quite near us at present and will in the autumn build a village about a mile from us. Those from the Loup band are now and will build their village about 4 miles distant. Probably not more than 250 or 300 souls in all have yet removed. Among these are the first chief of the Grand Pawnees, (who is the first chief of the tribe) the principal chief of the Republicans, the third and fourth of the Tapage, and the two principal men of of the Loups. The first chief of the Tapage would have removed but was prevented by sickness. It is favorable that so many of the most influential men have come at the outset.

A new agent has been appointed in the place of Major Hamilton. His name is Daniel Miller. For several years past he has resided in the southwest part of the state of Missouri. He is a thorough going man, and I think, intends to do his duty to the letter while he remains in office. He has commenced a vigorous warfare with the whiskey traders within the bounds of his agency. He gives no quarter, but lets the law take its course. Every person in the employment of Government he compels to attend diligently to his business, or to give place to those who will do so. This is almost the reverse of affairs under the management of his predecessor. Though he is not a professedly pious man, yet from the auspicious commencement of his administration, we expect much from him should he be continued.

The agent has been out here (about 16 April) and is about to fulfil the treaty with the Pawnees. He has already given appointments to two farmers, Mr. Gaston, and Mr. Woodcock a young man from Missouri, who was in our employ last season. Mr. Allis has been appointed teacher. Their contracts bear date April 18th. From this time I suppose, neither Mr. Allis, nor Mr. Gaston will need any pecuniary assistance from the Board. I would suggest the propriety of a speedy settlement with Mr. A, and Mr. G. that both they and the Board may know what belongs to each and how they hold it. I have taken charge of all the property that was considered as belonging exclusively to the Mission.

From what has been said above you will see that I am in a manner left alone. I greatly need help. I have nearly all thrown on my hands which, (before Mr. A and G's. receiving appointments) was deemed sufficient to occupy both them and myself, and in addition the agent requested me to give directions to the farmers, teachers, and blacksmiths in their labors. So that the oversight of the whole concern devolves on me, and I am obliged to labor hard from sun to sun each day. I know not how soon I shall be able to procure a hired man to relieve me from this pressure of secular cares and labors. I should be glad to devote most of my time to the Indians, but for the present our establishment must be vigorously supported or the consequences be very unfavorable. At present we are as prosperous, as we had any reason to expect. The Pawnees seem eager to improve.

Can you send us a physician, and a Missionary this season? Their labors are strongly demanded at the present moment. I presume you will send these as soon as may be after receiving this. Indeed I do not know how long I can bear up under this burden, but it does seem, sometimes,

as though I must throw off a part of it before long, or lie down under it. Our agent will not give an appointment unless the applicant is recommended by the Missionaries to the tribe where he is to labor. Persons have applied for the [word illegible] remaining farmer's and teacher's births whom we should probably feel it our duty to approve. These three applicants are pious men.

Should you think proper to send us a box before long I should be pleased to find in it some thick shoes, inkpowder, ruled letter paper, fulled domestic cloth, Juvenile books etc. Cheap calico and domestic cotton will always be acceptable, also clothing for the children who attend school. Please send a dozen hymn books.

We are all enjoying good health. We regard our location as favorable to health no sickness of a serious kind having been experienced in our families since residing here. We ought to be grateful for the multiplicity of blessings granted by a kind Providence. May that goodness which has hitherto passed before us be continued.

Very truly yours JOHN DUNBAR

Rev. D. Greene.

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PLUM CREEK, February 20, 1843.

*Rev. David Greene, Secretary A. B. C. F. M., Boston, Mass.*

DEAR SIR—Your letter of July 18, was received January 28. In it you mention having recently written Mr. Gaston and myself. That letter has not yet come to hand. This I regret, because I suppose it contained some directions with reference to Mesrs: Allis' and Gastons' settlement with the Board. It is now almost a year since they entered the service of the Government, and the property in their hands, purchased with the funds of the Board ought in some way be accounted for. If it is to be theirs, let it be formally given to them, if not, you will of course give directions with respect to the disposal of it. I suppose you have some rules by which you are guided in such cases, and I shall be happy to obey your instructions. With reference to these things, I confess the path of duty has not appeared exactly plain to me, and the sooner all these things can be amicably adjusted the better I shall be pleased.

The two boxes you sent us reached us Dec. 16th. in good condition. The selection of articles contained in them was a good one, and we ought to be grateful for such kind remembrances. Such articles as I have mentioned in previous communications will be very acceptable, and as a farther guide I will inform you that we have three sons and a daughter to be provided for from some source. We should be pleased to have you send us some spelling books, paper slates etc. I intend so soon as I may be permitted to commence translating from the scriptures, and any thing you may feel disposed to furnish by way of assistance will be very gratefully received. Any interesting books we should be pleased with, but we do not wish you to send us any thing that it is improper we should have. The Biblical Repository which you send me is better than a feast, and the New York Observer is a rare treat. The Herald is an old and tried friend, that always receives a hearty welcome. These with the Home

Missionary (sent to Mrs. D.) constitute our reading of that kind. All these would reach us more direct and sooner if sent to Savannah, Andrew County Mo. than as now to Cantonment Leavenworth, but it is not a little difficult to get a letter to a postoffice, and the postage paid, that we almost despair of having them changed, unless some of our kind friends at the East interfere in our behalf.

A year or more since Mrs. Ds' friends wrote her they had forwarded a box for her to the Missionary House, Boston and the same we saw noticed as received there in the Herald, but that is all we have ever learned about it. Perhaps you may be able to inform us whether it has been forwarded or is still at the House.

We are not a little rejoiced to be informed that the prospect of our being reinforced is so promising. As neither the physician, nor missionary, spoken of in your letter, came on last autumn, we shall look for them in the spring. and hope not to be disappointed. The first chief of the tribe has repeatedly requested me to write to have a physician sent here. Dr. Satterlee lived with him and seems to have favorably impressed his mind, for he has been desirous to get another ever since the Dr's death. A missionary and physician are just what we want next spring, and if we are prospered as we hope to be within the ensuing year we should be pleased to have an additional missionary, and a male and female teacher united with the Mission. The female should be qualified to teach the Indian women to spin, weave, etc. etc.

I was so fortunate as to procure a hired man about the middle of July. He is engaged for one year at the rate of 20 Dolls. per month. This is paying very high, but it is the best I can do at present. I very much regret that I have been able to bestow no more labor for the benefit of the Pawnees directly. This winter myself and man have been making preparation to erect a log house with two rooms, 16 feet long by 14 wide. We have nearly logs enough now drawn to the spot, and most of the lumber sawn. Our little log hut has become quite to strait for comfort or convenience. It is to too densely peopled. The Pawnees are out hunting as usual this winter, and we have recently heard that they have been successful. The winter has been unusually severe here, and there have been a plenty of bufalo in our immediate vicinity. About one third of the Pawnees have already removed, and many more will come in the spring, (perhaps all in the course of the coming year). So that the business of removal is going on quite fast enough. Their four farmers are on the ground and making preparations for the labors of the coming season. All the appointments are now filled, but one teacher, and he is expected in spring. I know not, but the Pawnees are as well disposed, and as desirous to improve, and listen to instructions as at any previous period. I shall be glad to hear from you soon.

Yours very truly, JOHN DUNBAR

PAWNEE MISSION, July 10, 1843.

*Rev. David Greene, Secretary A. B. C. F. M., Boston, Mass.*

DEAR SIR—Your letters of Jan. 10th. and April 21. were received on the 6th inst. I was not a little disappointed, when I learned that no helpers were on their way to join us; for we had been expecting their arrival, even before your letters came to hand.

The last winter was an unusually severe one. Snow fell early in Dec. and did not melt till about the 1. of April. The Pawnees say "it was a winter by itself, different from all other winters." Indeed we had but few days of what would be considered pleasant winter weather during the whole time. The Pawnees, who have removed to this place, were detained last autumn some time after the others went out to their winter hunt, in order to receive their annuities. They had been out but a few days when the cold weather set in, and as the snow fell deep they made a bad hunt. They found a plenty of buffalo, but their horses were so poor they could not kill them. In the spring they came to their village with little meat, and soon their corn (which found so ready a market), became scarce. Many of them lived principally on roots and were very poor.

A dissatisfaction among the chiefs that reside here arose from their agents not granting a request. they presented to him last autumn, that their trade should be conducted at this village, and no trader be allowed to go to the other villages. This they alleged would soon bring all their people to them. The agent did not think he had power to forbid the traders from going to any of the villages they chose. He however went so far as to recommend to the traders to have their trade conducted at the villages of those who had removed, but as the opposition of the traders was strong his recommendation was disregarded, and some time before the Pawnees came in in the spring, they had gone to all the villages, and were ready to trade, even in the lodges of persons who were not considered as chiefs. The principal chiefs who were jealous of their prerogatives, when they heard of the management of the traders delayed their coming in for some time, and when they did come, they were displeased, and felt that they had been lowered in the estimation of their people, and others were enjoying priveleges which belonged exclusively to them.

Another thing that did not please them was their not having their corn grounds plowed for them as they had anticipated. Their teams did not afford the[m] so much assistance as they had expected.

The tendency of these things was unfavorable both to their temporal and spiritual improvement, inasmuch as an excitable, jealous, dissatisfied state of mind was produced by them. I think that to some extent I have enjoyed the confidence of the chiefs and some of the principal men, for they have freely disclosed to me their difficulties and wants. So far as in my power I have endeavored to allay excitement, remove jealousies and inspire confidence. I have mentioned these things thus particularly because I have been obliged to hear them again and again till I feel for them and sympathise with them in their troubles and difficulties. I think I never have had so strong a desire to do them good as when their circumstances have been most adverse.

Notwithstanding their poverty and untoward circumstances they have planted more corn than ever before perhaps, and could they have staid a few days longer at their village to have finished tending it, with favorable season would have had a very abundant crop; as it is we hope they will have a supply. When the season arrived for planting potatoes I furnished them with 40 bushels to plant, and though many of them were eaten, yet they have made quite a commendable beginning in the cultivation of that vegetable. So much in want have they been that many of the women have been obliged to spend perhaps more than half their time in procuring food for themselves and children. If they wrought on their corn grounds one day, the next they must dig roots or not eat, or if they spent the morning among their cultivated patches, the after part of the day, they might be seen wandering the bluffs in search of an esculent found on them somewhat resembling a turnip.

You will say this is all well enough, but it is secular. It is not preaching the gospel to the Pawnees. I know it. And I also know that it is difficult to manage with them when they have nothing to eat. Even could they be collected together under such circumstances, which is more than doubtful, the presentation of the precious truths of the gospel to their minds would be too much like casting pearls before swine.

I might say some things to repel Mr. Gaston's charge, but I prefer to plead guilty. I am conscious that my time has been too much taken up with the things of the world, I ought to have been in a great measure free from them, that I might have devoted my time more exclusively to the Indians. Hereafter I intend to give my time pretty much to them, and the secular labors of the Mission must be done by other hands, though it should be attended with a considerable increase of expense.

Though I have not been able to do so much for the spiritual good of the Pawnees as I had wished, yet I have been highly gratified to have it in my power to do something to relieve their temporal wants. The poor hungry creatures have often expressed more gratitude for a few ears of corn, or a few potatoes, than I fear I should have manifested under similar circumstances for a much more valuable donation. We think the kindness we have shown them in their time of need will not be forgotten and if it shall in any measure augment our influence over them it will not have been bestowed in vain.

The Pawnees in their career of improvement may be led by a hair, but they will not be dragged by a strong cord, or driven with a whip. It requires not a little prudence to guide them along satisfactorily. Those who are placed here by government need to move cautiously. All the whites are affected, more or less, by the imprudence of any one of their number, however they may be disconnected. Very serious evils may grow out of a course pursued by an individual, when he may all the while think he is doing the very best in his power to promote their interests. Something of this kind has already been experienced. Some knowledge of the character of a people for whose good one is to labor is quite essential before he lays his course. A theory formed without reference to the character or circumstances of a people will with difficulty be carried into practice. I have many fears that the measures now taken to

improve the Pawnees will fail not because they cannot be improved, but because the proper means may not in all cases be used. It would be strange indeed if 10 men of precisely the right stamp should be employed for this purpose. We hope for the best in this thing, but are not without anxiety.

I think our government intends to fulfill the treaty with the Pawnees in good faith; for appropriations to this end have been made thus far as often as they have been asked. Last spring 14 yokes of oxen were purchased and sent out here to be employed by the 4 farmers for the good of the Indians. 4 yokes were brought out a year ago, so that they now have 18 in all. No cows or young stock have yet been furnished them. 4 farmers are now under appointment. There are two blacksmith shops, with a blacksmith and assistant in each. A man has recently come on to occupy the other teachers' place.

No schools have been taught save by Mr. Allis. Since last autumn he has resided with those of the Loup band who have removed and located on Willow Creek, about 4 miles from us. The present season his school for various reasons, (some of which have been mentioned) has not prospered. There may be some difficulty in getting the children to attend regularly. Far more should be done by way of schools that has yet been attempted.

I have not yet maintained stated religious services for them. Had I not expected the Missionary and physician, on here early last spring, whom you encouraged us to expect, I would have commenced holding regular services with them on the sabbath, alone, and done what I could in this department of labor, notwithstanding their unfavorable circumstances, but as it was, I had thought it would be well to consult with them before this important step was taken. It has a very unfavorable effect on this people to raise their expectations and then disappoint them. I have witnessed this so often that I have become very cautious in making promises, or appointments unless I have good reasons to believe that I can fully meet them. Most of the religious instruction I have given them has been in a private manner without formality. With an individual or a few individuals I have conversed on these important subjects. But my knowledge of the language is still quite inperfect and even if it was much more perfect than it is, where are the words to be found in it to convey many of our religious ideas? I have often felt myself when endeavoring to instruct them like a man trying to walk with his legs tied together, failing at every attempt. I believe they have always listened attentively and respectfully, but I have no doubt that when the subject shall have been fully understood by them and duly pressed on their consideration their corrupt hearts will rise in opposition to the pure and humble truths of the gospel. They have sometimes taken liberty in a round a bout way to give me to understand that they were not without a religion, and that though their religion might not in all respects be equal to that of the white men, yet it answered very well for them. I think they have taken some pains to let me know that they were strict in the performance of their religious ceremonies. We greatly need the influence of God's gracious spirit to enlighten and guide us in the discharge of our

duties, and to render efficacious his truths on the minds of this benighted people.

Ter-er-it-tit-a-kush (the report of the Deity's gun or thunder) told me in a conversation I had with him on the sabbath, that he had noticed in his travels through the states that "the white people looked more cheerful and seemed to be more active on monday after having enjoyed the rest of the sabbath than on other days. But it is not as with us who have no sabbath—our labors are continued from day to day—it is hard—we drag out life—not enjoy it." Such is the testimony of a heathen to the beneficial effects of the rest of the sabbath on man's physical powers. This man was the first chief of the Republican band, and one of the delegation that visited Washington, and some of the large cities of the union some 5 years since.

One would be led think on hearing the Pawnee converse sometimes that they were a very religious people. "Te-rah-wah-te-git-ow-eet" is a phrase much used by them—the import of which is that the Deity is supreme and orders all things according to his own will. If a man is sick he says Te-rah-wah te-git-ow eet (Deo volente) I shall get well, or if he is about to enter on any business, he uses the same expression—the Deity being propitious I shall prosper. They rarely smoke or eat without in some way refering to the Diety. But their religion is selfish and exerts no purifying influence. "They are a seed of evildoers."

With respect to teams, stock, etc. of which you request information, I have on my hands 4 yoke of oxen, which make a sufficient team to break prairie. Besides which I have one odd ox, of which we intend to make beef in the autumn. These 9 oxen belong exclusively to the Mission i. e. they were purchased to perform the work of the Mission as a whole, and not for any individual composing it. Of horses I have none. I have 3 waggons, 4 chains, and various tools, the property of the Mission. A brief account of the stock purchased for my own use. In Nov. of the year that I returned from Mass. I bought a cow with a calf price 30 dolls. In the latter part of May of the following year my cow was all at once missing, and I was never able to discover any traces of her though I searched faithfully. I have ever supposed that the Otoes killed her as I saw some of them chasing cattle the day that she was missed. The calf lived. The latter part of July of the same year I purchased another cow with a calf for which I paid 30 dolls. This cow I still have. From this beginning my stock now numbers 21 head. I lost two calves last spring on account of the severity of the season, making in all 20. Of these 8 are cows. I have about 10 acres of land under cultivation, the greater part of which properly belongs to the Indians, and I intend to turn it over to them next spring. I am now fencing and breaking up a piece of prairie containing about 12 acres. This is near my dwelling and will probably constitute my farm.

According to an appraisal made on the 17. Dec. 1842 by persons selected for that purpose, Mr. Allis has stock in his hands valued at $152.67. This is stock which he raised while in the service of the Board. None of this was purchased with the money of the Board, he having lost the cows thus purchased. Mr. Gaston has, according to the same

appraisal, in his hands stock valued at $50. included is a cow bought with the funds of the Board, the remainder was raised by him while connected with it. Now if I understand them they both wish to retain what they have, and are willing to pay the appraised value if you say so and are doubtless more willing to have them without paying for them, if you will grant it. The Mission does not need this stock, and it is for you to say how they shall hold it. I hope you will do this at once.

What relation does Mr. Allis now sustain to the Board I do not know but Mr. A. is a proper person to be employed as as assistant Missionary with the exception of his education which is quite defective. Mrs. A. has not proved to be all that she was recommended to be, and is I think an unsuitable person to engage in Missionary labors. She has caused considerable trouble. Mr. Gaston's education is defective, and when he came out seemed not to have thought much on, or acquired very correct views of Missionary life and labor. He likes to have things go ahead and perhaps lacks patience if not prudence sometimes. But it becomes me who have so many failings to speak mildly of the faults of others.

*June 27.* A large party of Sioux made an attack on the village where the Grand Pawnees, Tapage and Republican Pawnees have located. This village is about a mile from our place, and in plain view. The Pawnees had been somewhat alarmed for several days previous to the attack on account of traces of their enemies which they had discovered. Early in the morning they could see where men and horses had passed during the night from the dews being brushed from the grass. They also found feathers, mocasins, etc. which but too plainly indicated that their enemies were lurking near. In the morning of the day of the attack, before light, a Pawnee let his horses out of their pen, and drove them some distance from the village to grass, while he should stay by and watch them. Unfortunately the poor fellow allowed himself to fall asleep. While sleeping a party of 7 Sioux, who had been waiting for an opportunity to get horses, came dashing along to drive off those of the sleeping man, and finding him thus defenceless slew him and made off with his horses. Another Pawnee who was out for some cause, witnessed the transaction, and immediately gave the alarm to the village. A small party of Pawnees forthwith mounted their horses and set off in pursuit. It was now becoming light, and they had not proceeded more than a mile, when they fell in with the main body of Sioux advancing on the village, a skirmish ensued but the Pawnees being greatly outnumbered retreated to the village, closely pursued by the Sioux. Thus the village was completely surprised. The first notice of their coming was their arrival at the village. The greatest confusion must have prevailed and some were killed the first onset. The women and children were gathered into a few lodges, where they remained during the fight. They took nothing from their lodges, but the clothes they wore. A main object with the Sioux seemed to be to get the horses of the Pawnees. But few of them had yet been let out and these few were driven off immediately the Sioux being all mounted. The Pawnees defended themselves as well as they were able, but the Sioux had greatly the advantage being all mounted and mostly armed with guns. While the Pawnees had but few. About 8 o'clock the Sioux began to fire the lodges

in the part of the village that had been deserted. The Sioux did not all engage at the same time but while one party was fighting another would be resting their horses and preparing for a new charge. They finally succeeded in driving off all the horses of the Pawnees (about 200) and burned 20 of the 41 lodges of which the village consisted. The Loups who have removed and are located about 3 miles from this village, were spectators of the fight, but took no part till near the close of the battle when they skirmished a little and took a few horses from the Sioux. The reason they assigned for not participating in the fight was that they feared an attack would be made on their own village and they wished to be in a condition to defend it. About 11 o'clock a detachment arrived from the Grand Pawnee village, to which word had been sent early in the morning. This village is 10 miles distant, and two very difficult streams to cross are between them. On reaching the scene of action they engaged with the foe which soon retired from the village, and was followed some distance, but by this time their horses were so jaded that it was necessary to give up the pursuit. The Pawnees suffered a severe loss. The Tapage band had 35 killed—the Republican 26—and the Grand 6—making in all 67 slain, and 26 wounded. Some of the best and bravest men of the tribe lost their lives. The chief before mentioned was killed. He was a firm friend of the whites, and one desirous of improving himself and his people. Some of his most promising men fell with him. The first chief of the Tapage had been a long time sick unable to walk, and when he was informed of the death of the Republican chief, and some of his intimate friends he fell back and expired. He also was a friend of improvement. The half-breed employed as interpreter was killed. Some of the women and children frightened and thinking themselves unsafe in the lodges ran out and started for the river and thus fell an easy prey to the enemy. Some children were taken captive. It would take some 8,000 or 10,000 dolls. to make the property of the Pawnees as good as the day before the fight. They came to the premises of the blacksmith (less than half mile from us) and killed a halfbreed Omaha woman that lived with him. They did not come to us, but discovering our cattle about 2 miles from them and, as we supposed, thinking them to be Pawnee horses, a party of 5 set off at full speed toward them, and when they came near enough to perceive their mistake they halted abruptly and after a little time fired 3 shots at them and set out on their return. Two of the Pawnee oxen were wounded. How many of the Sioux were killed we have no means of ascertaining, as they carry off their dead if possible. 2 were left dead in the village and in and around it were some 40 or 50 dead horses and mules. The fight lasted in all its parts from daylight till noon.

After the fight the Pawnees hastily buried their dead and that afternoon left the village and went to the Platte. They were expecting to start out to the hunt in 3 days when the fight occurred. What effect this unfortunate affair will have on the Pawnees I cannot tell. It may be the means of breaking up the village entirely. The Pawnees will be obliged to come back here to harvest their corn. I am inclined to think they will return and locate themselves here again, but they have many superstitions, and their superstitions have great influence over them. The incursions of

these northern savages will be a serious drawback on the improvement of the Pawnees so long as they are suffered to make them. The Sioux boast that they intend to exterminate the tribes south of them—as the Pawnees, Delawares, Shawnees, Kickapoos, Potawatomies, etc. On all these they have committed depredations, and they will doubtless retaliate unless the whites interpose.

I had a good share of anxiety with reference to the improvement of this people, and this calamitous event has by no means diminished it. "The Lord reigns, let the earth rejoice" though "clouds and darkness are the habitation of his throne." "He causes the wrath of man to praise him, and the remainder of that wrath he restrains." We may be assured that this event however disastrous it may be in the end, did not take place without the superintending Providence of God. He has delivered us hitherto and I trust will still deliver us so long as shall be for the best. Pray for us that we may be faithful unto death.

Very truly yours JOHN DUNBAR

We hope you will send us help soon. It is not good for a missionary to be alone so long is [in] so remote a location. We are all in usual health.

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PAWNEE MISSION, Nov. 14, 1843.

*Rev. David Greene, Sec. A. B. C. F. M., Boston, Mass.*

DEAR SIR—Your kind letter of August 26th reached us Oct. 30th. At the same time we received one from Mr. Willey in which he makes various enquiries as you are probably aware. He has not yet reached us as you will see, though we are still expecting him this autumn. It may not be amiss to answer some of his enquiries even if the information imparted should be of no service to him. If he is on his way he is doubtless near us. The most favorable season for performing the latter, and land, part of the journey which will be from some landing village high on the Missouri within the state, or even from Bellevue, (for several boats come to that place each year) would be Sept. and June. It may be accomplished in July and August, and in Oct. and Nov. but not so well. I would advise any one who has it to perform to be on in season to start from his landing early in Sept. or June. When a man has come as far as he can by water let him without great delay either hire himself and effects brought on, or procure a team of his own, if he understands such things, and proceed on his way. Oxen are preferable to horses for a heavy load. At certain seasons of the year we could send a team to Bellevue to bring out our fellowlaborers, if duly apprised precisely when to come, but of this there would be much uncertainty. With regard to furniture let no one burden himself with it. A good cooking stove is desirable, some thing to eat on, sit on, and sleep on. The various other little articles necessary to housekeeping will readily occur to the mind of every good housewife. Clothing similar to that used in New England. Food not very different. Flour, sugar, and coffee (if used) to be brought from Bellevue at present. The water is wholesome. A thorough knowledge of the language is difficult to acquire. I have mentioned these things that you may be able to give

such information as may be desired on these subjects by those who shall be sent to join this Mission. We hope that our anticipated helper is near at hand to take part in our labors.

The reinforcement of the Mission is to us a subject of deep and painful interest. We have hoped hitherto and still hope that help may come. We presume you feel as deep an interest, and perhaps deeper, than our selves in this subject. "Our help is in the Lord." He will perform all his good pleasure with respect to this people. "Help Lord, for the help of man is vain."

When I wrote you last some account was given of the fight of the Sioux and Pawnees on the 27 June. The account was I believe in the main correct. The Pawnees lost in all, killed outright, died of their wounds, and taken prisoners 70. According to reports from the Sioux country, their party consisted of about 500 men—of whom 40 were slain at the village during the fight and many were more or less severely wounded, some of whom have since died. It is said they are not inclined to boast much of their victory. Since the fight they have not molested the Pawnees. It is generally supposed that their main object in attacking the Pawnees as they did was the acquisition of their horses. We do not apprehend that such attacks will occur more frequently for the future than they have done in time past even if nothing is done by our government to prevent the recurrence of such scenes. I do not know what measures have been taken to prevent further mischief between these tribes, but I was assured by the agent that he would do all in his power to this end. I have supposed from the day we moved out here, there was some probability we might witness such things, hence my feelings with regard to our safety have not been materially changed. Before this event I did not know what they would do to us, now I know what they have done. Since they came not to our dwellings nor manifested a decided disposition to do us harm, our sense of safety is rather deepended than otherwise by what we have experienced. But in the power of wicked savage men one is safe no longer, nor farther than they are controlled by Him, who has the hearts of all men in his power and turns them as He wills.

Immediately after the fight the Pawnees left their village, having very hastily buried their dead, taking with them their wounded and whatever they could carry on their backs, and crossed to the Grand Pawnee village on the South side of the Platte. At different times some few came back to look after what they had left behind, but they seemed wonderfully timid, and were ever on the lookout for the Sioux. They were very poor, their horses having all been taken, and about half of their lodges burned and more than half plundered. In their sad condition they seemed to be more than usually inclined to plunder themselves, each appropriating to his own use whatever came in his way, instead of restoring it to its rightful owner however needy he might be. Not many days after the fight they started out to their summer hunt, and it is scarcely necessary to say that they made a bad hunt and came back very hungry. Fortunately the season was a favorable one and when they returned their corn was in a condition to furnish them with plenty of 'roasting ears.' They seemed 'mighty scary' and it was several days before they ventured

to cross the Loup Fork, and when they did come they encamped at a place some distance from the village they left on account of the noisesomeness of the place. The carcases of the horses slain in fight were not yet decomposed, and those of the men hastily buried had been nearly all disinterred by dogs and wolves of the prairie.

When I informed the Pawnees of the Sioux' threat to exterminate them, which I had been requested to do by the agent, they moved up to the village where the Loups settled about two miles above where they have remained ever since. On this account I have not had so much intercourse with them as I should have had if they had been nearer. There have been many alarms during the autumn, but no Sioux have made their appearance. It was sometime before any of the men ventured from the village without being armed and they are seldom seen at any distance from the village without them even now. They have now gathered their crops and are again absent on their accustomed winter campaign in pursuit of their favorite game. Those who have removed have had a much more plentiful corn harvest than those who have not, and are even now, notwithstanding their defeat in a better condition to live than any of the others. We believe that some advance has been made by some of those who have lived near us and that they would regret being separated from us. Still I would not be understood to say that any very perceptible improvement had been made. Those who have been with them longest recognise this while those who have been here but a short time do not perceive it. It is general not exhibited in any one thing particularly. Our little influence was perhaps never more extensive than at the present time. We do not yet despair of a brighter day for this people.

Since the affair with the Sioux, the agent has advised the Pawnees all to remove, and settle in two villages and to make with the assistance of those employed with them, a sod fence around these villages. Many of the Loups have removed this autumn and all have promised to come in the spring. I think there is little doubt they will fulfill their promise. That part of the Tapage band that has not yet come have resolved to remove in the spring, and the chief of the Grand Pawnees yet unremoved said he would [be] on the ground in the spring. Some of these may fail to come, but there will doubtless be a large access to our present population. We doubt the wisdom of congregating them all in two villages, but since it has been proposed and is strongly advocated by him, we shall not oppose it. Much wisdom is needed in order to guide this people along in the path of improvement. What multitudes vainly imagine they have wisdom adequate to this not only, but a large surplus over and above. This vanity disqualifies for usefulness here, condemns whatever is not in accordance with its own notions, and if a man has not in a given time, no matter what obstacles he may have had to contend with, civilised and christianised a wild savage people, he has done nothing, is doing nothing, stands in the way of improvement, and ought to be removed. I have recently been informed by Mr. Gaston that the Pawnee Mission was considered as little less than a disgrace to the cause of Missions wherever its course was fully known, and that it was not publicly condemned by the friends of Missions and others generally was that so little was known

respecting it. That I was in not a little danger of being removed from the country for not having done more for the good of the Pawnees. That my course had a bad savor with the agent and others who were acquainted with it—*residents in the Indian country.* That the proceedings of the Mission were almost all wrong—nearly all that had been done by it, it would have been better that it had been left undone, and that that had been left undone which should have been done. Indeed I will not attempt to enumerate all the charges brought against myself or the Mission. Now the only occasion that I am aware, had been given for all this was my telling him he could not appropriate to his use property, that belonged to the Board, and for which the the mission had use without paying for it. If my decision be wrong and it be not a part of my duty to look after the property of the Board, I wish you to tell me so. If I am in the right you will of course sustain me. I desire to do my duty—I have many faults, I am conscious—I would forgive as I hope to be forgiven. He informed me also, that you had reproved him for being censorious—censuring both the Mission and the Board. That he had done this in so public a manner I was not before aware. That he had censured the Mission as a useless expenditure, long before he ceased to derive his support from the funds of the Board, I knew. It is probably not worth while to notice these things. My situation is not so agreeable and profitable that I wish to retain it on these accounts, did not a sense of duty bind me here I should long ago have been somewhere else. What I strongly desire is to see both the temporal and spiritual interests of the Pawnees promoted. So long as there seems to be a prospect of this I wish, with your approval, to remain, but when the prospect of this shall close I would leave.

If the Pawnees remove in the spring as is anticipated it seems more than ever before desirable that the Mission should be greatly strengthened. There are several departments of missionary labor that should be effectively prosecuted as soon as they remove. You are doubtless as well aware of this as I am myself, and will doubtless do the best you shall be able to procure men. We do not think the danger to be apprehended from hostile tribes to be so great that none should venture to share it with us. And before the want of success that has attended the Mission hithertoo is plead as a reason why it should not be strengthened, it should be carefully considered whether its not having been rendered strong be not a principal reason why it has not accomplished more. Will no one come to our help? Must the harvest waste because there are no hands to gather it? 'Pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest that he would send forth laborers into his harvest.

I wish to say that such has been the part the Mission has acted in the removal of the Pawnees, and that I have acted as a member of the Mission, that it is very difficult for me to withdraw my attention so much as I would be pleased to do from their temporal concerns. They are constantly thrust in my way, however much I may wish to be divested of them. They frequently tell me that the Mission has been the cause of their removal,—if we had not come here they would not have come. They would not be pleased should I now disregard their temporal interests. A sort of necesity being imposed on me of devoting some attention to their temporal affairs. This would not be expected at least to the same ex-

tent from a missionary who should now enter this field of labor—hence the desirableness that one should be sent on speedily who might devote his whole attention to the missionary's more appropriate work.

The fear of the Sioux induced by their attack is gradually wearing away and the Grand Pawnees and Tapage will probably locate on or near the site of the old village where the fight occurred. I would have written before but waited first to learn the decision of the Pawnees with respect to their location, etc. and second for an opportunity to send letters. We still hope Mr. Willey may reach us this season, but if he does not come how long must we remain alone in our field?

Very truly yours, JOHN DUNBAR

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PAWNEE MISSION, April 24, 1844.

*Rev. David Greene, Secretary A. B. C. F. M., Boston Mass.*

DEAR SIR—Your letter of Jan. 18th. reached me about the last of March. Yours stating the circumstances which prevented Mr. Willey's coming out to join us last autumn has not been received. We have been so often dissappointed in not being joined by the helpers, we have anticipated, that we were not very sanguine in our hopes that he would reach us last autumn, or indeed that he will come at all. Mrs. D. received a letter recently from Mrs. Willey, and judging from that alone, we would suppose they were expecting to unite in our labors for the Pawnees; but your last places the subject in a doubtful attitude. Though we would be highly gratified to have others come out to labor with us in this field, yet we know, that it is better to trust in the Lord, than to put confidence in princes even.

During the past winter, the latter part of it particularly, I employed myself in endeavoring to translate some portions of scripture into the Pawnee language. In this I have had the assistance of the government interpreter. He is a Canadian by birth,—his father a Scotchman—his mother a French woman—has lived with the Pawnees some 25 or 30 years—understands the language well, though he does not speak it so correctly as some. He talks the English language very imperfectly, and to avail myself of his assistance, I have used the French Bible, published by the American Bible Society. He is also advanced in life, and his sight so impaired, that he is unable to read much in print so small as the common bible. What I wished to have translated, I have written off in a somewhat large and fair hand and submitted to his inspection in order to have him fashion it in Pawnee. At first it was a very slow, perplexing, business, but by degres it became more easy, and our interest in the employment increased. All that has been yet done in this thing is necessarily imperfect, and needs revision; but I am sensible of having derived much advantage from the exercise in imparting religious instruction to this people. I design—as I may have opportunity to translate more. I think it has had a good influence on the mind of my assistant, and I am desirous to employ him further, provided I shall be able to secure his service.

More religious instruction has been given to the Pawnees since they returned from their winter hunt, than at any previous time. They have

listened with attention, sometimes with interest. Many of them seem desirous to know what the christian religion is, and I am anxious to inform them to the extent of my ability. It appears very desirable that more should be done for them this season than has ever been done before to make known the glorious truths of the Gospel. So far as I have been able to discover they are expecting this.

Perhaps rather more than half of the Pawnees have removed to their settlements on the north side of the Loup Fork. Owing to a threatening message sent to the Pawnees by the Sioux, that they would fight them the ensuing summer with a superior force, the Pawnees concluded not to rebuild the village, in part destroyed by the Sioux last summer, this spring, but that all would remain together till it should be known whether the Sioux would put their threat in execution. If they do not, they intend to remove back to, or near to, their, at present, deserted village. The incursions of the Sioux seem to be the most formidable obstacle now to the improvement of the Pawnees. We feel this deeply, and we regret it. The agent for the Pawnees informed me recently, that the Sioux agent had informed him, that though he had used all his influence with them to prevent their depredations, yet, with the exception of two or three small bands, who were desirous of peace, the others were resolved on war, and if possible to exterminate the Pawnees. He also informed me that as yet he had received no advices from the department, though he had written them in full on the subject. Probably, it may be reckoned on as certain, that if the Pawnees are attacked the ensuing season, and put to the worse, they will abandon their settlements and improvements, and retire to a place, they may deem more secure. They are fortifying their village, by digging a ditch and building a turf wall around it. They have requested their agent to have 200 guns and amunition in proportion come in their annuities for the present year. Should they obtain these, with their fortifications, and a common share of bravery, they would be able to resist their enemies, but a people can never advance much while shut up in a fort.

The village of the Pawnees, where they now live, is 4 miles from me, consequently I cannot visit them, so often as I might, were they nearer. I do not deem it prudent to leave my family alone. Either myself, or hired man, or a trustworthy Pawnee must be procured to stay with them. I find that the best place to impart instruction is at my own house and as they visit me every day, I can have an opportunity to talk myself tired. Were it not that it gives me an opportunity to converse with them, indeed, I should be heartily tired of visiting, for they are extremely poor, and beg they will, and are not ashamed. I never have known them so destitute of provisions, as they now are. Many of them are now living on what they can dig from mother earth. The Sioux harrassed them so much that at the old village on the Loup Fork, they made very little corn last season. Their prospects for this world are by no means flattering, and for the world to come, how wretched!—ignorant in a great measure of the way of life through a crucified saviour, and greatly in love with their sins. What wretched work sin has made and is making with our world.

"My father, I am poor, have pity on me, give me a bite to eat,—an ear

of corn, or a potato, and I will go." Perhaps tomorrow the same request is repeated, and so on, from day to day. "Be patient and endure hardness," etc. I intend to write soon again. Very truly yours,

JOHN DUNBAR

Rev. D. Greene

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PAWNEE MISSION, April 29, 1844.

*Rev. D. Greene, Secretary A. B. C. F. M., Boston, Mass.*

DEAR SIR—My last was dated 24 inst. The agent has recently paid the Pawnees a visit. While here he advised the Pawnees to fortify their village, and their fortifications are now in a state of forwardness, but it is doubtful whether they will complete them before they are needed. They are so poor that they are reluctant to do any thing that does not procure something to eat. Very recently a large party started out to kill bufalo. They will probably be absent about 20 days, when, if they are successful, they will return with a quantity of dry meat, which will be very acceptable, and afford a temporary supply of food. Fortunately the low sandy bottoms on the Loup Fork abound with what the French call "Pom de terre" of which the Pawnees have dug and will yet dig this spring many hundreds of bushels. Indeed they are so plenty as to give name to the stream in Pawnee (Eetsbury).

Perhaps you may think it strange, and out of place in me to write so much of their poverty, the only apology I have to offer for this is that I hear so much of it. Since I commenced writing this even a woman came to the window, near which I am sitting, and she "tells me that her son, who has recently returned from a war adventure, and who loves me very much, and was intending to come and see me in a few days has been taken sick, that his foot is swolen very bad, that he is in great pain, and does nothing day or night but groan—further that she had nothing to give him to eat, and that her husband had sent her to tapwsha to get a little corn for her son to eat—that she had brought an axe to trade for the corn and that she did not wish to get it for nothing." I gave her the corn and she delighted with the bargain immediately set out for the village.

As they have little or nothing to eat at home, they go to war more than they would otherwise. While out on the prairie they can usually find plenty to eat. War parties are starting out or coming very frequently now. This spring two Osage scalps, and one of some other Southern tribe, have been brought in and a great many horses. These will invite the incursions of their northern neighbors, and it will be unusual, if some of these horses do not during the ensuing season migrate northward.

During the past winter I preached on the sabbath alternately at willow Creek and at my own house. The latter part of winter was quite an interesting time with us. Our meetings were quite interesting and professing christians seemed to be revived, and some of our number to enjoy a spirit of prayer. The impenitent were solemn, and apparently deeply concerned for themselves. Indeed it appeared for several weeks as if God was about to pour out his spirit and glorify himself in the salvation of souls, but the cloud of mercy at length passed away. No conver-

sions occurred, I think. I have reason to be very grateful to the giver of all good for granting me this precious season. It seemed like an oasis in travelling through this desert land. Nor was the solemnity of this season confined wholly to the whites, the few Indians, who were about here at the time, seemed to participate in it, but their interest subsided with that of the whites.

From what has been said, you may be desirous to know what is the state of professing christians at the present time, and in reply, I would say, it is bad enough. A very undesirable alienation of feeling exists at this time. Two parties exist each struggling for the ascendency. The party first organised undertook to set things right by having all removed from the country who did not suit them, and were not so regardful of the rights of their fellow men as christians always ought to be. Injurious reports were circulated, and petitions presented to the agent for the removal of certain obnoxious persons. I believe, however, but one petition was presented, and this was a failure. At length the individuals complained of were informed of what was going on, soon an opposition party was formed and undertook to maintain their rights, by repelling the charges made against them, and presenting others against the opposite party. Things were in this predicament when the agent came and the affair was brought before him. Two days were spent in debating the subject without coming to a satisfactory result, and the matter was left, very much as it was found. The agent refused to act immediately since the time for putting in a crop was at hand, and if he should then discharge any of the farmers, he would be unable to fill their places till it would be too late to make a crop this season. Before he left he assured me that if the department would listen to him he would heal these divisions effectually. These dissensions among the whites had in some measure been divulged to the Pawnees, which of course could have no good influence on them.

The influence of certain individuals, employed by the agent on the Indians has been unfavorable to themselves, and to the Indians, and to all whites residing with them, and unless this influence can be removed and a better exerted our time of residence with the Pawnees will be limited. The effects of the course pursued by them on the minds of the Indians I have watched (because it was in direct opposition to that which I had recommended), and the results have been precisely what was anticipated. More than 6 months ago I made up my mind to give the agent the results of my experience on the subject. Accordingly when he arrived I had a long talk with him, in which I told him plainly, that if he did not use his influence to correct these evils and would not give me some assurance to that effect, I considered that my duty was plain, and that was to leave the country as soon as I should be able to get permission from you. He did not give so much assurance as I should have liked, but I deemed it sufficient to determine me to remain, at least, for the present.

J. DUNBAR

I have endeavored to stand aloof from these divisions as much as I could, but probably am more or less blamed.

I am intending to devote as much as possible of my time directly to making known the truth to the Pawnees. Send me all the help you can.

[From copy.]

PAWNEE MISSION, September 9, 1844.

*Rev. David Greene, Secy, A. B. C. F. M., Boston, Mass.*

DEAR SIR—Your letter dated May 16th reached us Aug. 12th, and that dated July 20th a few days afterwards. I think I can appreciate what you say in your last, with regard to the "mixing up of government and missionary influences." So far as our experience goes, it seems quite unadvisable. Much of course, must depend on the sort of men employed as missionaries and by government authorities as farmers, mechanics, teachers, &c. Too often those employed to teach the Indians agriculture, are men who do not readily get employment elsewhere, or those who wish to get as much money in as short a time as is possible in order to set themselves up in the world, or to repair a shattered fortune. Such men may indeed perform a sufficient amount of labor, but certainly they will not generally be chargeable that it is their chiefest concern that the Indians should improve through their efforts. From the first I have desired that these influences might be brought to bear on the Pawnees separately, each in its appropriate sphere. Others may have thought they were as much concerned with the affairs of the mission, after they entered the service of government, as before. I judge so from the course they pursued, for as soon as it was signified that they must stand on their own feet and not lean on the mission, it at once became a worthless thing—even a nuisance, and as such was represented to the agent, and others. A secret but persevering opposition has been kept up by certain persons from that time, and they have so far prevailed on the agent as to induce him to write to the department recommending my removal from the Indian country. Thus I have recently been informed. How the matter will terminate, I know not, nor have I any particular anxiety. However, If my humble name goes to Washington and the subject is acted on there I shall have attained a celebrity that of late years I have not anticipated.

The Pawnees have four farmers. G. B. Gaston is farmer for the Tapage band; George W. Woodcock for the Grand—James Mathers for Loups, and Carolan Mathers, son of the preceding, for Republican. Mr. Gaston's character you know something of. He is not popular with the Indians. He is very intimate with the Messrs. Mathers, who are also unpopular with the Pawnees, and I believe with most of the whites. They have a good opinion of themselves, and it is believed they think themselves qualified to teach not only the Indians but also the whites in many things. The Mathers are members of a Presbyterian church. Woodcock makes no profession. The two Mathers and Mr. Gaston adopt the driving principle, and are harsh and rough with the Indians, whipping the Indians when they steal or are guilty of other misdemeanors, and recently one of the Mathers shot an Indian who was helping himself to some corn of theirs. The charge of duck shot struck the fellow in the back and injured his intestines very much. It is still doubtful whether he recovers. This is only putting in execution threats previously made. They can hardly be said to be men of peace. Mr. Allis is the only teacher employed.

[From original.]

The Pawnees returned from their summer home in the latter part of August, they killed a plenty of bufalo, but were obliged to go so far to find them that before getting back to their homes they had eaten the greater share of the meat. Several companies of emigrants to the Oregon territory passed through the Pawnees' hunting grounds the past summer and drove off the bufalo. A party of about 100 passed by our settlement, fortunately the Pawnees were absent. Since the Pawnees' returned a command of about 300 men from Cantonment Leavenworth under Major Wharton of U. S. army made the Pawnees a visit, and gave them a very good talk. Rev. Mr. Kerr army chaplain was along who with the commandant, and officers appeared quite friendly. I think their visit will result in good at any rate the advice given them was good.

The Pawnees having started to hunt last summer earlier than is usual for them to go and the season having been unusually wet, the weeds have rather gained on their corn, and they will not have so good a crop as last year. But a kind Providence has made a temporary provision for their wants by sending the bufalo down near them on the north. They have recently been out and killed a considerable quantity of meat in that direction. The Sioux have not yet again molested them. The commandant of the dragoons assured the Pawnees that he was ready to do all in his power to prevent farther hostilities between the two tribes.

I am now holding meetings with the Pawnees in the schoolhouse built by Mr. Allis. We have had but two meetings there last sabbath and sabbath before. I do not know how many attended at either time, but more were present last sabbath than before, and some females were present which we have not witnessed before in any of our public meetings. We give a general invitation to all to attend. This is a new thing with them. They seem to exclude their women and children in a great measure from a participation in their religious observances, and do not impart religious knowledge to those in early life. The attendance and attention thus far is encouraging. Could we speak fluently doubtless we should have more hearers and better attention for a time at least. But we must not despise the [day?] of small things. I have spent my time during the past summer in the study of the language, and in instructing a few individuals who lived with the whites.

We were much pleased when our helpers arrived Mr. and Mrs. Ranney reached us August 12. We were rather surprised when they came, though we had been sort of half way expecting the arrival of help. We hope they will be contented happy, and useful in their new field of labor. They have just commenced keeping house in the building formerly occupied by Mr. Gaston. Granting one favor you are aware I presume encourages to ask another. Mr. Ranney and myself have consulted somewhat on the propriety of having a farmer connected with the Mission and to us both it seems quite desirable. We will write more fully on this subject, but would express a wish if you think there is any prospect of this requests' being granted you would look up such a man as we need and have him ready to commence operations here in the spring.

We are all well. Yours truly JOHN DUNBAR

[From copy of letter.]

PAWNEE MISSION, Oct. 9, 1844.

*Rev. David Greene, Sec. A. B. C. F. M., Boston, Mass.*

REV. & DEAR SIR—Since my last affairs have here been so managed, and decided an opposition has been manifested towards the mission, that I feel it to be my duty to give you early information of the existing state of things at this place. A few days since the agent for the Pawnees arrived at this place and held a council with the Pawnees. Previous to this time the Pawnees had preferred charges against James Mather, Carolan Mather, G. B. Gaston, farmers, and Lester Platt, brother in law to Mr. Gaston, who came out here with the expectation of being employed as a teacher, but was not appointed as such. These persons the Pawnees accused of being ill-natured and unaccommodating, also of various acts of violence, such as whipping, beating, and in one instance an Indian had a charge of small shot lodged in his back, while helping himself to some ears of corn in Messrs. Mathers field. Such treatment tended rather to provoke them than to restrain the thievish propensities of the Pawnees. The chiefs felt themselves slighted by this summary mode of proceeding and since these white men were disposed to take the infliction of punishment into their own hands, were disinclined to exert themselves to check the pilfering habits of their people. At length the first chief of the Loup band became so exasperated by encroachments made on what he considered his rights, that he declared he would no longer try to restrain his young men from committing depredations on his farmer, J. Mather. Things came to such a pass that a party of Loups went armed with their bows and arrows and guns and dug up their farmer's potatoes before his eyes, he remaining in his house the while, though repeatedly challenged to come out and defend his property. After a while two of the chiefs most friendly to their farmer were prevailed upon to disperse the warriors and thus deliver the farmer from his unpleasant situation. A few days since Mr. Platt undertook, without provocation farther than the quiet sitting of an Indian in the house, while an axe of his, which had been laid away in the house, should be found by a person who was searching for it, to forcibly put the Indian out of doors. After having been pushed toward the door and struck with a fire shovel, his (the Pawnee's) anger became excited and he seized his antagonist by the throat and thrust him against the walls of the house, and held him quite uncomfortably till a white man interposed and prevailed on the Pawnee to relax his grasp. What I have now written, together with what I have mentioned, will I think be sufficient to give you an insight into the course of policy recommended by the agent, and approved and practised by the individuals above named. The individual who shot the Pawnee has been, or is to be removed from the country, it is said. But this is nothing more than has befallen all the whites here who do not approve of and practise the course recommended by the agent and followed by his adherents. For they also have been or are to be removed from the country, so far as the agent thought he had power to accomplish the object. He decides that, as missionaries, we have a right to remain till he may make known our case to the department at Washington, and it shall have been decided there

whether we are to remain, or leave the Indian country. From this you will see that we dissent from the agent and his partisans in their mode of managing the Pawnees. The agent has publicly declared that either he or the mission must go down, and he is doing all in his power to effect this object.

The agent opened the council, mentioned above, by calling on the chiefs and braves to speak out fearlessly what they had to say for or against each white man residing with them. Nothing was said against any of those persons who have been discharged or against the missionaries. Indeed those who have been dismissed, and Mr. Allis, Ranney, and myself were the very persons whom the Pawnees said they wished to have remain. All the speakers in the council spoke against the agent's adherents, and, with the exception of two chiefs, requested their removal, and one of these, who felt very hard towards the chiefs of another band, and who would be very likely to wish them the worst that his spite should suggest, was willing that, so far as he was concerned, their farmer should remain. In reply to which the first chief of the spited band said that if his farmer must remain, he was unwilling that any should be removed, so that others might be as bad off as himself. The other chief who was considered as most favorably disposed towards Messrs. Gaston & Platt said they were bad, but instead of sending them off at once, he would advise that the agent should give them a sound talking and that if they would not do better afterwards, they must be dismissed at any rate. After the Pawnees were done talking, the Agent gave them his talk in which he told the Pawnees they were a nation of thieves; that he was ashamed of them; that he was ashamed of the chiefs; that they did not restrain their people from stealing;—that he highly approved of the course pursued by those who had beaten and whipped them when caught stealing, and told the chiefs that when one of their people came to them and complained of having been maltreated by a white man, to give them a sound flogging and dismiss them. He told them also that if any of the Pawnees should mistreat a white man, their grandfather the president would send his war chief, with soldiers plenty as the grass of the prairies, and with his big guns beat down and destroy their village. The Loups were so dissatisfied that most of them left the council, as did also, many of the other bands.

I think this council was the most dissatisfactory to the Pawnees of any one I have ever witnessed, and I have been present at many. Were not the Pawnees more mild and pacific than they have been formerly represented, hostilities would before this have been commenced by them. How long the Pawnees will be restrained from committing violence under such a course of treatment I do not know, but little effort seems to be made by the present agent and his followers here to conciliate them. Indeed if the object sought was to disaffect the Pawnees and to exasperate them, a more direct course to that end could not perhaps be pursued. Last spring the Loups were given to understand that their farmer would be sent away in accordance with their request when the season for putting in a crop was past, and they say that the agent promised them to the same effect in council at Bellevue the present autumn; but instead of

answering their expectations by discharging him, the agent has, in direct opposition to their wishes, promoted him to the superintendence of the government operations for the improvement of the Pawnees. He has even gone so far as to intimate that the operations of the mission must be subject to his own or his superintendent's control. This of course we deny, and shall be fully satisfied with his complying with the requisitions made of him in our permits to reside in the Indian country, and prosecute missionary labors there. We wish as missionaries to have as little to do with the operations of government here as possible, and the agent has, more than once, been plainly told so.

After the agent had finished his talk with the Indians, he gave notice that he had something to say to the white residents here, and he began by saying that, let a Pawnee be treated ever so bad by a white man, when he complained to another white man, the white man complained to, ought and must in every case fully approve of that to the Pawnee, no matter how unjust it might be. On hearing such a sentiment uttered, and that too with a request that I would practise accordingly, my feelings compelled me to dissent, which I did in the presence of all the whites present on the occasion. Mr. Ranney said his "feelings were shocked to hear such a sentiment advanced by an agent of our free and enlightened government, and brought forward to be practised by those who professed to be governed in their conduct by the unchanging principles of truth and righteousness."

In the discussion which followed, his two sided course with the whites and Indians was alluded to, and he was advised to adopt a straight course as the only one that would give satisfaction to either whites or Indians, as enough of the fruits of doubledealing were already produced in the community. Mr. Allis, Mr. Ranney and myself also expressed our disapprobation of the harsh and severe mode of treatment which he had recommended to be pursued toward the Pawnees, by stating that so far as our experience went, harshness rather excited a retaliating spirit than restrained a thievish and turbulent one. That the exercise of might, where right was wanting, was not calculated to produce right feelings. The agent said also that he had more than intimated to the department at Washington that he found it necessary to wear two faces in the discharge of his official duties here. He said farther that "he was irresistibly led to the conviction that I was the sole cause of the disturbances that occurred here last spring." He was asked for proof to establish his assertion, and plainly told that he must retract some things he had already written in a report made to the department or prove them to be facts. He declared that he should report still stronger with reference to myself, and that either himself or the mission must be broken down.

He and his adherents may continue to persecute, but they cannot destroy us. Our rights as freemen, as citizens of a free country, and as christians, we cannot relinquish without a struggle to maintain them. We are unconscious of having encroached on the rights of our fellowmen, or having interfered with the operations of our government here, and we believe that our course in this affair needs only to be known to be approved by all friends of civil and religious freedom.

The course pursued against us has augmented our influence with the Indians. We have their sympathies. It would be no difficult matter to get the signature of every Pawnee that has removed to this settlement (and they are nearly all here now) to a petition to have us remain with them. Indeed the first two chiefs of the tribe have declared that if their missionaries were driven away from them and their rights were not more respected, they would remove again to their old villages. They say of Mr. Allis and myself, that we have been a long time with them, that we have their confidence, that we understand their habits and customs, and they were hoping to live a long time with us.

We look to you for direction in this time of trial and shall be happy to hear from you by the earliest opportunity. What shall be done, or whether any thing ought to be done to vindicate the character and course of your missionaries at Washington, we leave with the judgment of the Committee.

We have the expressed wishes of the chiefs of the four bands with reference to the mission and myself, also the views of all the whites who have resided here, and been acquainted with the facts of the case and who have not thought proper to use their influence against the mission, as to the course I have pursued at this place as a resident and a missionary. Both of these documents we shall forward to you to be made such use of as you may think proper.

You will readily perceive that such a course as is being pursued with the Pawnees is not well calculated to dispose them to desire the white man's religion. It keeps them in a state of excitement and tends to prejudice against white men. It will be a long time before they will forget this treatment. They say this is not the President's mind; that when they saw and talked with him, he did not talk thus, and they feel desirous that he should know how affairs are managed with them, and think that when he should be informed, he would forthwith order otherwise.

I have not written you so fully as I had intended, but I think from what I have already said, together with what Mr. Ranney and Allis send you, you will be able to form a pretty correct opinion of the state of affairs existing here. I shall write you soon again, giving further particulars. I may be removed from the country before I hear from you again, but this I leave in the hands of Him who orders all events according to his sovereign pleasure. I pity the poor Indians in such hands.

Mr. Allis has been discharged as teacher. As he is desirous to resume his labors in connection with the mission and the members of the mission are willing he should do so, and if you see fit to constitute him farmer for the mission, (should you think proper to grant one) it will, I think be satisfactory to all concerned.

Mr. Gaston continues his opposition to the mission, and is confident, I presume, that he will triumph over it, as he has repeatedly declared that he or the mission must fail. What course you ought to pursue with him, you will of course decide. I request a copy of his letter containing charges against me, and also of that in which he somewhat acknowledge his faults. Very truly yours, JOHN DUNBAR.

PAWNEE MISSION, January 25, 1845.

*Rev. David Greene, Sec. A. B. C. F. M., Boston, Mass.*

DEAR SIR—Your letter of Dec. 9th. was received 20th. inst. With regard to my violation of the intercourse law, I will give you what, I consider a statement of facts. In the spring of 1844, the Pawnees were very poor, some of them almost, or quite in a starving condition. Although those of them who resided near us had a good crop of corn the preceding season, yet it was buried before it [was] sufficiently dry and most of it was entirely spoiled. Some of those Pawnees, who resided at their old villages particularly the Loups, were so harassed by the Sioux, that they raised little or no corn; and in the winter the Loups and the larger part of the Tapage, who hunted together, were repeatedly attacked by the Sioux, who succeeded in preventing them from hunting much, and indeed took from many of them all the provisions they had, and every thing else of any value. From those who still lived on the south side of the Platte, the Otoes stole a large quantity of corn, while the Pawnees were absent hunting in the winter. None of the Pawnees brought much meat to their villages in the spring. All the Loups and many of those from other places removed to their new location at that time. Now on what were these more than three thousand souls to subsist? I presume that after they had been here three or four weeks, one third of them had, neither a kernel of corn nor a mouthful of meat in the world.

I had 3 or 4 hundred bushels of corn, which I had raised with the expectation that the Mission would be reinforced, and the corn needed for its consumption, but as no addition was made to the Mission, and it was still uncertain when any would be, it was judged that a large part of this corn could be disposed of without detriment to any one. Farther the Pawnees became so troublesome, (knowing that I had a good supply of corn) begging for it by day and stealing it by night) that it was evident it would be exceedingly difficult to keep the corn and the sooner it could be properly disposed of the better.

The dictates of benevolence at once decided that the corn ought to be given to the destitute the starving; but how it could be placed in their hands, was more difficult to determine. It might at once have been given to the chiefs, to be disposed of as they saw fit. Such a course would have rendered me very popular with the principal men of the nation, but very little of the corn would have reached those who were suffering with hunger. It might have been determined to give it only to those who were really in greatest need, but this would have required probably my whole time, and I should have been constantly subject to be imposed on, for I do not know all the Pawnees and their circumstances, and most of them would represent themselves to be very poor and hungry, if they thought there was a prospect of obtaining a few ears of corn by so doing, even if the representation was wholly opposed to facts. The habitual practice of giving to Indians without some kind of compensation is, I think injurious. Had I given the corn outright, they would, next spring probably, have demanded another present.

After much reflection, the course which seemed to be attended with the fewest evils was adopted. It was this to trade the corn to them, at

their own price, and when the trade was completed to deliver the articles traded over to the Pawnees to be disposed of as they pleased, recommending however, that these should be restored to their original owners. The cheifs sent one or more of their braves to superintend the trade. Generally all that I did in the trade, and I need not have done that, had I not chosen to do it, was to pick up the corn in a basket, and hand it to the brave, who delivered it to the person waiting to receive it, and took from him or her whatever was offered for it. The articles traded were principally axes and hoes, some cloths, about half a dozen bufalo robes, a few kettles, a few small pieces of tobacco, a little paint, beads &c, &c. All of which, with the exception of the robes, one axe, one hoe and a few other things of little value to the Pawnees, and of use to me, have been returned to the Pawnees.

The price they paid for corn would ordinarily be considered high, still was not half as much as they were at the time offering to pay each other.

As the Pawnees are poor and have little they can part with, they would not be likely to trade, unless they could realize what they considered the full value of the articles traded, and that they were so importunate to trade even the best they had for corn, shows plainly, that they felt the gnawings of hunger, consequently I have the satisfaction to believe that my corn fed the needy, and I think, I have received the blessing of those who were ready to perish.

I ever gave the Pawnees to understand that it was not for my advantage that I traded with them; but theirs. I appealed to the Pawnee Government to have the people prevented from coming to trade, but it soon acknowledged itself to have too many sympathies with poor human nature to punish the famishing for seeking food where it was to be had. Perhaps, it may be asked now, whether I have always traded with the Pawnees, and never *given* them any thing? I answer ; No. If any man, now residing here, can boast, that he has given to the Pawnees; I more.

My trading with the Pawnees was a popular measure with them. I do not now recollect that I have ever heard one of them complain of it, while I have heard multitudes approve of it. I have often [been] told by them that if I had not let them have the corn they would have starved. I am not a government man. I believe that it is my duty to respect the laws of my country and to obey them, and that when I must choose between two evils I ought to choose the least—and thus it appears to me I have done in letting them have the [corn] as I did.

I am aware that I have violated the letter of the law. I knew what I was doing, at the time. I plead guilty, and offer nothing in extenuation of what I have done; but the circumstances, in which, I was at the time placed. I regret, that a human law was violated in doing what I did, and I do most sincerely hope, I may never be placed in such circumstances again. If I have sinned I refuse not to die. If it be necessary in order to sustain the law, I have violated, and protect the interests, it was given to secure, that I suffer—I am willing to suffer. I think, I can do it cheerfully. I may not judge rightly in this thing. My conscience may not be sufficiently enlightened; but while it approves, it is hard to con-

demn. If I have sinned, I do most sincerely pray that God would pardon my fault; for I know that soon I must stand before a righteous judge and receive according to that which I have done, whether it be good or bad.

How this is to affect my character as a missionary, the Committee will, of course, form their own judgment, and deal with me accordingly.

My enemies here will, doubtless, endeavour to use it to my hurt, but it will require much care and prudence on their part, so to temper their zeal to throw stones at my glass house as not to endanger their own domicils.

I think, that Mr. Gaston's opposition to myself and the Mission has been mainly owing to his partiality for Oberlinism. His object seems to have been my removal, and the substitution of a teacher from Oberlin in my place, and because this has not been effected is perhaps a main reason, that he represents the Mission as having accomplished so little for the Pawnees. He now, probably, thinks there is little prospect of his succeeding, and has made up his mind to leave soon, and return to Ohio. The course he had pursued in the Indian country has not augmented the number of his friends, either among white or red men. Few will regret his departure. His moral character seems to be suffering an eclipse.

The opposition of James Mather to the Mission seems to have arisen at first from its refusal to approve of his measures, or follow his dictates. He has a good opinion of himself, and is pleased to have his own way, whether it meets with the approbation of others or not. Unfortunately his views with respect to the course that should be pursued to improve the Pawnees do not correspond, in all points with mine. I did hope, when I discovered this discrepancy, that we might each pursue his own course and labors without clashing. To him I have candidly and frankly stated my convictions with regard to what could and ought to be done for the Pawnees, but I never have labored to persuade, much less to force, him into compliance.

Mr. Gaston in a plain conversation, we had more than a year since, made the impression on my mind, that he thought I was faulty in not agreeing with James Mathers. Precisely how much agreement there is on religious subjects between these individuals, and those who cooperate with them, I am unable to say; but it is evident enough, that there is among them, on most subjects, a very good understanding; for they are very intimate, and visit each other more, it has been said, than was conducive to their own spirtual good, or to the temporal interests of the Pawnees.

I suppose, we have here a specimen of that selfconceited, selfdeceiving, disorganizing, inconsistent system, which, under specious pretensions to superior sancity, covers a multitude of sins—which forsaking the good old paths censures those who walk therein—separates brethren—annoys the people of God—disturbs the churches—causes the ways of Zion to mourn—and which will, doubtless in many instances, end in a shipwreck of the faith once delivered to the saints.

Now if this be a correct representation of facts, as they have existed

here, the difficulties, that have occurred, afford no cause of marvel. We should rather have anticipated them. The question now to be decided between the Mission and its opponents, is which shall triumph or break down the other? For we have come to that pass that we can stand together no longer. And we have had sufficient evidence furnished in our past history that the party opposed to the Mission will not cease their efforts to put it down, till they shall have prevailed against or destroyed themselves.

This party have been unwearied in their endeavors to prejudice the mind of the agent and others against the Mission, and they have succeeded with the agent, who can now be considered as little else than a tool, which they use to accomplish their purpose against the Mission.

Whether the Mission be broken up or not, it is evident as the light of the noon day sun, that the party had in itself the elements of its own ruin, and doubtless the breaking up of the Mission would accelerate its annihilation.

On the part of the Mission an investigation is desired. Let the charges laid against it be proved and if it be so undeserving and corrupt as represented, let it go down the sooner the better. The difficulty of getting proof to sustain the Mission in its course will not be great, though a strong effort has been made to blacken the character of its friends.

Chiefs Certificate follows; "We the undersigned, chiefs of Pawnee Indians hereby certify, that we have been pleased with Rev. John Dunbar, and have wished, and still do wish to have him reside with us and to have the Mission continued."

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|---|---|
| Us-sa-ru-ra-kur-ek<br>La-ru-chuk-ur-a-shawr-oo<br>Ra-heek-y<br>Shok-oo-roo-rur-s-shawr-oo | Grand Pawnees |
| Char-yks-kul-aus<br>Stee-dee-rou-y-et<br>Op-oo-koo-roo-hur-a-shawr-oo<br>La-ta-kuts-ta-shawr-oo | Tapage |
| Lu-gyt-ow-y-ra-shawr-oo<br>Us-sa-la-kuts-awr-oo<br>La-chyk-oots-ur-a-shawr-oo<br>La-ta-kuts-ta-shawr-oo | Republicans |
| Us-ah-wuk<br>La-shawr-oo-rer-y-hoo<br>Ta-stee-da-da-wee-tyt<br>Spaniard | Loups |

Feb. 11. When this letter was commenced, it was expected there would be an opportunity to send it to the postoffice in a day or two, but none has occurred till the present time. Now it is expected that one will occur day after tomorrow.

If you shall deem it proper you will have the goodness to send, for myself and family, the following articles; viz, Buttons for boys clothes. Do. for vests. Do. for pantaloons. Stout shoes for children. Fulled

cloth. Flannel. Pair cheap candlesticks. Fur cap (large size). Shaving box and brush. Cheap clock. Mitchell's Geography & Atlass. Sacred Songs for Social & Family Worship (Tract Society's publication). "Winer's Idioms of the Language of the New Testament with a critical exposition."

The following is a copy of Mr. Allis' bill. "Cloth for two cheap table cloths. Candlewicking. Black linen thread. 2 long combs. 2 chalk lines & white & red chalk. 4 balls shoe thread. 6 shoemaker's awls different sizes. 2 pegging awls. stout shoes for children. Men's shoes No. 10. 1 pr calf. 2 bottles liquid Opodeldoc."

Mr. Ranney sends for a Cravat. Nettleson's Memoir Brimstone or Sulpher. Vaccine matter. Mr. Ranney and myself mention the following books which we would be pleased to have sent us: Viz: Colemans Antiquities. President Edward's Works (the elder). Bancroft's History U. S. Barnes Notes on Job. Whether it be proper to furnish us with these you will of course decide. Since we began to translate into this language, it has more than once occurred to us that there would be a propriety in making the inquiry whether we ought to have more book assistance than we now have. We have Knapp's Greek Testament. Robinsons Lexicon. Comprehensive Commentary. Barnes Notes. Robinson's Calmet. Of these we mean to mak as good use as we are able. We are now translating Marks Gospel—completed the 9th chap. today.

It has been voted to reccommend Mr. Allis for the appointment of farmer for the Mission. Very Truly yours JOHN DUNBAR.

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PAWNEE MISSION, 18th August, 1845.

*Rev. David Greene, Sec. Ind. Dept. A. B. C. F. M., Boston, Mass.*

DEAR SIR—Your letters of February 17th. and March 28th have been received, as also your circular to the missions bearing date March 13th.

Mr. Ranney has written you since the date of my last, and as I do not recollect, precisely, to what date he brought down our history, you will, I trust, pardon me should I repeat some things communicated by him. Up to 14th. June, when the Pawnees left us, to make their summer hunt, some few of them attended our services on the Sabbath, and were addressed in in their own language. At such times they have uniformly given respectful attention, and at times have manifested apparent interest. How deep and lasting an impression may have been made on their minds in any instance, I cannot say, but hope that the good seed, already sown, may be blessed by the Great Head of the Church, that it may spring up, and bear fruit unto eternal life. Perhaps, not more than a dozen have been present at any one time, but we have reason to believe, that those, who have heard the truth, have repeated it more or less extensively among their people. We still speak with a stammering tongue to this people. Perhaps we have attained such a knowledge of the language, as to be fully sensible of our deficiencies.

With the assistance of our interpreter, we have completed the translation of Mark's Gospel, and a few other portions of the Scriptures, since I last wrote you. We have found the work of translating a difficult one,

but a very profitable exercise inasmuch as it gives us a greater command of the language, and thus assists in making known the Gospel to this perishing people.

In the afternoon of the Sabbath I have since the Pawnees left us held a meeting, (something like a Sabbath School) with the four girls, who reside in our families. In this exercise we have used the "Scripture cuts." They have given very good attention, and I trust, considerable truth has been conveyed to the minds of these youth. We greatly need the influence of the Divine Spirit to render our labors effectual. Without his aid these dead in trespass and sins will not be raised up to spiritual life.

I have never known the Pawnees so desirous to have their children live with us and be instructed as they were last spring. In many instances they were urgent to have us take them. I presume we could have procured enough of both sexes for a large school, but we had neither houseroom for nor the means of subsisting them. Perhaps, they were more willing to have us take their children, on account of their straitened circumstances at the time than they otherwise would have been. In consideration of their property, the United States Government made them a very liberal present (If I recollect right, 1500 bushels corn). It seems very desirable to have more done here by way of instructing the youth than has been heretofore. The government school has but 10 or 12 scholars. It seems to me there should be a school opened by the Mission sufficiently large to ocupy the whole time of two teachers one male and one female.

Last spring in the time of their hunger, the Pawnees committed some depredations on our stock. They killed at different times 2 oxen 2 cows and one yearling. This mischief we suppose to have been done, principally, if not wholly, by those who still live on the south side of the Platte. These appear to be jealous of those who live at the new location, and do such mischief from spite. Perhaps it may be attributed to hunger. Those who have not yet removed, have been assurd, that if they do not remove north of the Platte the coming season, the United States troops will assist them in their removal.

Major Harvey Superintendent of Indian affairs at St. Louis made the Pawnees a visit in June. He came tuesday 10th. and left ensuing friday. He took lodgings at the Mission. While here he took a view of the improvements made for the Pawnees by their farmers under the direction of the superintendent of farms' and agent. He also visited the school supported by the government, and the blacksmiths' shops. He went to the village and ate with his children and gave them plenty of good advice. The Pawnees seemed to think they had found one at last who cared for them, and was ready to listen to their complaints, and to redress their grievances. Thursday he held a council with them at the village; at the meeting of which he requested the Pawnees to speak out, and say what they had for, or against, any of the white men living with them without any reserve. After his talk with the Pawnees was completed, he called on Major Miller to justify the course he had pursued with the Pawnees, and toward the whites, who were not of his favoured party. This was rather

humiliating, but there was no way of evading it with an appearance of honesty, so he arose and made his apology. His appearance was as if, he felt that his sins had at length found him out. In exculpating himself, he reiterated his charges against the Mission. After he had completed his defence, the Missionaries were called on to speak, if we had any thing to say in vindication of our course. I spoke quite briefly, and Mr. Ranney followed more at length. The agent rejoined, and Mr. R. replied, and when they had done speaking, two or three plain contradictions lay between them. Others were called on, and I think a general invitation given. Mr. Allis and Mr. Mather "superintendant of farms," spoke. By this time the day was far spent, and the meeting broke up. I believe an impression was generally made on the minds of the whites here, that the Superintendant was not pleased with the management of the agent and his party, both toward the Pawnees and whites who did not side with them.

I suppose you have ere this heard from the superintendant, as he assured us he would write you imediately after his return. He also assured that changes would take place here as soon as he could get advice from Washington. He said that when at the seat of government last spring, an intimation to that effect from himself would have procured Major Miller's discharge, and that the depositions which were taken here last winter by Major M., when sent out expressly for that purpose, and forwarded to his office instead of enabling him to get a more distinct knowledge of the difficulties that existed here, rather tended to involve them in greater obscurity. He told me that, if his recollection served aright, none of the reports of the agent and others with reference to myself had got farther than his office on their way to Washington. He remarked with regard to these reports, that he was well aware that if he forwarded them to Washington he 'would deserve a scolding from Mr. Crawford' and therefore he had stopped them at his office. Thus it seems that my enemies, who have been confidently expecting to receive orders to crush me down to earth without a hearing, have not, with all their persevering efforts, been able to make themselves heard at the seat of Government.

Whether we may consider the storm as having passed entirely over us, or not, I cannot say, but whether it has, or has not, its pernicious effects remain and will not soon, I presume, be done away. It is very much to be regretted, that these heathen have witnessed such exemplifications of the professed religion of Jesus. Mammon has been but too faithfully worshipped here, and that too by those who have professed that money was no object with them. It is to be presumed, that had there been no money to be expended here, there would have been much less disturbance, and those who are chargeable with most of it, would never have come here, and the Pawnees would never have witnessed so much duplicity.

The Superintendent seems to be a candid man, and manifests much kind feeling toward the red man, and a deep interest in his improvement. If he is not a professor of religion, he respects it, and is a friend of Missions. Judging from what I have seen and been able to learn of the man, I think he is well qualified for the office which he fills. Indeed we

were agreeably disappointed in finding, we had a better superintendent than we anticipated. He remarked, that it was his opinion, that if the money, our Government expends for the improvement of the various tribes within the bounds of his superintendency; was expended through the various Boards that have missions among them, they would derive much greater benefit from it, than they do, as it is now expended. This course he said, he was prepared to recommend with reference to the Pawnees, and we suppose he has, before this opened a correspondence with you on this subject. He said he thought the Pawnees, on the whole, a hopeful people, and that they might be improved, if treated kindly and judiciously. I think he relies principally on Missionary efforts for the improvement of the Indians, and I believe it was his opinion and desire, that this Mission should be prosecuted with vigor. He manifested a readiness to render us any assistance in his power.

*August 20th.* The Pawnees came in yesterday from their hunt with a good supply of meat. They say they have a good crop of corn, and we hope they may not be so pressed with hunger the coming season, as they were during the past. While out on the prairie, the Pawnees fell in with the Otoes, and the Pawnees say the Otoes insulted them; a fight ensued, in which 6 Otoes were slain, 5 men and a woman. 5 Pawnees were killed in the fight, and 4 have since died of their wounds. The Otoes fled leaving their lodges, provisions, and utensils, which fell into the hands of the Pawnees. The Pawnees say they were averse to fighting and that many of them did not engage at all in the fight. After this difficulty between the two tribes the Otoes came to the Pawnee village on the south side of the Platte, robbed their 'caches,' burned some of their lodges, destroyed some of their corn, pumpkins, &c. A part of them also visited the village at the new location, where they found quite a number of lame, aged, blind, sick, &c. who did not go to hunt with the others. They appeared friendly, but when they were about to leave they requested one of the Pawnees to go with them to the houses of the whites, and to ask for some corn for the Otoes, as they said they were very hungry. One of the Pawnees consented to accompany them and when they had proceeded about a mile from the village, they shot him, and cut off his head. When the Otoes returned to the Mission they killed two or three Pawnees whom they found spending the summer there.

The Poncahs who live North of us, have visited us several times during the summer in no very pleasing manner. The first time 4 of them came in the night and tried to steal from us, but were not very successful, being detected in the midst of their operations. The next visit they revealed themselves by shooting at Mrs. Allis about sunset. She was passing along a few steps from a thicket of tall weeds near the house, when she saw a head rise above the weeds, and a gun levelled at her. She passed along but kept an eye on the man till he fired, when two men started off on the run. The fire did not take effect, though she was stunned, and staggered against the house. There were two balls in the gun, one of which lodged in a log, and the other passed through between two logs of the house, and entered one on the opposite side of the house. We were alarmed as you may well suppose, and Mr. A. and our hired

man ran out and got up on a building to see who they were that had done the mischief and whither they went. After they were on the building, they were fired at two or three times, and soon we saw 20 men run up on a bluff in plain view, where they continued their fire (random we supposed) for some time; while a few others, who made their appearance from another direction, shooting at or among our stock. One ox was killed and another wounded. After they had amused themselves sufficiently at our expense they started off, and we saw no more of them. Whether there were Otoes or Poncahs, we are not certain. This was the evening preceding the morning the Otoes killed the Pawnee aforementioned. About two weeks after this affair the Poncahs came and killed a Loup at the upper settlement about 5 miles above this and an ox belonging to the Pawnees. About 10 days since a party of the same tribe made their appearance and drove off all the horses belonging both to the whites and Pawnees here—in all 10. Now the Pawnees have returned these marauders will have to move with more caution. These incursions will be a serious obstacle to our operations, and unless they are checked in some way our government, may eventuate in breaking up the Mission. The Pawnees will be loath to leave their children with us exposed to their enemies. We know that the hearts of all men are in the hands of God. He causes the wrath of man to praise him and the remainder of wrath he restrains. Not a hand can be lifted against us without his permission. Very truly yours JOHN DUNBAR

We approve of what your circular recommends to the several missions, and so far as our peculiar circumstances shall seem to admit of it, we hope to practice in accordance with your recommendation. J. D.

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PAWNEE MISSION, Nov. 18, 1845.

*Rev. David Greene, Secy. A. B. C. F. M., Missionary House, Boston Mass.*

DEAR SIR—The printed circular, dated May 23, containing various resolutions, adopted by the Prudential Committee at different times, was received some time since. We have not recently received any thing from the postoffice, and presume, letters, from you to us, are there. We hope soon to have an opportunity to send to the office, and we shall write you on a subject, concerning which, we have had many anxious thoughts.

On this subject we wish to express ourselves to you, fully and confidentially, and we now feel encouraged to do so, since you "ask for more freedom in our correspondence concerning our children, when we are desirous of sending them to the United States." After prayerful and (as we think) mature reflection, we have decided, that it is best, our eldest two sons be sent to our friends in Mass. We have become acquainted with most of the difficulties to be encountered in training children here, and they are such as seem to justify our decision. We love our children with all their faults, and it would be our pleasure to superintend their education under more favorable circumstances; but in our view, their good demands, that they be separated from us, and committed to the care of others. It will be a sore trial to us to send them away; but we must not sacrifice their welfare to gratify our fondness.

Our eldest son, 'Jacob Smith,' was 8 years old last month. He is of an iritable disposition, though not obstinate—is inclined to be industrious —and learns readily.

Benedict Satterlee, our second son, was 6 years old last March. He is somewhat disposed to mischief—is perhaps more obstinate than Jacob—more lazy—and does not commit to memory so readily, this however may be owing to want of application.

There is about them both much, that we call 'Indian.' They have seen very little of the civilized world, and will doubtless appear very clownish. Still with proper management we think, they may be prepared for usefulness, in some sphere.

Our friends in Hadley have informed us, that they would do the best, they could, for our eldest son, whenever we might think proper to sent him to them. When there, he is to live with, and be under the care of his uncle, Elijah L. Smith. With reference to our second son, no definite arrangement has yet been made, that we are aware of. We have written to our friends on the subject, and presume that provision will be made for him by our relatives at Hadley or Ware, when they come to know that it is our desire to send him to them with his brother.

We wish to send them East the coming spring, and as soon as can be done conveniently, we wish you to inform us whether you approve of the plan, and what assistance you may be able to render us in getting them to Mass. We look to you for advice and assistance in this thing.

We wish our boys to be taught to labor, and to be kept at work. We wish them to acquire a good common school education—to be kept in subjection—to be rendered obedient children—to have such restraints laid on them as wise christian parents impose on their children—and to enjoy such privileges as they allow to their offspring. Of course we wish their education to be decidedly christian. Should they live to be 16 years of age, we would be pleased to have them commence a preparation for that vocation in life in which it may then appear, they would be most useful.

December 1st. An opportunity offers of sending to Bellevue tomorrow, and I hasten to close this. We are all well, but we live in troublous times. The Otoes today have been stealing the Pawnees' corn, and tonight they are burning their village. The Omahas are with the Otoes, though they profess to use their utmost influence to restrain them. What is to be the end of these things we cannot predict. Mr. Ranney will write you soon, perhaps with this. Very truly yours, JOHN DUNBAR

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PAWNEE MISSION, April 15, 1846.

*Rev. David Greene, Secy. A. B. C. F. M., Boston, Mass.*

DEAR SIR—We have received no conmication from you since September last, when a letter, addressed to Mr. Ranney, and a printed circular, addressed to myself, came to hand. Several months since I wrote you with reference to sending our eldest two sons to Mass, and have been anxiously waiting for some time to hear from you on this subject, but hithertoo in vain. Since the latter part of March we have not received

any thing from the post office. Why this long silence we are at a loss to account.

Mr. Ranney informed you, I think, in his last communication of the horrid affair that transpired here last autumn—the killing of a principal chief by the individual employed here by our government as 'superintendant of farms,' and the mortal wound inflicted by this chief of a son of the 'superintendant of farms' (James Mathers). The son lingered till about the middle of November, when he expired. A short time before his death, I am informed by those who heard it, he told his father, he considered him as the cause of his death, and advised him, that in case, another request should be made of him by an Indian, like that presented by the chief mentioned above, to grant it.

When intelligence of this sad catastrophe reached the agent, he had Mr. Mathers removed from the Pawnee country.

We have recently received a communication from Major Harvey, Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis inclosing a copy of Mr. Mathers' report of the sad occurrences here last autumn.

We see in this report, Mr. M charges the Mission with being the cause of the death of the chief and his son, also of the destruction of the property, the Pawnees appropriated to their own use. He says, he does not pretend to say, that the Missionaries have, in so many words, told the Indians to take his life, but that the course pursued by them has been directly calculated to lead to such results as have transpired. Surely these are serious charges, and if true we ought not to go unpunished. But we trust, we shall not be condemned till other proof tham Mr. M's selfvindicating report be adduced.

Mr. M., not content with charging his own crime on the Mission, brings in Major Harvey, himself, for a share of blame. He says the kind treatment the Chief (on whom he inflicted a death wound) received from Maj. H. was well fitted to produce the calamitous events that have transpired. Mr. M. would, doubtless, be pleased to make it out a crime in any person, to treat kindly the man, whom he had resolved to ruin. This seems to have been the height of Maj. Hs' offending.

The Superintendant requests the Mission to make a report containing the truth of this tragic affair, and forward it to his office. This so far as in our power we intend to do. To us who have witnessed, or been informed of Mr. Ms' treatment of the unfortunate chief, the only thing about it, that is remarkable, is that the sad result did not take place much sooner.

In future I should be pleased to have whatever may be sent to me through the postoffice, addressed "High Creek Bridge Holt County Mo." I should be much pleased to have the 'New York Observer' changed to this address.

Mr. Ranney wishes to have the following articles sent him; Viz. Fur Cap (large size). Dress Coat, Piece of calico (dark). Thermometer, Children's shoes, 4 yds, Bed Ticking, Stuart on The Apocalypse, Jahn's Archaeology, Judah's Lion (Charlotte Elisabeth). Martyr Lamb (Krummache)

Will you send me; Piece of Calico (dark). ½ lb. black linen threatd,

½ lb. brown Do., 10 yds Crash, 3 prs. Shoes No. 6 or 7, Peice black ribbon inch wide, Candlewicking, Shoes for boys from 5 to 9 years old, 3 stocks, Andrew Fuller's Works, Nordheimer's Critical Grammer of the Hebrew Language, Barnes Notes on the Epistle to Hebrews, Winer's Idioms of the Language of the New Testament (if it is to be had). Also Dr. Aubigne's 4th. volume.

The Pawnees have now returned to their villages. Some of them killed plenty of buffalo, others but few, and brought little or no meat to their village, and the Otoes and Omahas having carried off a large quantity of their corn, many of them are now almost entirely destitute of provisions. For aught I have discovered they are as favorably disposed toward the Mission as at any previous time. We have endeavored to declare the truth to those who attend our meetings on the Sabbath. And we have reason to believe that the requirements of the Gospel are becoming more and more known among them. We greatly need an outpour of the Spirit to give efficiency to our efforts, and to bring this dark minded people into a willing obedience to the commands of Christ. Without the Divine Blessing we labor in vain for this object.

Yours truly, JOHN DUNBAR

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BELLEVUE, June 30th, 1846.

*Rev. David Greene, Secy. A. B. C. F. M., Missionary House, Boston, Mass.*

DEAR SIR—Your favor of March 21st addressed to Mr. Ranney and myself was received about a month since. I think, I have not at any time delayed writing you 8 months, provided there was an opportunity of forwarding letters within that space of time. The contents of your epistle were not calculated to encourage us very much in our work, though perhaps as much so, as the circumstances of the case would warrant. Perhaps these things were ominous of what has since transpired.

Missionary labors were pursued much as usual at the Mission till June 12. when the Pawnees started out on their hunt. Sunday June 14. one of the residents noticed that a smoke rose from the village. Soon a party of Sioux made their appearance, riding very fast towards the premises of the Government farmers and Teacher. These had scarcely time to secrete the Pawnee children who were living with them before the Sioux arrived. They dismounted and were admitted into the enclosure and into their dwellings with the exception of one who seems to have been sent to reconnoitre the mission premises, though he did not come very near them. Five of the party went after our cattle at a very rapid rate, probably thinking they were horses, being some distance off. They drove up our cattle without injuring them, but behaved rather insolently in and about the house, seeming desirous to search it was supposed for Pawnees. After they had gone out and mounted their horses, they started toward the house where Mr. Allis resided, and he fearful that they might do mischief, went out and proceeded with another man a short distance toward his house, when perceiving they were turning away, he and his companion sat down near to each other on a log. Seeing this, three of the Sioux turned back, one after the other, rode round near where they were sitting, and the

foremost when he had advanced within ten steps of them discharged his gun at them. Fortunately neither of them were hurt. The ball passed between them, and as they were not more than one foot apart could not have been far from either of them. The Sioux who came next took deliberate aim at the individual who was with Mr. Allis, but passed round without firing. The third turned off without coming very near and followed, the whole party which now started off. In all they were 12.

No more Sioux were seen till Wednesday morning when two or three individuals saw three or four Indians nearly a mile east of our dwelling pass up over the bluff and disappear. Sometime after noon a party of about 30 showed themselves on the bluff a mile west of our place. The alarm was given, and the persons in the employ of the government insisted on our all getting together at their place. We complied with their request, and had but just time enough to get within the enclosure when they came up. They dismounted at some distance from us, when we called to them and invited to send one man to us that we might know what they wanted. After some hesitation one of them, whom we judged to be the head man of the party, came forward bearing a United States flag, after shaking hands with us he told us he was hungry, and wanted we should give him and his men some food. This we did, and they all came up to the enclosure and seemed to be quite desirous to get inside, but this we told them they must not do. While things were going on thus one of them unperceived by us crept up to the stable and took out two horses, and had got off some distance before we were aware of it. As soon as those who were standing round the enclosure were apprised of what had been done, they scampered off at full speed and in so doing frightened their horses, and it was not without much ado, they caught and remounted them. In their haste they left a gun, lance, and various other implements, as well as most of the provisions, we had given them. They doubtless expected we would fire on them. But in this they were dissappointed. They moved off slowly in the direction of the village, which as soon as they had had time to reach was enveloped in smoke and flames. We suppose that nearly or quite all the lodges were burned.

The persons in the employ of Government unanimously decided to leave the country as soon as might be after this second visit of the Sioux. This decision was communicated to the Mission and we soon came to the same conclusion. Accordingly all hands went to work, in order to get ready to remove as soon as possible. We are intending in a day or two to send teams back to bring in the remainder of our effects.

You may perhaps be inclined to blame us for acting so precipitately, but hear what I have to say on the subject before passing sentence of condemnation or approval.

You will doubtless recollect that it is now more than a year since we began to be annoyed by hostile Indians. Last summer we had an Indian girl in our family, but these hostile visits were so frequent and assumed such an aspect, that I came to the conclusion it was not prudent for me to take Pawnee children into my family, the care and anxiety on their account being very great, besides the additional exposure of my own family and effects to savage violence. Though I have been repeatedly

solicited by the Pawnees to take their children, yet for the reasons above named, I have uniformly declined.

It is some time since I came to the conclusion that myself and family were unsafe while residing in the Pawnee country, and unless something should be done, in some way, to render us more secure, it would be my duty ere long to leave. The Northern tribes have become more hositle to the whites than they were a few years ago. This is true of a portion of the Pawnees, the Sioux, and Poncahs. We have been waiting and hoping our Government would do something to check this hostile feeling and make them feel the weight of its power, but have hithertoo waited in vain. As our country is now involved in war, I fear it will not look after the red men very carefully. I had hoped some thing from the Oregon movement, but nothing has yet been done, and we are uncertain when any thing will be to afford us the least security.

The Pawnees who have removed North of the Loup Fork appear as friendly towards us as ever, and have repeatedly expressed a desire to have us remain with them. They will doubtless feel bad when they come to know we have left them. But their being so much harrassed by their enemies is very unfavorable to their being profited by Missionary labors. All things considered, it does not seem to me advisable to return to the Pawnees, till security from hostile attacks be in some way afforded. When this shall be I cannot tell. It may be within 6 months, and may not be for as many years.

With respect to myself and family, I hardly know what to say. Should this mission be broken up, my age and family are such, you would not deem it advisable to send me to another field. My family very much needs a home. My boys are of the right age now to be put to work and to school. Sometime since I wrote you with reference to sending our eldest two sons to their and our friends in Mass.; but not having heard any thing from you on the subject, I infer, my letter never reached you. Since determining to leave our place at the Pawnees, I have at times thought it would be best for me and my family at once to ask for a discharge from the further service of the Board; but I have become deeply interested in the Pawnees, and should leave them with regret. If Missionary labors could be resumed among them with safety and under favorable circumstances without very much delay, I do not know that I would object to engage in labors for their good, provided, I could do so without doing injustice to my family. After having had more time to reflect on these things I may become more decided one way or the other; at any rate I shall hope soon to hear from you, and be advised with regard to my future course.

We are now stopping at the trading establishment here. The individual in charge has kindly furnished us a room in which to reside with our families and a place in which to store our effects for the present. We do not intend to remain here longer than till our effects shall be brought in. We shall then probably proceed to the settlements.

A large emmigration to Oregon and California has passed through the Pawnee country the past spring. I am informed a party of Pawnees, composed of the illdisposed and unmanageable part of the tribe; have

been on the emigrants route the whole time of their passing, stealing, pilfering and robbing. These theives and robbers live on the south side of the Platte. The better part of the tribe appear to be very desirous to to have the United States troops come and punish these desperadoes. This emmigration operates unfavorably on the Pawnees, since it affords them an opportunity to plunter, thus far, with impunity.

The mormons are now crossing the Missouri at this place on their way west of the Mountains. They say, they are scattered along the whole distance from this to Nauvoo, and expect some 1500 or 2000 waggons to pass on this season. They do not intend crossing the Mountains this season, but will winter on, or in the neighborhood of Grand Island in the Platte. This is from 50 to 100 miles above the Pawnee villages. We apprehend they they may have difficulty with the Pawnees and other Indians. What influence they will exert over the Indians so far as they shall have intercourse with them, we cannot predict, but fear it may be like that mentioned above. Very recently a report has been circulated that they were hostile to our government, and would excite, (and even now were exciting) the Aborigines against it. Quite an excitement prevails now in the border counties on this subject, and it is said, they have killed cattle, and committed some other depredations already, but this is considered doubtful.

It is also rumored that England is endeavoring to set the northern and western tribes against the United States, but this wants confirmation.

We have hung round the Pawnees for a long time, and endeavored to do them good. The idea of giving them up is painful to us; but their prospects are dark, and as we turn away from them, we commend them to Him who has the hearts of all men in his hands, and can turn them as he pleases, beseeching Him that the truth that has been proclaimed to them may yield abundant fruit to his glory, and that the way may speedily be prepared that the Gospel may be fully preached to them and they be made the subjects of renewing grace.

We hope you will, as soon as may be, express to us your views, fully and freely, of the course we have pursued, and what you would have us do under the circumstances in which we are placed. Provided you should deem it to be advisable to relinquish the Mission to the Pawnees for the present, what disposition would you have made of the property belonging to it?

Very truly yours JOHN DUNBAR.

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SAVANNAH, October 12, 1846.

*Rev. David Greene, Secretary A. B. C. F. M., Boston, Mass.*

DEAR SIR—Soon after leaving our station and reaching Bellevue, I wrote you, giving quite a particular account of having quit our post, and of the reasons why we did so. I remained at Bellevue till our teams were sent back, and our effects brought to that place. I then came down with my family to this place, where I have waited with much anxiety to receive an answer to my letter. Saturday evening the letter, you wrote to Mr. Ranney in reply to one he wrote you about 2 weeks, I think, after the date of, that mentioned above, came to hand, and I learned from it that

you had not received mine. I very much regret this, as it keeps me in a state of suspense, and prevents in a measure, my deciding what course to pursue under existing circumstances.

We kept you informed of the course the Poncahs and Sioux pursued toward, us and our property, last summer (1845) and winter. Such hostile manifestations led me to decide, that it would be imprudent to have Pawnee children in our families, or adults about our premises during the absence of the Pawnees from their village; and that it would be unsafe for whites, even, to remain here, at such times, unless something was done, in some way, to check the marauding incursions of those tribes. Nothing seems to have been done, or nothing effectual for two days after the Pawnees left for their summer hunt, a party of Sioux made their appearance, and after having been treated very kindly, and behaved rudely, when about to leave, one of the party deliberately shot at Mr. Allis and the blacksmith, who had passed without the enclosure, and were seated near to each other on a log. The ball, fortunately, passed between them without touching either. Another of the party then aimed his gun at the head of the blacksmith, but did not shoot, and soon all started off. Two days after this, another war party made their appearance, about a mile east of us, early in the morning, when they killed a cow, and about noon, showed themselves again on a bluff about the same distance west of our place, and rode slowly down toward us, till within gunshot, they rode around till they came behind some trees when they approached nearer. We now called to them to send one of their number, that we might learn what they wanted. At length, one of them cautiously approached us, and told us, they were very hungry, were friends, and wanted something to eat. We gave him food, and he called the remainder of the party to him to eat, but we did not allow any of them to come within the enclosure. While they were eating, and making signs of much friendship, one of them managed to creep up unobserved to a stable in which were two horses both of which, he succeeded in getting out, and had driven them some distance, before he was noticed either by whites, or his own party. When they discovered what was done, they started off at their utmost speed, doubtless thinking, they would be fired on by us. Such was their hurry that they dropped the food we had given them, and various ornaments and weapons frightened their horses, and made no tarrying till after they were beyond the reach of gunshot. They now halted a short time, then rode slowly off, in the direction of the Pawnee village, which, as soon as they reached, was set on fire, and nearly all the lodges were in a blaze when they left.

Neither of these parties came to Mr. Ranney's residence, or mine, but to that of the farmers' and teachers, situated about one fourth of a mile from ours. Their buildings were so placed as to enclose a small square, which was picketed between the buildings. We were all within this enclosure, when the latter party, mentioned came, having had sufficient notice of their approach, to close our houses, catch our small children, and carry them to and within the aforesaid enclosure. After the Indians had gone it was unanimously agreed by the persons in the service of government that it was advisable to leave as soon as might be, and this agree-

ment made known to the Mission. After consultation we decided to accompany them. This was Wednesday evening, and after two very laborious days' work, in packing, and 'cacheing' our effects we were ready to start Saturday morning, and reached Bellvue the following Saturday.

When our teams went back to the Mission to get our effects, left there, they went in company with the Mormons, who were then going out that way. While there a party of Poncahs came and did some mischief, but when they saw the multitude of people along, they made haste to depart. I presume we would have been harassed by them during the whole season, had we remained. We had lived in hope that our government would do something to render our situation more secure, and when we learned that troops were to be raised to protect emigrants, we flattered ourselves that they might afford us some protection, but our expectations have been disappointed, and we have felt obliged to relinquish our post, and work, for the present, so far as the Pawnees are concerned. We have followed them with our prayers and endeavors for a long time, and we leave them with reluctance. We have had much opposition to contend with, and many trials of our faith and patience from those of whom we hoped better things. It is because the Lord has helped us, and not on account of our own prudence, or wisdom, that we have not sunk under them—it is because he has kept us, and not we ourselves, that we have not fallen the victims of savage violence. To him be all the praise.

I do not think it would be advisable to station missionaries out where we resided, till something shall have been done to render them more safe, than we were, the last year we dwelt there. The Poncahs and Sioux are more hostile to the whites than they used to be, and probably would have despatched one or more of us without much hesitation, had they caught us out alone, where they could have done it without danger to themselves.

When the United States will deem it worth while to restrain these tribes, I cannot tell, but probably not till they shall have completed the war with Mexico. When that will be we do not venture to predict.

I came down to this place because the situation of my family at Bellevue was anything but agreeable, and because provisions were very scarce and high there. Mr. Ranney had some Pawnee children in his family and thought it to be his duty to remain at Bellevue. The stock, wagon, &c, belonging to the Mission I turned over to Mr. Ranney and took a receipt for them.

As it may be some time before the Mission to the Pawnees shall be actively resumed, if ever, and my age and family are such that you would not deem it desirable, that I should become connected with another Mission, you may think it advisable, that my connection with the board should be dissolved, if so, you will please send me a dismission.

We have received your letter concerning the sending of our boys to their friends in Mass, but as we are now situated, we do not wish to send them. I have no desire to return to New England to reside, and shall probably spend the remnant of my days at the west. This is a destitute region and laborers are much needed. There is a Presbyterian minister

in this county, but in the county North of this, and the two above it on the Missouri there are none that I have heard of.

With respect to Mr. Allis' relation to the M. [Mission ?] I have only to say, that I supposed, till the receipt of your letter in which the subject was mentioned, Mr. Ranney had furnished you with all needed information. It is my opinion, that the less you, or the Board, have to do with Mr. A and his family, as in any manner connected with it, the better. His course while connected with the Mission has been an exceedingly crooked one.

I shall hope to hear soon from you after the receipt of this. Direct whatever you may send me, 'Savannah Andrew County Mo.' I am now living 6 miles west of Savannah.

Very truly yours JOHN DUNBAR

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"OREGON, HOLT COUNTY, MO.," May 7, 1849.

*Rev. Selah B. Treat, Secy, A. B. C. F. M., Boston, Mass.*

DEAR SIR—My object in addressing you this communication is to ask a formal dismission from the Board. I have delayed doing this till the present time, because I hoped still to do something for the Pawnees, should that mission be resumed; but as I am not aware that the Board contemplates its resumption soon, if at all, I deem it improper that my name should longer stand enrolled among the Missionaries of the Board. The making this request recalls to mind scenes of painful and thrilling interest, as well as those of a more pleasing and encouraging aspect. Some parts of our Missionary life we have no desire to live over again. A review of other parts is gratifying.

Our interest in the Board is undiminished. It is with us a cherished institution. We love to trace its history. We find pleasure in contemplating its extended operations. In its prosperity we rejoice. In its trials we sympathize with its friends. Our daily prayer to the God of Missions is that He would smile upon, and render it a very important instrumentality in accomplishing his purposes of mercy toward our guilty world.

I have the Medical books, Surgical instruments, &c. that belonged to Dr. Satterlee. What disposition shall be made of them? For some property, pertaining to the Mission, which we appropriated to our use, we hope to be able to make amends. Very truly yours JOHN DUNBAR

## LETTERS FROM SAMUEL ALLIS,[6] MAY 3, 1834, TO JANUARY 16, 1849.

ITHACA, May 3, 1834.

*To Rev. David Green, Missionary Rooms, Boston, Mass.*

REVD AND DEAR SIR—Feelings will incline you to pardon me in troubling you with the pressant communication. My obgect in writing you at the present time I will briefly state to you. Since I offered myself to your Board to be sent out as an assistant Mishionary and was appointed to that service I have been advised by friends in whos judgment in regard to such things I could place entire confidence to make an acquaintance with some pious female who would be a suitable person to come out and unite with me in the labors of the mission. Having looked at and prayed over the subgect I concluded to follow the advice of my friends thinking my own usefulness would thus be increased and more would be done to promote the good cause of Missions to the benited tribes of the western wilderness. Accordingly I have formed *an acquaintance* with a young lady who is willing to come out and participate in my labors whenever it shall deemed advisable to introduce females in the Mission. the young ladys name is Emeline Palmer, and resides in this place. With respect to her religious caracter and qualifications for Mishionary labour you will of course make such inquiries as you shall think propper. If we should be prospered in our undertaking and succeed in establishing a Mission in those distant regions and the time should come when it should be deemed propper to introduce females, I suppose you would feel disposed to assist them in comeing out and make their journey as pleasant as possible both with respect to the manner of conveyance and traveling companions. I shall expect to here from you while at St Louis and be informed what you think of my conduct respecting the subgect abovementioned. I have spoken to you freely and confidentially on this subgect and hope you will do the same

Yours with due respect S. ALLIS JR.

P. S. We are expecting to leave Ithaca Monday morning May 5th.

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BELLEVUE (UPPER MO.), May 12th, 1835.

*Rev. David Greene,*

DEAR SIR—As you have receiv'd letters from Messrs. Parker & Dunbar, I will not say much about our journey until we arrived at St. Louis, left Ithaca May 5th. 1834. passed thrue a beautiful country the journey was pleasant, met with numerous friends, who seemed to take a deep intrest in the cause of Missions; & in our future wellfare, passed thrue some dangers, receiv'd no injuries, with the exception of one; in passing thrue the State of Ohio, one dark nite, (the road being bad, & having a drunken driver,) were upset in the Stage; I receiv'd a wound on the left eye brow. Brother Dunbar was slightly hurt & 2 other of the pas-

6. In the "Transactions of the Nebraska Historical Society," vol. 2, p. 133, may be found a very interesting article by Samuel Allis, giving some account of his residence among the Pawnees as a missionary and teacher.

sengers. He that commands the winds & waves, protected us. Arrived at St. Louis, May 23d. After making sufficient enquiries, found that we was at least 8 weeks to late, to make the necessary arrangements, to cross the Mountains with the traders. After counciling christian friends, & other Gentlemen, who were aquainted with the country, found that it would be like throwing away our lives, without benefiting the cause, to attempt to cross the Mountains that season, even if we could procure a guide; which was verry doubtful. We obtained no information from General Clark, as he was absent to Washington. After consulting each other, Brother Dunbar & myself thought it propper to set apart a day for fasting & prayer, to ask direction from *Onhigh*, we did so. & after emploreing, the blessing & direction of the Lord, concluded to visit the Pawnees on the Platte. Brother Parker told us, as it was his object to lead a mission across the Rocky Mountains, & as we were disappointed in crossing that season, He thought it best for him to return, by the way of Mackinau, & see Mr Stuart, get what information he could in refference to the mission, & assist the Bord (if they thought best) in getting young men to accompany him another season, across the mountains.

This was altogether unexpected to us, but told him he must do as he—thought propper, as to his returning. While at St. Louis, Mr Parker stopt with Sqr Gamble & Mr. Dunbar & myself, with Mr Tarode, these brethren were members of the 2d presbyterian Church, the kindness of Mr T & lady, we shall not soon forget. Brother Parker left June 5th in the Stage, for Shecaugo, Brother Dunbar & myself, June 7th 4 p. m. in the Steamboat, Ioway, (Capt. Shelcroth) for Liberty, northwest town of Clay, County, & a western town of the state line of Mo; There are so many snags & sandbars in the Mo—River, they didnot run the boat much nites. June 8 past St, Chs. this is a small village, one Catholic, one Presbyterian church. Rev. H—Chambers (of Boonville,) preached; one oclk. p. m. past some beautiful Bluffs about 7 m. from St. Chs., which were truly grand. were from 50 to 190 ft high. the rocks hung there cragged heads over the bank of the River, the tops were covered with beautifully shruberry & grass. an Indian moniment, of a few stones, were piled upon one of the high peaks, by an Indian the only surviveing one of his tribe, this monument was built in memory of his tribe, while he, was on his way to St. Chs. to receive his centence for killing a white man. he got permission to stop & pile up—those stones, in the bottom of these bluffs is a cave, around which is the names of a number of persons cut in the Rocks. The waters of the Missouri are of a milchy colour, occasioned by the continual washing of the banks; although verry riley, the water is verry sweet & is dranken in preference to spring water, by most people. June 9th past the gasconade River, Arrived at Portland 6 p. m. pleasant village houses built principally of logs. June 10th past the Osage River, arrived at Jefferson City—11 A. M. a pleasant village, Pop about 300. the Mo. Statehouse is located here, built upon a mound, mounds here are verry frequent & excite the curosity of the stranger. The Mo River in June rises from 5 to 15 ft caused by the melting of the snow at the Rocky Mountains, this is what they call the June freshet. June 11th Bluffs cause almost all the variety in passing up the Mo, the banks are gener-

ally low & heavy-timbered, the timber consists mostly, of sycamore—(Buttonwood) & Cotton wood; stopt awhile at Rochport to onlode freight, I had the curiosity to measure a buttonwood, which measured 18 and ½ ft, in circumference the groth of timber here is verry large. Arrived at Boonville 4 p. m. a small village situated on a high bluff on the south bank of the River, the most deliteful I have seen on the banks of the Mo—stopt 3 hours, & crossed over to Franklin on the opposite side of the River, & stopt until morning. June 12th past the Charriton River, June 13th past the mouth of the Grand River, it is truly Grand and the country around, June 14th past Osage River, Arrived at Liberty about sunset, Distance from St. Louis, 400 m. by water, by land 320, was kindly treated by the Capt & Clk. they were both proffessers of Religion, which is rare here for boatman. Sunday June 15. left the Boat, in the morning, walked up to the village at 11 Oclk attended meting at the corthouse, where we herd the Rev. Mr. Yantis preach, who is the only Presbyterian minister in the County, were introduced to Mr. Y. he invited us to make his house our home while at Liberty whose invitation we gladly excepted. Brother Yantis has about 30 church members scatter thrue the entire County, there are Baptist, Methodist, Campbelites, also in the County, the Baptist are the most numerous, & are opposed to Bible, Missionary, Track, Temperance societies, & all the Benevolent objects of the day; it is to be hoped that they will soon discover there *great* error, & engage in the *great & Benevolent* objects of the day. We stopt a few days wating for Maj Dougherty, Agt. for the Pawnees. he told us we had better wait until *he* came up & he would assist us in any way that he could, This is a beautiful country, the soil fertile, & produces large Crops of Corn, wheat, rye, flax, hemp etc. there is nothing wanting here but Religion which is far desirable above all Temperal blessings; there are frequent & heavy showers of rain, accompanyed with thunder & lightning, it seems to me that I herd more thunder while here, than I herd in Newyork in a whole year. there are also heavy & frequent winds, sometimes Tornadoes that prostrate large & almost entire forests. Brother Yantis & Lady & others were very kind to us—whose kindness we shall not soon forget.

June 24th left Liberty with Mr Dunbar, onfoot, for Fort Leavenworth. passed thrue a beautiful Prairie, Arrived at Martins at the little Platte, 4 p. m. Distance 25 m. stopt until the next morning, it being the only house, between the boundary line & the Fort, June 25th it rained in the morning we stopt until 2 oclk p. m. started for the Garison, I was so lame (caused by my walk the day previous) could scarcely walk. 3 m. of the road, was thrue the Mo bottom, mud 6 or 8 inches deep, in the road & if we went out of the road, there was a kind of nettle, waste high, & an Army of muketoes, of some Thousands, to keep within bounds. we got thrue befor sunset, Distance 8 m. stopt at the ferry house opposite the Garison, June 26th crossed over to the Garison, after getting permission from the Sentinel, passed up to the Store of the Sutler, (Maj-Morgan) enquired for the Commander of the Ft. (Maj-Thompson) whom we had seen below St. Louis, on bord of a Steamboat from Louisville, & to whom we had a letter of introduction, from Sqr Boget (at Ithaca) Nephew of Mrs Thompson, Maj Morgan invited us to make his house our home while

at the Fort *whose* invertation we gladly exceped, we were also envited by Maj Thompson to make his house as our home when ever we thought propper. Maj Thompson & Lady, & Maj Morgans Lady are professers of Religion, Mr & Mrs T members of the Duchreform [Dutch Reform] & Mrs. Morgan, of the Presbyterian Church. Ft Leavenworth is situated on a elivation of ground, about 100 ft above the surface of the water, & about 16 rods from the River to the Fort. The River at this place runs Southeast, the South bank is formed of rock which has the appearance of machanical art. about one mild from the River is a high Bluff, which consists of Limestone & covered with grass & shrubery. from this Bluff also have a view of a fine Prairy South & west, there are also other Bluffs which are similar to the one I hav mentioned. There were about 60 Soldiers (of Riflemen) stationed at Ft. Leavenworth at that time, which moved in Sept, to Jefferson Barracks, there are now 3 or 4 Comp of Draggoons, stationed at Ft, Leavenworth, (Commanded by, Gen-Dodge.) June 27th we went to viset Brother Berryman, employed as missionary by the Methodist Bord, Distance 4 m. the Kikapoos consist of 2 Bands, there villages one Mile seperate, these Bands number about 400 each. The Prophets Band (among whome Mr. B Labors) are a religious people. Mr B, has a school of about 40 schollars, this mission was commenced the winter of 1834.

The Prophets band have some correct views of religion, I think some of them are Christians, to say the least there religion has a restraint upon there conduct. While the other band are opposed to religion, schools etc. get drunk & gamble, there are but few of the Prophets band that engage in these habbets, of wickedness. There are also about 6 or 700 of the Kikapoos, scattered about in small bands & are wandering Indians. The Kikapoos rase considerable corn & other vegetables, June 29 attended the Prophets meting at 11 oclk. the Prophet preached in Kikapoo, & some of the Indians prayed, they then marched around Indianfile, & shook hands with 3 or 4 of the principal men & went off saying there prayers. in the p. m. Brother B. held a meting in the schoolhouse, a number of the Indians attended. the Prophet (by request) made some remarks, some of them united with us in prayer, June 30th Government have a teacher here also, he has but few, sometimes no schollars. we returned in the morning to the Fort.

July 3d I left with Brother Dunbar to visit the Delawares or there missionary arrived at 4 p. m. Distance 22 m. stopt at the house of Mr. Perd [Peery] Methodist, Missionary. The Delawares number about 1,000 souls, have also a Government teacher & blacksmith who are pious men, there are 40 churchmembers, There is also a Mr Blanchard employed by the Baptist Bord, didnot see him. they have a saw & grist mills—furnished by Government, raise some wheat, considerable corn & vegetables, there land is good, they also raise some cattle, horses, sheep,—& hogs. live on the north banks of the Konsas River, about 5 m-from its mouth, there land extends up the South side of the Mo River within about 4 m. of the Garison. July 4th left for the Shawnee mission, crossed the Kansas, went about 4 m. where we found Messrs Johnsons (2 Brothers) employed by the Methodist Bord, these Brethren have ben here

between 3 & 4 years, have a promissing school, some of the children can read, rite & spell quite well, have about 80 church members, The Baptist Brethren have a mission also among the Shawnees, we viseted one of the Brethren, Mr Meker [Meeker]; have about 10 church members, the stations are 2 m. distant. Sunday July 6th there were 4 of the Wyandots, at Brother Johnsons from Ohio, one of them preached in the morning in his own language—enterpeted by a Frenchman, July 7th Brother Dunbar left to return to the Garison, I left in company with a young man to go to Liberty. As myself & companion were passing thrue Jackson County, called at a house (the name of the owner was McGee) to enquire the way to the ferry, stopt afew minutes to rest, the oldman soon began to tel of there difficulties with the Mormans & red a propposition from there Committee to the Mormans & also of the Mormans to them. after which he began to make his remarks, accompanied many oaths, from an imprudent word my companion dropt, I thought they mistrusted us, he says Gentlemen I don't know but you are Mormans, don't care if you are I will shoot evry Morman I find in the County. I told him I wasnot a Morman, new but little about there difficulties, & hoped they would be settled without the sheding of blood, dinner was ready he envited us to dine with him, we refused as we had dined a mild back, we went on, got about 2 m. when we were overtaken by 2 of the sons on horseback, with there guns. said we must go back, we were mormans, didnot like to see men traveling onfoot with a bundle under there armes, that looked as if they were able to ride. I asked them if we hadnot the privilege in the united states to walk, if we chose it. they said we looked like suspicious caracters, & we must goback. I told them I shouldnot goback I thought I could convince them soon that I wasnot a Morman, said there father was comeing I told them to let there father come, to be calm, one of them wanted to sea [my] bundle, oh yeas, said I; you may see it. he took it and opened it, I had 2 shirts, Roundabout, stockens, Bible & one or 2 small books, he examined my bible as if he never saw one before, at the sametime the other was talking, & appeared to be verry unesy. by this time up comes father, with another son, he says he was afraid the boy would abuse us, I showed him 2 or 3 letters that I had, & my sertificate from your Committee, my companion told his story also, he was soon convinced & told his boys to shoot off there pieces, they then gave us a salute, there was the father & 3 sons (that were men grown) had with them 4 Guns & 3 Pistoles, he then said we could go, shouldnot be hurt. I thanked him, & requested them to stop a moment, I told them as I had ben enformed I wasnot disappointed, that ours, wasnot the first insult people had received in passing thrue the County; & as there was no justice in punishing the guilty, (in the County) I shouldnot trouble them, but if they were where they could be brout to justice, I should have them taken care of. they made no apolagies for detaining us, bid us good buye & went on. I happened not to be much fritened & was composed during the fray, but I have no doubt (had we not convinced them) they would shot us on the spot, many have ben the abuses that people have received from the scoundrels in that County, without there being brought to justice. July 9th I arrived at the Cantonment, was quite unwell. July 14 the Agt had

not arrived, & went to the Kikapoo Mission to assist Brother Berryman in his school, July 17 Brother Dunbar came Brother B & family were verry kind to us, they also treated us verry kindly at the Fort.

The Kikapoos and Potawatomies that were with them, have about 9 correcters, which do all the whipping these men have small whittled stick they carry withem, attend the metings to regulate the children & dogs, & see if all are in there places, they also attend school one or more of them to regulate the children, & if they are not there the teacher mustnot whip the children, even parents arenot permitted to whip there own children, I believe Friday in each week is whipping day with them, all that have done rong dureing the week, come forward and confess & take a whipping, this is a sort of Catholic form. they also put a cross at the graves of some of the dead. The prophet says the Great Father, (God) took him out of his hart & placed him in this world, he went astray until about 9 years since, reformed, & began to serve God, & had since ben Holy, has ben led by the Great Spirret to do good & lead his people (many of them) in the right way, I am afraid his hart hasnot ben changed, but is a desineing man, & is imposing upon his people I believe to this is the opinion of Brother Berryman. Some of his people I believe do as well as they know how, they talk much about the good way & the bad way, & about praying to the Great Spirret, meet to-gether often to worship, & have a great many ceremonies, but they seem to know but little about Jesus Christ, and the way of salvation thrue a Redeemer. They meet to worship, Thursdays, Frydies, Saturdies, & Sundies, there hour for worship is noon & evening. They take turn monthly in conducting there metings. The men take charge of there meetings 2 week, the women one, & boys one. The Potawatomies that are with the Kikapoos, came from the east last fall, & are of the Prophets religion, will stay with them until this spring & move onto there land which is oposite & above the Garison. that they have exchanged with Government for there former land at the east.

August 23d. Brothers Kingsberry & Byington, from the Chactaw mission came to see us, was glad to see them I felt as if I neded advice from those who has ben long in the field of Missionary labor. August 29, [7] brothers Kingsberry & Dunbar left for Liberty. & Bying for the Shawnee Mission. After being detained 4 months (which I can now sea was for the best) I started in the Steamboat Diana (for Bellevue) Sept—1st had onbord a large quantity of goods for the traders above, & the annuities for the Otoes, Omohas & Pawnees, the River is verry low, we proceeded verry well until nite when all hands went onshore to cut & fetch wood to supply the Boat. Sept 2d arrived at BlkSnakehills, 4 p. m. the Capt had frait to onlode which kept us until nite. There is a trader stationed there, who trades with the Ioways, the Ioways with a small band of the Sac & foxes, live about 7 m. east, the Country is beautiful, the soil productive. Sept 3d, went about 40m. which is good saleing up the Mo, in low water. Stopt at nite as usual to cut & fetch wood, the musketoes were so troublesome couldnt sleep much nites. Sept 4th past the big Nemerhaw River. in the afternon had to cut our way thrue the Snags. Sept 5th past the little Nemerhaw, proceded well until 3 Oclk p. m. were detained 3 hours, getting

thrue the Snags, one of them stuck his head thrue the guard at theam[?] of the boat. the only way we could get thrue was to cut away the snags & make fast to Snags with lines, & hall her up. Sept 6 Our Capt when troubled, was passionate & verry profane. Sunday Sept 7th past the mouth of the River Platte, at 9 Oclk—Arrived at Bellevue, 11 A. M. (The Agency of the Otoes, Omohos & Pawnees.) found Mrs Merril & Miss Brown, Brother M. had gone to the Shawnee Mission. Distance from Cant. Leavenworth to Bellevue (by water) 200 m. (by land) 150. were 6 days performing the journey, crossed some sandbars, with a heavy loded boat, with but 2 & ½ feet of water. this was what I clled working my passage. I have *great* reason to *bless* God that I was landed safe. Sept 13th I saw a gentleman that had returned from the Mountains, that went out last spring in Com with Messrs Lees & Shepherd, (Missionaries to the Flatheads) who says, thes Brethren were in good healh & spirrets. had a good time in getting to the mountains; He thinks the prospect good to establish a mission, among the Napecies [Nez Perces], were they not at war with the Blackfeet & some of the Snakes. I am told the fullblood Flatheads are most of them killed off, but the Napercies, are near(ty) the same people. Sept 14 we had a severe halestorm, some of the stones were the size of a hens egg, the ground was literally covered with hale. Sabbath Sept 21st although I enjoyed the day, was greatly annoyed in the evening by the Indians. There were at that time about 20 of the Otoes, with one of the Pawnee chiefs & 2 of his sons, they had a dance in the evening, what they call the beardance, prepared them a drum, & commenced singing & dancing, one of there number was dressed in the skin of a white-bear, & would keep time with the musick, I never saw the beardance before, I was greatly annoyed by there noise until midnite, I have sinc ben greatly annoyed by there singing. What a *blessed* day when thes heathen shall sing the songs of Redeemin love, but much is to be done, before this will take place.

Sept 25 [28?] Brother Merrells house was throng'd with Otoes, although we had considerable confusion, we succeeded in keeping them quiet, by hearing them read & sing; Sister Merrell has 3 or 4 tunes translated which they sing There is a great difference between spending the Sabbath here & in a christian land, we arenot only deprived of the privileges of the Gospel, & christian friends, but have the noise & confusion of the Indians. Oct. 2d. Brother Dunbar arrived with Brother Merrell. Oct. 10th the agt arrived, (Maj Dougherty,) with Lieut Lee of the Draggoons. Oct 17th the Pawnees camein to receive there annuities, I purchased 2 horses, & we made prepperations to go with them on there winters hunt. Oct 18th the Pawnees received there annuities, & after the Agt completed his business with them, he made known to them our object, we were both going with the Grand Pawnees, but the First Chief of the Loups wanted one of us to go with him, & learn his children to read. After consulting the Agt. concluded to seperate; Brother Dunbar to go with the Grand Pawnees, & i with the Loups. Sunday Oct 19th we left with the Pawnees for there villages, & had gone but one mild, when we seperated, Brother Dunbar with his hosts, proseded up the Platte, I with mine to the Tradinghouse

of the American fur com. arrived about 5 oclk p. m. Distance 20 m. after prepareing both dinner & supper, eat. & the hour came to retire, we camped down, & after my committing myself & hosts to the safe keeping of the Lord, slept well until morning. This was the first nite I had ever campt out, without shelter. Oct 20th we left for the village, abou[t] 11 oclk A. M. proceded well; Oct 23d I arrived with my chief to the village about sunset. We dismounted from our horses, the women cameout to on-saddle, & take care of our horses, I followed my chief into the Lodge, was seated before the fire, on a skin cushion, filed with deer hare, there was soon placed between my knees, a woodden bole of boiled corn, & spoon of the horne of the buffalo, after disposeing of that, receiv'd a dish of the dried buffalo meat, boiled, during the time, the women watch'd me close, as they are peculeiar in their way of eating (like ourselves) I presume I appeared awkward to them, in useing a horn-spoon After eating, my birth was shown me & I retired Oct 24th I arose in the morning, was soon envited to a feast, & before nite to as many as 8 or nine, besides what I ate at home. Must always eat or I didnot please, I wished tobe delivered from such kindness. Oct 25 was feasted as usual, but had a little more time to look about, The village of the Pawnee Loups contains about 75 lodges, there lodges are something in the shape of a colepit. the frames are made of wood & covered with hay & dirt, the largest are about 50 ft in diameter at the bottom, with an entry of about 12ft. long, 8 wide, & 5-high. (there manner of building) The timber is brout on the backs of the women, or drawn down the River by tieing a rope to it & ford the stream, sometimes they bring there timber 7 or 8 m. when the timber is on the spot, they commens building by first setting up posts into the ground, nearly perpendicular (leaning them in a little) at the out side, leaving them out 5 or 6 ft, they set these near together, some of them have crotches in the top, on which they lay poles, then set 8 larger posts into the ground, perpendicular, with crotches at the top, about 16 ft from the ground, & about half way from the outside to the center, on these posts lay large sticks of timber, then lay on long poles for the roof, (supported by the 2 teer of posts.) (or timbers on the posts) & tie them with bark. then lay crosswise of these, small poles & tie them also. then cover the sides & roof with hay & dirt, leaving a hole at the top & center for the smoke to pass out. build the place for the fire in the center, by digging a round place in the ground about 8 inches lower than the ground around this place is about 12 ft in circumference, around which they spread there mats & cushions. there births are built the backside of the lodge. the bottom is about 16 inches from the ground, built of small sticks & a mat or Robe is layed on the sticks. the petitions & sides are built of small willow sticks, tied close together with bark. a hole is then left in the side, large enough for the person to crallin. My bed consists of a robe & blanket, my pillow anxwers for pillow & cushion both. Oct 26th I left the village in Com with the Pawnee Loups & Ricerreas, (for there winters hunt.) which number about 5,000 souls, besides numerous Horses, mules, Jacks & dogs. which were loded with there tents, furnature, & provisions; except the mostof there

corn which they berry in the ground, to preserve from there enemies. past up about 4 m. & crossed the Loup fork of the Platte, went one mild & campt. There tents are maid of the skins of the buffalo; with the hare taken off & dressed, when there tents are set up, are about 18 ft across the bottom, 14 high, the poles 15. as soon as they stop it is the business of the women to onpack the horses, & commence immediately to setup the tent. this they do by first tieing 3 of the poles together at the top with a string, leaving the string to hang down & tie a wate to it, until they set up the other poles, (but one which they tie the tent to,) then wind the string around the poles 3 or 4 times, at the top, draw it tight & fasten it, then tie the tent to the other pole & raise it up, draw the tent around the poles & tie it, leaving a space at the top for the smoke to pass out, & the bottom for the door, always facing the door at the east, tie a piece of skin to a stick, & fasten to the tent, when a person enters a lodge raises up the door, & passes in under the door, & is seated on a skin cushion or mat, that is placed near the fire. my seat is at the west (opposite the door) & at the left of my chief. no person is permited to occopy my seat without my permission, while some of the women are engaged in pitching the tent, others are getting hay to put in the lodge, under the mats, cutting & fetching wood to make a fire. they also fetch the water, & do the kooking of course. when morning comes, & the word is given to start, the women take down the tents, pack the horses, while the men set over the few remaneing coals & smoke until the women get somedistance underway, as fast as they get ready start, not wating for each other, & by the time they are all under way they make a procession of 3 or 4 m. long. we traveled up the Loupfork about 6 camps, stopt one day. & made 4 camps in crossing from the Loupfork, to the Platte. then proceded up the Plattee stopt sometimes 1-2-3-4-& 5 days in a place, to kil buffalo & drye meat, stopt in one place 3 weeks. was on the way, (before reaching our winteringplace,) from Oct 26, to Dec. 9th After arriving at our wintering place, for 3 weeks had buffalo in abundance, The Pawnees, shoot, most of there buffalo, with the bow & arrows, by following them on horses, sometimes they kill 3 or 400 in aband, at one serround. The buffalo meat is very good eating, the best that I ever have eaten, much better than our beef. they eat considerable, while fresh, both boil & rost it. there dryed meat they prepare by cutting in thin slices, some of the largest 3 ft lon & 2 wide, dry it on scaffolds, over the fire & in the sun. after it is drye anough, pack it in skin bales.

Wintered on the North & south forks of the Platte. the most of the time we was there, the wether was warm, stayed 56 days, our provisions were getting scarce& we were obliged to start for the village. left the 2d of Feb to come to the village. After traveling 16 days & stopping 4 days on the way, arrived Feb 23d. The wether was so cold was obliged to walk the most of the way; in comeing to the village. both, going from, & returning to the village, it was seldom we traveled over 8 m. a day, it was seldom we got anything to eat until after we had camped at nite, would then eat frequently, 4 or 5 times before retiring, & sometimes I would be called up to go to a feast. I am often calld to feasts, & must

always go or I donot please, what they give me they consider as mine, & what I don't I eat must carry home & give to the women of my lodge. I have passed up the Platte, the winter past, about 300 m. from its mouth. have seen but little timber, & that scattering on the banks & Ilands of the Platte & small creeks. The waters of the Platte are shoal, it can be forded in almost any place except in high water, but the bottom being subject to quicksands, renders it bad crossing. horses often get down in crossing, my horses have got down 3 times this spring; the sands at the botom is constantly moveing. Between the Platte & the Loupfork, there are frequent hills of sand, some of them are high & steep. they have the appearance of being washed up by the water.

There is generelly not much regulation in a Pawnee lodge, while some of the men are singing, others are talking, others sleeping, others smokeing, others eating, at the sametime, the women are engaged in cooking, pounding corn, makeing moccasons, dressing robes, etc. they are also talking, & scholding, the children playing, & fighting, among the whole I often get confused. some of the largest of there lodges, contain 4 or 5 families, my chief has 30 persons in his lodge. I have ben treated the winterpast, by my chief, his family & village, with the utmost kindness.

The Lord has ben good to me the winter past, has given me health. Although I have ben alone, as to the company of whites, (with the exception of 3 frenchmen traders, employed by the American fur Com. who could speak but little english) the Lord has *kept* me from despondency, & has enable'd me in a measure to trust in him, & enjoy his presence.

Oh what a blessing, (when separated from christian friends,) that we can have a *Friend* who willnot forsake, without forsaken. April 4th I went to see Brother Dunbar respecting our going to the Agency, & to carry some letters I hadreceived. found him well, stop 4 days & he returned with me to my village, stayed 4 days & I made preperations to leave for the Mo. (Bellevue). We returned to the Grand Pawnees, stopt 3 or 4 days, & started April 17 for this place, (Bellevue) our horses being poor we traveled slow, lay by 2 days on account of the rain arrived in 7 days, April 23 we got within about 3 m. of Bellevue, in crossing a small creek, one of my horses got mired, we had with us 2 Indians & after our trying 2 hour's to get him out were obliged to leav him, I was sometime in the water& lifting until (injured my health, after we had arrived, I sent 5 men to get him out, but when they got there foun him dead. I payed last fall 35 dollars for the horse, but I think I have done my duty in trying to save him. the small streams in this country, are some of them verry bad to cross.

There is dreadful work made here with whisky; the Iaways get it of the abominable whites, in or near the settlements, bring it up & trade with the Otoes, & Ohohas, for anything they have, horses, guns, blankets etc. the Otoes have ben drunk the winter past the most of the time, while they have had but little to eat, & some of the time, most starved. Since we have ben at this place there has ben one murder committed, partly thrue the cause of whiskey. on Omoha woman killed an Ioway man; struck him on the head with an ax, while he lay drunk on the floor, & split his head open. She has held a grudge against him, 3 or 4 years, for

his being one of the persons that killed some of her relations, she took this opportunity to kil him. men employed by the Government & traders, endulge in the practice; I am knowing to traders taking it into the neighborhood of the Blackhills & Yellowstone. Although the laws of our Country are so strict in prohibeting the evil, the law has no preventative; what will be done? traders & others that deal in the artacle, willnot expose eachother, Indian Aagents are not at there Agences much of the time, & when there, to much dependent upon traders, to act with fredom, & missionaries of all persons, must hold there peace, & be still. I am thankful the Pawnees have no desire for the taste of whiskey, neither is it brout among them. The Lord only knows when this dreadful evil will stop. I have given you a faint history of this evil here, believing that your committee would have prudence enough to keep it to themselves. I have not written to any others uppon the subject, neither shall I; We are now wating for the Agent, who is expected soon, if spared we expect to return to our people, & go with them on there Summers hunt. They go on there Summers hunt about the first of July, return the first of Sept. gether there corn, & go on their winter hunt in Oct. return in March, to plant & howe there corn, they are at their villages, about 5 months of the year, & absent 7 months. There is no other way at present, than to live with them, & go with them whereever they go, although it is disagreable. They were expecting to move there villages this spring but the Agent hasnot come up to show them the place where to move: they will proberbly move next spring, if spared, we shall then build; they have promised (in their treaty) anough of them to stay at their villages to avail themselves of the advantages of schools, blacksmiths & farmers;

The Grand Pawnees are located on the south side of the River Platte, about 30 m. above the mouth of the Loupfork; the Pawnee Tappage & a part of the Republics, live on the north side of the Loupfork, about 20 milds from the Grand Pawnees, north of east; the remainder of the Pawnee Republics live 6 milds further up the north side of the Loup fork; & the Pawnee Loups 3 m. further upon the north banks of the Loup fork. The Agent estimates the Pawnees of the Platte at 12,000. I think there is nomore than 8,000. They are naturally a good Indian, and late years good to whites; they are verry impure & unchaste in there habets, which is the case of all uncivilized tribes more or less, that I have any knowledge of, which is greatly to be deplored; the most of the whites that go among them engage in these abominable practises, & are as bad, if not worse than the Indians. The Pawnee loups when they marry, one man generally marries all the sisters of one family more or less, sometimes one man has 7 or 8 wives; the more wives aman has the more he raises and of course the better suited. They are the only Indians I know of that burn there prisoners, I amnot anough aquainted with there costoms & manner of procedure in this transaction to give any information; they burnt the last about 3 years since; there Agent went with some others & held a council with the chiefs, for the purpose of buyeing a prisoner, got there consent, (after offering large sums) to give the prisoner up, started away from the village, got 5 or 6 rods from the vil-

lage, when the Indians shot the prisioner dead; although they are good to the whites they are so tenacious of there religious rites, it is difficult to convince them of this evil. The Ricarees that are with the Pawnee loups number about 2200. they are a very bad Indian, hostile to whites, are a verry treacherous, will be friendly where there cannot injure a person, & as soon as they have opportunity will kill; him; I havenot herd the correct news, but it is supposed they have kiled 3 traders, this spring who were on there way to the blackhills; I was told by Maj-Pailcher (Agt of the Sioux) that he had got on record 36, white persons (with the 3 mentions above) that he was knowing to there killing; since the year 1823. I know of no other way to stop them than to kil them off. They have ben about 8 months with the Pawnee loups, the Loups want to get read of them, I think will drive them off this summer; they have the most wild savage look of any Indians I have seen, the features of the face are large with high cheek bones; the men ware long hare, some of them 3 ft long spread in other hare with there own; they have treated me well the winterpast but it was because they were with the Pawnee loups; there language is similar to that of the Pawnees, there manner of pronounceing & emphasizeing words is considerable different. The language of the Pawnee Loups is something different from that of the other 3 bands of Pawnees but they understand each other perfectly; the Grand Pawnees, Pawnee Republics & Pawnee Tappage, speak the same language.

There are of Indian tribes, (in the southwest, west, & northwestern parts of this Teritory,) the Iaways, one band of the Sac & Foxes, Otoes, Omohas, Pankshs [PianKeshaw], Sioux, Assinaboins, Mandans, Grovants [Gros Ventres], Crowes, Blackfeet, Rapenhoos [Arapahoes], Shiennes [Cheyennes], Ricarees [Arickarees], Pawnees of the Platte, Ietans, Kiewahs [Kiowa], Pawnee Picts, Osage, Konzas, Shawnees, Delawares, Kikerpoos [Kickapoos], & Potawatomies; of these tribes that have Missionaries, there are the Osage, Shawnees, Delawares, Kikapoos, Potawatomies, Otoes & Brother Dunbar & myself, with 8000 Pawnees; I want one minester with me, & then there will be two villages of the Pawnees that have no supplies; there is a man expected soon from the Baptist Bord to supply the Omohas; the remainder of the above named tribes, with the exception of 2 or 3 might be approached by the Missionary, there are none of the tribes north & west, that are destitute of missionaries that raise any corn; with the exception of the Mandans & Grovants; these two bands number between 3 & 4000. are naturally good Indians but are groing worse; the others are wandering tribes, but I think this ought not to prevent Missionaries going among them; I know of no hopes of there settleing without Missionaries settle them, whynot commence now, the Indians are groing no better, but some of them worse. It may be necessary for Missionaries to travel with them for a number of years but supposing it is, traders do the same, and endure more hardships & are more exposed to dangers, than Missionaries will be; they do it to for a little of this worlds goods which will soon perish. How important it is that these heathen tribes have some persons to teach them the way of life, persons that are willing to live as they live & teach them the

way of life; they are going on down to the chambers of death as fast as the wheals of time can carry them without any to point them to Jesus Christ; must these heathen, with many others, perish? or will Christians, in obediance to the devine command, labor for the salvation of there Soules. I believe that a Missionary that was going among the wondering tribes, would in some cases be more useful to Marry one of there women, than to live a single life; it would be out of the question while they were wondering, to introduce white females; a man married to one of there women would have many advantages over a single man, and I think would have more influence, in the 2d place would get red of many applications for a wife; even among the Pawnees the winterpast I have ben nolittle annoyed in this way; as it is the custom of traders & almost all whites that go among them to take wives of there women, they think it strange that I do not the same; I amnot anough convinced of this course to recommend it to anyone, but merely mention it as the subject may be thought more of hereafter, to say the least these tribes ought to be approached in some way, and that soon.

As to the facilities that exist in sending Missionaries among these wandering tribes; I think one is, the more traders go among them the worse they are getting, because most of the men employed by traders, are as much worse than Indians as they know more; and another is I have no doubt but most of the tribes would be willing to receive Missionaries, and would treat them well. The Otoes, Omohos, & Konzas speak nearly the same language ; the Otoes live on the south side of the Platte about 30 m. from the mouth. The Omohos, & Punkas, are related, they speak the same language. There are anumber of bands of the Sioux that speak nearly the same language, the Assinaboins are numerous, there language is similar to that of the Sioux. The Mandans, Grovants & Crowes, speak nearly the same language. The four bands of Pawnees on the Platte are related and speak nearly the same, the Ricarees also. The Indian languages some of them are hard & difficult to acquire, aspecially that of the Shiennes, I am told it is mere grunting; the language of the Pawnees is tolerable easy to acquire, with the exception of a few words; but we have but verry little assistance.

I saw a mistake in the January number of the Herald of 1835. mentioning the Pawnee Picts as being one of the four bands of Pawnees on the Platte; the Pawnee Picts, are entirely another tribes of Indians and live on the little red river, near the Arkansas; or Spanish country.

The Pawnees have many superstitions, such as making medicines, to go to war, make warm & cold wether; conversing with the dead, wildbeasts etc I have not ben able to attend any of there religious feasts, they hold them by themselves; there women are not permitted to attend there feasts, and I think the men attend them more for the purpose of eating smoking & singing, than for there religion. The Pawneeloups call there God, Te dah wah; I havenot yet assertained, whether they have any name for an evil Spirret; when they eat or Smoke they give a verry Little to there God by putting it down on the ground near the fire, they sometimes give there God a buffalo; or a beaver skin, Auter etc thinking

he will give them goodluck in hunting; all that there God has is what he gets, they withhold the *heart.*

They frequently have the heads of Wildcats in there medecine bundles, they say this gives them good luck in hunting; as that is the strongest of all animals, they also have the head or skull of the buffalo in there medecine lodges, and will put down a spunful of mush or boild corn before its mouth; there was one thing that took place which I will mention, while at my wintering place in Feb there was a young child taken sick with the dissentary, some of there doctors attended it, but there manner of treating the patient was an injury rather than a relief, the child grew worse, at length one nite the ficicians of the village assembled to hold a council, and one of the most eminent of there number said, there was a medecine wolf came and clapt its paw on the childs head, & that was the cause of the sickness, they danced the woolf medecine all nite, in the morning the child was better, they said there dance was the cause; the word medecine here in Pawnee means great or beyond there comprehention. There are also cungerers amon them that deceive the majority by pretending to swallow small stones, buffaloes hornes, &letting them shoot guns at them; (after loding the gun with a ball of there own composition,) will let them shoot; these are something like the cungerers in the States, only not so far advanced. There religious Notions & costons I know but little about as I havenot ben able to learn much from the traders that go with them. I have seen no indications of the Catholic religion, except with the Kikapoos, and there but little, they put a cross at the graves of some of there dead. I am told the Napercies [Nez Perces] received there religious impressions from two young men that were pious, from Montreal (Canada,) these men were protestants they stayed with them about 4 months; the napercies are related to the Flatheads, there are but few full blood flatheads liveing, I am told they are nearly all killed off by the Blackfeet & Snake Indians. The Shoshone or Snake Indians are numerous, but most of them live poor with the exception of 2 or 3 bands that come across the Mountains into the buffalo country. The Indians of this country, (as far as I have learnt) are given to habets of idleness, most of them rove thrue the country, subsist on the buffalo & other game, which will soon be scarce; there are no tribes above that raise any corn, except those I have mentioned; the Otoes, Ioways & other tribes below raise corn; the Pawnees raise an abundance of corn; the women dig the ground with there howes, the Pawnee women are the most industrious women I think I ever saw, & perform more hard labor than any women I have seen of any description; they perform all the labor while the men eat, smoke, sleep, attend there feasts, sing, gamble, go to war & steal horses; the men perform little or no labor but kil the buffalo, which is mere sport.

The Indians in this section of country eat a great many roots & groundnuts, when boiled are verry good, they sometimes suffer considerable from hunger, sickness & the ill treatment they receive from there fisicians, There has ben no wars of a serious caracter, since I have ben in this section of country, some few Indians are kiled accasionally when out on there war parties, stealing horses etc; they are all more or less engaged in the fur trade with the whites, to a considerable extent; they

trade a great nany robes, some beaver, auter, mushrat, racoon etc; the American fur com and other fur companies, astablish forts in different parts of the Teritory, & send out men with goods to trade with the Indians; they also trade with them at there forts; Tribes whom government have formed treaties with, are or will be soon supplyed with blacksmiths, school teachers & farmers. If Missionaries are to go to the Oregon teritory, I think they had better go around by South America, as it is verry difficult- crossing the country; I think the Indians this side of the Mountains might be approached with more ease and less danger & difficulties than those on the Oregon Teritory, from the facts they have greater means of subsistance, and not somuch exposed to the foreign traders, and more protected by our Military forts, Indian Agts etc.

As I amnot capable of writing a Journal that will be interesting to your Committee, you will be so good asto excuse me with these ill composed lines; after repeating again that we want more missionaries in this large teritory; shall these wandering tribes be supplied soon, in obedience to the Divine *Command?* or shall they be permited to die in there sins without the knowledge of God; Churches must do more, Individual christians must do more, or the world will never be converted to God. I donot suppose our Savior, nor his Apostles when they were opon earth, would stop laboring, So long as there was even wandering tribes without the knowledge of God; neither do I suppose Christians enterely stop now, but there are many that are doing comparatively nothing, to what they ought to do; but I donot feel myself capable, nor worthy to reprove others while I am doing so little myself, for the cause of Christ, I feel it is time for me to commence anew & do much more, I request your prayers that I may yet be instrumental (unworthy as I am) of much good to the poor perrishing Indians. I have made some progress in the Acquisition of the Pawnee language, cannot yet converse much with them but can understand what they are talking about & considerable they say.

Respectfully, & Truly Yours, SAMUEL ALLIS.

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BELLEVUE, UPPER MO., July 14, 1836.

*Rev. David Greene, Missionary Rooms, Boston.*

DEAR SIR—I received yours of Feb. 5th the first of April. I should have written to you before this but hadnot time, I was so engaged in traveling and since we arrived here, have had corn to attend to that I have planted.

*June 20, 1835.* I left this place with Brother Dunbar, for the Pawnees to go with them on there summers hunt. We were detaned two days at the River Elkhorn. The river was swiming deep, we built a raft and crossed one load of our plunder and swam back when brother D, was taken sick, and it began to rain. I put up the tent again and hastened our things under cover except the load which was on the opposite side, our provisions of which consisted of a part. Swam across (which I could do by swimming about 400 Yds,) to coverup our things on the opposite shore, and swam back. It continued raining and the prospect was that we should not leave that nite, I swam back again tied some pro-

visions up in my handkerchief tied them onto my head, and returned back. was kept thrue the night by the goodness of God from the Savage and spared to behold the lite of another morning, this was the third night on our journey and we had got but 50 m. brother D. was better and we succeded in crossing our horses and the rest of our plunder in the morning, and proceded on our journey.

Arrived at my village June 26th I remaned at the village six days while there lost my best horse which I had oned but a few days, sickened and died. I was left with but one horse to pack and ride, but the chief with whoom I live offered me a horse to ride, I have lost another good horse this spring (was mired) which is the third since I have ben here in the Indian country, but I have great reason to be thankful that it is as well with me as it is, the Lord in kindness has spared me and given me health for which I have great reason to be thankful and bless his holy name. July 30th left the village to go with my people on there summers wanderings, crossed the river went about 4 m. and camped for the night, soon Capt. Fontinell came up with his caravan in whoose company was Brothers Parker & Whitman, they traveled with me about 8 days, when they proceeded up the north side of the Platte, and I crossed with the Indians, and went south to the republican fork of the Cansas river, where we found buffalo, traveled up this stream as far north as the forks of the Platte stopt five days to dress there skins and drie there meat. while at this encampment my host told me that his people gave at one time eighteen of the fattest of the buffalo to the old priests to devote to Te dah wah (there God) I told them it was not good to distroy there meat so because they had plenty, perhaps in a short time they would be in want of that to eat; they said they gave it to Te dah wah, if they made great sacrifices to him he would give them good luck in hunting, and they wouldnot comeshort of provisions. They have no metings of any kind that arenot connected with eating & smoking. If there is anything to eat in there village these old imposters get it in preference to the whites notwithstanding they are so fond of feeding the whites. There was a thunderstorm while at this place; the wind blew verry hard, there was heavy thunder, the Indians commenced fireing there guns, wanted me to shoot mine, they said that when Te dah wah was shooting his gun it was good to shoot theirs also. Many are there superstitions and of such a nature that it often causes them to fear the approach of the enemy, and also to go to war. When they go to war, or to make peace with other Indians, the partisen gets a medicine pipe from some priest, before they start this sacred pipe (which is not used on common occasions) is taken from the sacred bundle, filled, and smoked, by a number of Indians in a sort of prayerful manner, while they are smoking no person is permited to enter the lodge, or stand up. when they have smoked the pipe out it is filed again by the priest, and handed to the partisan, when he (the partisan) takes the pipe from the priest, this he does by drawing his hands down the arms of the priest and then on his own armes, drawing the pipestale thrue his hands, and turning the end of the stale towards the heavens, east, west, north & south, and towards the ground, at the same time makeing a sort of prayer, asking there maker to give

them good success etc. this pipe has a piece of skin tied over it to keep the contents in. When they go to makepeace in approaching the sight or hearing of the village, discharge there guns and approach them unarmed, then I believe there hope of success is chiefly in there pipe which is lit and presented to some Chief or hed man, if accepted they smoke by giving a number of horses, guns, etc. at the giving of each horse, gun etc. there is a gun fired until they cease giving. there is never a peace affected without exchangeing largely in presents. When they go to war the pipe answers as a sort of protection, and good success. If they have good success they thank the Lord and at the same time ascribe the cause to there medecine pipe, eaglefethers, bears claws, wolfs skins etc. if they kill some one or more of there enemies, bring home these scalps and have atime of rejoiceing, and perhaps someother tribe will dance before them and they will give them horses, guns etc. until sometimes they give away all of there property because they have kiled there enemy, but if they are kiled by there enemies, as soon as they get the news, the women rase a shout by crying which is of all noises the most doleful.

The word medecine which is used by the whites here is nothing more or less than there religion and has a still different turn by the Pawnees, they call it Te wàr ròks te, meaning something supernatural or beyond the power of man, although they perform a greatdeal of it themselves, the word (like many Indian words,) has considerable meaning to it. they give our religion the same name, they have a sort of slight of hand or witchery (which a few practise and impose upon the majority,) which they also term Te wàr ròks te, they call a steamboat (Lack o ho wàr ròks te) or a woodden incomprehention. After traveling five camps up the Republican Canses kiled buffalos a number of times and crossed over to the forks of the Platte kiled buffalo 4 times down the Platte, stopt one day on account of the sickness of a young woman who was about to be delivered of a child, the woman was quite ill, the Doctors got together to help there patient (whoose practice is imposeing quackery) as they do on all accasions of severe sickness, by useing there roots & herbs, for medecines, but the worst of it is there foolish witchery, singing & shakeing the gordshell (which contanes shot, or small pebbles) as if the child, (by being delited with the musick) would be more likely to come into the world, I never before was so disgusted at quackery. about sunset however the child was born but dead, the life of the woman was spared. Sept. 6th arrived at the village. 7th Brother Dunbar came to my village, and 12th we left with the interpreter and 16 Indians for Fort Leavenworth, the Pawnees were going down to receive some of there annuities. Sept. 19, arrived at the Fort. stopt five days, and left with the Indians for this place. Oct. 3d arrived here. 9th left for the Pawnees, stopt 2 days at the American fur camp. house where we met with Doct Whitman when on his return from the Mountains. Oct. 18th I arrived at my village. 20th started with my people for the winters hunt. After making about 20 camps and killing some deer, elk, antelope etc. arrived at the forks of the Platte, at our wintering place, Nov. 24th The buffalo came down plentifully on account of the cold weather, as there is no timber above the forks for 150 m. Nov. 25. 27. 30. & Dec. 2. & &th [7?] kiled

buffaloe they had a plenty of meat and said they loved Te dah wah, he was good in giving them buffalo there love to there *creator* appears to be nothing but a selfish love. There hopes of buffalo was soon blasted, the Aricahrees camped (Dec. 12) about 30 m. above between us and the buffalo and the Pawnees killed none on the Plat afterwards, they sent soldiers for the buffalo up to there village to smoke with them and try to get them to come down and hunt with them, told them they were on there land, had been driven from there country on the Mo. by there enemies, were poor, that they had no home, had come to them for protection, and they had given them horses, & goods that they had received from there father (Majr. Dougherty) and they ought to listen to them and come down and hunt with them; but they could not here one word to what they told them the Aricarrees are verry bad Indians, at war with allmost all of the Indians even the Pawnees with whoom they have considerably intermarried, have killed many of the whites and will still kill them if they canget an opportunity.

Jan 5th about half of my village started from the wintering place, because they had no buffalo, and went north of the Loup fork where we found buffalo. Traveled the coldest days in Jan. and frequently camped where there was no water, melted snow for the horses, we finally succeeded in finding buffalo 40 m. north of the Loup on what is called seader [Cedar] fork, that empties into the Loup fork of the Plt [Platte]. Stopt 15 days in one place to kill buffalo, dress skins, and drye meat. Feb. 13. one camp for the village. 14th one of the young men killed a large red bear, gave the skin to my old host, in the evening the Indians camein to smoke to it, an old priest that was present made a sort of prayer over the skin and gave it some mush to eat. The bear is a great medicine with them, they say the bear is Te wàr ròks te, they sometimes dream of having a battle with them and it makes them brave wariors, they willnot get kiled in battle, many such superstitions I could mention which are numerous. the Indians are indead heathen, and numerous, with but few to teach them the way of life. we were 13 camps comeing to the village, stopt some days for the women to dig ground nuts, the Pawnees call them eats, they resemble some the artichoke, are verry good boiled better than our potatoes, the Pawnees dig them in abundance. I arrived at the village the 3d of March. I have witnessed many superstitions of the Indians the winter past some of which I will mention. They tel me when the starrhs fall the enemy is comeing to make war with them. None of the Indians in this upper country will shake hands with the rite hand because it is bad, or cross, they use the tommahawk, gun, war spear, knife etc in time of fighting, for this reason they will not use the right hand in tokens of friendship. They often hold conversation with animals such as wildcats, woolves, bears, etc. that these animals are brave in fighting, is the reason why they have there skins, claws, bones etc in there medecine bundles. There braves value a string of the bears claws verry highly they often give a horse for them, and were them in time of war to prevent the balls, and arrows hitting them. The grey eagle is also sacred with them, they skin them with the fethers on which they were as a head dress in time of war which is also a pre-

server of life, they tie one or more eagles feathers on there boos, quivers, shields, warspears etc which they consider notonly neat, but more aspecially as a safeguard and token of bravery. Some of there braves have told me they have ben alone surrounded by there enemies who were shooting at them from evry side, and the balls & arrows didnot hit them because they had on a plenty of bears claws, eagles fethers etc. and in relating the same story have told me they were in a dangerous situation, but it seemed to be the Lords will that they should live longer, and it was thrue his goodness that they were yet alive, but this acknowledgment was selfish and did not come from the hart.

The Cormorant is a bird one of which the Pawnees will give a horse for. They willnot allow any person to break the leg bone of the buffalo in the lodge, they break them to get out the marrow which they do by taking them out of the lodge, if they break them in the lodge the Indians will get thrown from their horses, in running buffalo. These and many such superstitious, together with their slight of hand or witchery renders them verry foolish. They tel me that there are men in there village that will let me shoot a gun at them loaded with a ball, and I cannot hurt them, these men can swallow hot lead and not burn them, can swallow knives and bring them out at there side, run knives thrue there tongues, swallow arrows and puke them up I have herd many such like things to foolish to mention. I mention these things to show there folly and ignorance; there are few of there priests that impose upon the magority, as much as the Roman Catholic Jesuits do upon there ignorant. The Indians may indeed be termed heathen, there minds are truly dark, and as they are verry tenatious of there views of religion, they are more or less jealous of those who go among them as Missionaries. I have lived with them 14 months, have tried to be a careful observer of all there movements I have studdied to learn in what way they can be approached to be most useful to them and get there influence, for until we can gain an influence among them there is but little hope of doing them good. How important it is for missionaries among Indians to seek *wisdom* from on high, for one rong step may do an injury that will take years to reclame. I feel myself incapible of occupying my responsible station, but impossibilities arenot required, if I have but one talent I am to improve that and occupy till my Lord come, but when *he* comes I fear that I shall be found wanting. notwithstanding my unworthiness, and inability, I am thankful that my lot has ben cast here, I rejoice to look forward to the day when these Indians shall give up their superstitions, and worship the one only living and true God. Although the progress is slow I hope to see them in my day enquireing what they shall do to be saved, although there are many missionaries among the American Indians I fear there are but few who had the spirret of Branerd (which was the spirret of Christ.) I judge no one but myself, I have to acknowledge that I donot have that spirret I donot possess that high standard of piety that I ought, Oh may I feel more of the value of the souls of the poor Indians, and may the love of *him* who has done *somuch* for me melt my hard hart, and separate the dross of sin and polution which has such escendency over me, oh retched man that I am

who shall deliver me from the boddy of this death. I have spoken of the importance of missionaries approaching the Indians aright in order to be useful among them; I am led to differ from some as to the way and manner of commencing Missionary labors among the Indians, but I may be rong and they right. But I think that Missionaries have, and still er, by going among Indians, and commence preaching to them (without any experience or knowledge of Indian caracter,) thrue interpreters without knowing whether they interpret the truth of not, and even if the truth is told, the Missionary himself is liable to er by forcing upon them his riligion, teling them that they are rong, dwelling to much upon little sins, (if there are such.) I had as lives an Indian would smoke and paint his face, as christians to indulge in a thousand unnecessaries, and rather, for the christian knows better but the Indian doesnot. While religion ought to be the first and most important object, I think at first they ought to be tought the art of civelization, and to cultivate the soil. I believe we never ought to force our religion upon them (if I may use the expression) until we get there influence, and athorough knowledge of there language, that we maynot convey rong ideas to them I know that a hart wormed by the love of God for the salvation of there souls doesnot feal like wating, but we need not wate, there is anough to do, and while we are making preperations to preach to them in there own tongue etc, we ought to see to it that we live holy lives, let them sea that we possess something that they donot, if they make enquiries about our religion tel them freely as far as we can and convey right ideas to them. In persuing this course I think there isnot so much danger of ering, that when we get there language we can tel them about Jesus Christ and intreat them to become reconciled to God.

This work is the Lords and I rejoice that these heathen are in his hands, and he will convert them to himself, this is to be done thrue the instrumentality of *his* children, and may our prayer be lord increase our faith, and may we desire more there salvation. We need here more Missionaries, therere are many wandering tribes of Indians, that have none to teach them the way of life, if they are settled it must be done by the Missionaries, they are indeed to be pitied, they have not only immortal souls, capible of everlasting happiness or misery but they will soon become extinct if there is none to interfere in there behalf, many of them are now at times in a suffering condition. We want here immediately, many faithful and devoted Missionaries it matters not what there occupation is if they are men of ardnt piety, strong constitutions, good *sense*, sound judgment, of quick observation, in short we want men possessing all of the good qualities of a Missionary in country, I know from what I have herd, that some Missionaries have a curiosity to go to China, Greece, or some other popular place while the American Indians are to much neglected, while we want many Gutzlaffs in foreigh countries we want many Branerds in America, we want as soon as next spring 5 or 6 more missionaries to the Pawnees, Government are about to want teachers farmers, & Blacksmiths we want one or two more ministers to the Pawnees, if these men are on the ground Government will employ them, without doubt. There are four large bands of Sioux sout[h]

of the Mo. river, Shiennes, Araperhoos and other wandering tribes who are good to the whites, and are much more favorable to the reception of Missionaries than those beyond the mountains. I cannot assent to the propriety of Missionaries passing thrue a number of tribes of friendly Indians, and go to those who are far beyond, that are frequently at war with their enemies. you will know from these remarks that I refer to Doct. Whitman & comp. the Blackfeet (whoo are a numerous tribe) are now at war with the Flatheads & Nezpercies, and are making frequent attacks upon them I donot doubt the good intentions of my Brethren who have gone beyond me, but I thinkit a hasty step in taking Females across the mountains at present, but if it is the Lords will and he has a work for them to do *he* will protect them.

March 27. left the village with one Indian for this place, Arrived April 1st and 15th left onbord the Steamboat Diana (belonging to the American fur comp. for Cant. Leavenworth, arrived 17th. stopt 3 days, 21st arrived at Liberty where I found my Missionary friends who were well except Mrs Saterlee whoose health was verry poor, faled verry fast for ten days after I arrived, when she expired, Saturday evening ¼ past 11 Oclk. April 30th. Was buried sunday 3 oclk. P. M. Brothers Spalding & Gray with the two Indians boys were absent, they left for the upper country, two days before her death. Mysterious indeed are the providencies of God, towards his children *he* has layed the hand of affliction heavily upon us, aspecially the companion of the deceased, has taken from him his greatest earthly treasure, at a time when he needed (to human appearance) one most to cheer and comfort, in time of trials, and troubles, to council and help him on in the Devine life, in his labors among the heathen. Instead of permiting our sister to come here into this heathen land to assist us in our labors, and permitting us to enjoy her presance and prayers, the Lord has seen fit in *his* infinite wisdom to take her from her labors on earth to enjoy *his* presence in Heaven, where she will have no more sorrow, sickness, nor pane. We ought not to murmer with the dealings of providence, but kiss the rod that has smitten us, fealing that this a warning to us to be also ready, we ought to commence anew and live more faithfully in the discharge of our duty to the heathen, the time is short and what we do we must do quickly. I had the promise from the Capt of the fur companies boat, of our females with myself and some freight that we had comeing up on the boat, but when the boat came back there was another capt. the boat past as we were about to attend the funeral of Mrs. Satterlee, they were haled and wouldnot stop nor take a pound for any person. I had no way of conveyance to this place. after consulting Docts. W. & S concluded to perchase a team, I accordingly purchased a waggon, and three yokes of oxen, which cost 260 dollars. may 3d tuesday P. M. I left in company with Doctors Whitman, Satterlee and females with a Nezpercy Indian, came 5 m. this side of Liberty and stopt for the nite with a Mr Eliot (who is a member of the Presbyterian church) 4th Doct. W. left to come with the waggons, and I came with the females, our way led thrue a beautiful prairy which was verry deverting to the ladies, as this was the first prairy they had ever seen, after traveling 22 ms arrived

at the Little Plate river, and stopt for the night our females were tired not being used (of late) to wriding on horse back.

May 5th left for Fort Leavenworth, arrived 10 Oclk a.m. Distance 8 ms. our company stopt for the waggons, and men with the teams to arrive, enjoyed the hospitality of Majr. Morgan & Capt. Duncan until Monday May 9th Doct Whitman hired a team until we overtook there waggons, which they couldnot do without sending on express to stop them, as I was the only one who knew the trale I left May 5th in persuit of Brothers S. &. G about an hour before sunset went to the Kikapoo Mission and stopt for the night May 6 I left on horseback to travel alone through the Indian country Sunday May 8 9 Oclk. A.M. I overtook them within 30 ms. of this place In two days & two hours I traveled one hundred and fifty ms. I went back with brother Gray as far as the big Nemerha river with the waggons I left Brother G at the river and I went back to meet the remander of our camp. met them about 45 ms. above the Fort. we arrived at the Big Nemerha May 11. in season to cross our plunder. May 12. Doct. W. and his comp. were in a hurry to overtake the traders (who were expected to start from council bluffs soon, left us,) Doct. Satterlee with myself and wife came on in comp. from the big Nemerha, I drove my own team which consisted of three yokes of oxen, our wagon was loaded with about 3000 [pounds]. The Doct. & Mrs. Allis came on horseback, had with us one cow & calf, the calf being young it was with some difficulty that we got him along. we came 16 ms. May 13 came 2 ms. to a branch of the Nemerha, and took breakfast, came 12 ms. to the Little Nemerha, got mired in the creek and had to onlode half of our load & succeeded in getting acrost that night May 14. came 20 ms. camped in the prairies where we had neither wood nor water. Sunday may 15 were oblieged to come 10 ms. to water, arrived about 9 A.M. campt on a little creek called weeping water. May 16. left the trail and came du north 15 Ms. campt on a small creek. May 17 in the morning had a bridge to build which took us til noon, came 8ms, and camped on a creek of considerable size, (name unknown.) May 18 came about 5 ms. and got mired, had to unload all of our plunder & take the waggon to pieces before we could getout of the mud put the waggon together and put on our load again, went ½ mild and camped for the night. May 19. it rained in the morning, we came 10 ms. and camped on a little creek within a mild of the Platte opposite the Otoe village. May 20 came to the Platte and wated for the boat, (as it was used in crossing Doct. Whitmans things) until Saturday 21st. Our boat was a small one that would carry about 600 [pounds] at a load, we had two to help us and apart of the time three, succeeded in getting acrost all except the cattle and waggon. Sunday 22 stopt at Br. Merrels Missionary to the Otoes. 23d the Pawnees came in to receive there annuities and we had some business with the Agt. and them. May 25 succeded in getting the remander of our stock and plunder acrost the river, had to wade ¼ and swim ½ mild and draw the boat, the Platte isnot always so bad to cross but it was high then. Thurs. 26 loded our waggon and came 5 ms. wated for a canoe to cross our plunder over a high creek accasioned by the back water from the Mo. river, crossed and loaded our

waggon that night. May 27 came three ms. when we arrived at our place of residence, were 25 days from Liberty before we arrived here, stopt 3 days at the Garison, two Sabbaths on our way, & three days at Br. Merrels, Distance from Liberty 225 ms. Our journey to the Doct and Mrs. Allis was a pleasing one as our course lay thrue a beautiful Prairy, but to me it was a hard journey, as I had to walk, drive and take care of my team, besides considerable lifting, building bridges etc. but we have great reason to rejoice that our lives, and healths were spared, and we got thrue without any serious accident accurring. The Lord indeed was good to us for which we have great reason to bless and adore his name. We live in an upper room of the house of Mr Fontinell ½ mild south of Bellevue where we have all of the comforts of life that are necessary, and the most pleasant situation in this upper country.

After adviseing brother Dunbar thought it my duty to stay here with Mrs. Allis this summer take care of my cattle, & cut hay to keep them the comeing winter, and plant a small field of corn. Monday May 30 we commenced plowing for corn, the 2 & 3 of June planted it; the field contanes 4½ acres, it now looks well, some of it is now Tasseled. I planted peas and beans the forth of June that have ben in blossom some six or seven days, the soil here is verry productive produces large crops. Bros. Dunbar & Satterlee were with us until June 17 when they left for the Pawnees, to wander with them on there summers hunt, they left the Otoe Mission Monday June 20. if spared will return here the first of Sept. when Br. D is expecting to leave for the states. As we have lately received some additions to our number, we thought that we were called upon in the providence of God to form ourselves into a church, that we might not only obey the commands of God in this respect, but enjoy the privilages of a Church in this heathen land. Accordingly we met together Saturday, June 11, 1836 and formed ourselves into a church wich consists of five members, namely: Mr Charles. L. Renz, Mrs Susan Renz, Doct. Satterlee, Mrs Allis, and myself. br. Dunbar is to afficiate às our Pastor, Doct. S. and myself were appointed ruleing elders, Doct. (also) Clk. of the Session, and Br Renz Deacon, Br. Renz & wife were members of the first Presbyterian Church in St. Louis before they came to this place, he is the Government Blacksmith for the Pawnees. As a church we ask your prayers, that this little vine that is planted in the wilderness, may not be lost and wither and die, but that it may be watered by the dews of *heaven*, may soon bud and blossom like the rose of Sharon, that many Pawnees may soon be added to our little number, of such as Shall at last be saved. I feel that great are our responsibilities as a Session, arenot lessoned because our church is small, that we are not only bound to watch over ourselves, and church, but if possible, our responsibilities are increased in laboring with more zeal for others. After doing what we consider what duty is we ought not to murmur at the dealings of *providence* with us, but I feel anxious to get among the Pawnees, I cannot tel for certain, but I think they will settle so that we can go among them next spring. I donot feel myself capible of giving your committee a correct statement of the wants of the Indians of this teritory, and plead there clames, but suppose br. D. has done it. I trust your Committee in

there wisdom will remember us among other calls and soon send more Missionaries.

Please to forgive me for not writing before, I would be glad to write more and often to you were I capible of making the subject interesting we enjoy something of the presence of the Lord, we also enjoy good health for which we owe to *him* our thanks.

Yours with due respect

SAMUEL ALLIS, *Pawnee mission*

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BELLE VUE (UPPER MO), May 31, 1837.

*Rev. David Greene*

DEAR SIR—I wrote a letter to you last June containing two or three sheets, and as I havenot received any leters from you since I suppose you didnot receive mine.

It was been something more than a year since I have viseted the Pawnees, sickness, and other causes, have prevented my traveling with them on there hunts, or going to there village to see them. I was enhopes to have settled among them before this time, but the prospect at present is so discourageing, that I cannot give you any correct information how soon we shall be able to build among them.

They have been here this spring to receive there annuities, left (for there villages) last wednesday. The Pawnees the past year have had a number of quarrels, with the Sioux and other Indians. The Agt. is here now thinks it not safe to settle among them until something is done to effect a peace between them and the Sioux, *he* thinks, our property (cattle etc) would be killed and destroyed, and even our lives would be in danger; but I apprehend no fear of the latter, they myght distroy our cattle, steal our horses etc. While the Sioux are hostile to other Indians, they are friendly to the whites. Theere are somany difficulties, and hinderancies at present, among Indians, the prospect of introducing christianity among them at present is rather discouraging, or at least slow. I donot feel discouraged in any way, but it is a mystaken idea that many christians have at the present time, thinking that nations of Indians are to be born to God in a day, I cannot say but the time will come, but I believe that many years will pass away first. Sofar as I can judge I believe that more amount of labor is, and will be required to christianize the Indians, than almost, and perhaps any other heathen in the world, compareing the number of souls. None know, but those among the Indians how many hinderances there are of introducing christianity among them. I believe there are but few Missionaries among the Indians at the present day, who have the spirret and zeal of Brainerd, the ardent desire for the salvation of the Indians that he had, it is to be feared also that christians in gospel lands donot feel the importance of praying for Missionaries as they did in Brainerds day, but I donot judge, but rather feel unworthy to even reprove, while I am doing so little for the poor Indians. But notwithstanding my unworthiness and ill deserts, and the many hinderances of the Gospel here, I feel to thank the Lord that *he* caused me to come forth, and if I know my own heart, I feel desireous to ware out in the

cervice of God laboring for the poor Indians, I know if I labor with a right spirret, my labors will be blessed, even if I donot live to sea the fruits of my labors. We have lived here the year past, and to appearance have done but little for the cause of Christ, but the year is past and gone, and the time cannot be recalled, but I have got to be judged for the manner in which I have spent my time. The 7th of Feb. last I left this place for St. Louis. The day before I left here was a heavy rain, which raised the rivers & creeks, so that we had to build rafts to cross and swim our horses when there was ice runing in the rivers. I had one man in company with me, and four until we got to the settlements; performed the journey on horseback in 22 days. Distance 500 ms. My obgect in going down was to purchase some of the necessaries of life which I could get fetched up on the S. Boat. by my going to St. Louis. The journey was somewhat expensive, but I am satisfyed the course that I took was the best one. I arrived here with Mr. Dunbar & Lady the sixth of may in the Steam Boat St. Peters. This Boat is on her way to the Yellow stone.

There seems to be (at present time) a general commotion and warlike spirret among the Indians, at war among themselves, and some of them (as you know) at war with our own government. Oh that the time may soon come when wars and fightings shall cease among them and the pure religion of Jesus Christ shall reign, and tribes that are now embuing there hands in each others blood may be united, in celebrating the praises of redeeming love. Doct. Satterlee hasnot come in yet from the winters hunt, he went last winter with some Pawnees that wentto make peace with the Shiennes, and returning back, two days travel from the Shienne Village was caught in a severe snowstorm, lost two horses, and the third and last horse was upon the eve of giving out, when the Pawnees say (who were with him,) *he* told them to come on, and he would come when his horse recruited, he has not ben herd of since by the Indians, but they suppose he has gone back to some of the forts of the traders on the River Platte, which I believe probable, and will come down with the traders in three or four weeks.

I found christians in the settlements deeply engaged in the world. I also found almost evry pamphlet, and newspaper, polittical and religious, filled with contention.

I also herd debates from the members of a Presbytery, in questioning young men that were candidates for the minestry.

I must say that I was sick of such contentions, and was anxious, to come back among the Indians.

I do hope that the spirret of contention never will get among Indian missionaries, I mean the spirret of religious controversy, for where it is carried on I have but little hope of the Indians being benefited; I hesitate not atall in saying it is the spirret of the bottomless pit, and is the direct means of the ruen of many immortal Soules in gospel lands, (that is) prevents many from comeing to Christ who would otherwise, if they didnot sea professers of religion contending by the way.

In speaking of the slow progress of christianity among the Indians I donot wish your committee to understand me as believeing it useless to

send Missionaries among them, I feal that there is many more wanted among them. We not only want some 4 or 5 Males amung the Pawnees, in addition to our presant number, but there are many wandering tribes who have none to point them to the Savior I do hope therefore your committee will remember the poor dispised Indians with the many other heathen, and send some, (and also other societies,) to point these red men of the large spred prairies to Jesus Christ as there only hope.

Br. Dunbar & Lady stay with us at present, they are well with myself, Mrs. Allis health at present is poor.

Yours with christian respect, SAMUEL ALLIS

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BELLE VUE (UPPER MO.), Dec. 17th, 1838.

REVD. & DEAR SIR—It is with considerable embarrassment that I take my pen in hand at this time, to address you. Mr Dunbar received a letter from you yesterday, dated Oct. 27th. which he red in the presance of myself & wife, from which we learnt (by your addressing Mr. & Mrs. D. in there lonely situation, and also the intention of your committee sending them a reinforcement etc) that you considered myself & wife as excluded or withdrawn from the Mission. When the letter was red in our hearing, we were not a *little surprised,* and our feelings were *verry much hurt.* We had herd nothing, neither did we expect or intend to leave the Mission, neither do we yet, without your committee think us worthy of censure sufficient to exclude us from the Mission, and withdraw from us your support. I knownot what you have herd, but a flying report has, some time since gone abroad, that I had offered myself as a Farmer for the Pawnee Loups under the patronage of our Government, a part of which is true; but a *great deal tomuch* has been said at Ithaca, & other places about it which has been a *great trial* to our feelings. When I wrote to the Agt. upon the subject, I had nothing but the best interest of the Redeemers Kingdom in view. I have written to you once upon the subject, but as I have never recvd an answer, I suppose you have never received my letter, I will therefore give you a correct history (in my poor way) of the whole matter.

The summer of 1836 I wrote a letter to Major. Dougherty, giving my views of the importance of Farmers among the Indians that would take an intrest in their welfare; and offered myself (if my patrons were willing) as Farmer for the Pawneee Loups. The spring before that, one Government blacksmith had come on for the Pawnees, and another had been appointed, and the Pawnees were considerably engaged about removeing to places where there was timber, and having missionaries, Blacksmiths, Farmers etc. settle among them soon. The prospect then was that Farmers would soon be appointed for the Pawnees, I was acquainted at that time with Government Farmers for Indians, that took no intrest in their welfare, and didnot benefit them much but just lived for the spoil. It seemed to me at that time (and does yet) verry desirable that Farmers should be settled among the Indians that would feel an intrest in their spirretual, and also their temperal welfare. I thought, (and do yet) that an *important door of use-*

*fulness* might be opened among them for the spread of the Gospel, by teaching them how to labor and cultivate the soil. It seems to me also, that a person can gain an influence among them in this way; and without we have their influance we can do them but little or no good. A Farmer (if he understood their language) would have a good oppertunity to give them religious instruction, and while he was teaching them industry, (which is a *step toward* religion) he might teach them the way of salvation, and point them to the Lamb of God who taketh away the sins of the world. I then thought that I would be Farmer for our Government, and still be under the patronage of your committee. That was one reason why I was so hasty without consulting you first, and another was, I expected (as I have mentioned above) the place would soon be filled with some person that would take no intrest in the good of the Pawnees and felt desireous to prevent the evil if possible. The Agt. came up here the fall of 1836 after I wrote to him, he told me then, he had received my letter, and fully agreed with me in my views respecting Farmers among the Indians, and would be glad to give me the situation of Farmer among the Pawnee Loups whenever they become located. Nothing passed between us (the Agent & myself) upon the subgect from that time until last spring I told him my patrons werenot pleased with it. Mr. D. & Doct. S. about that time, returned from the summer hunt & wandering with the Pawnees, I then told them what I had done, they seemed to agree with me in my views but though I was hasty, that I ought to have consulted you first, and also the committee at Ithaca, which I acknowledged, and which course I have since been sorry for, and if I have violated the laws of your committee, or given any cause of sensure, I hope to be forgiven. The course that I persued was not from any cause of dissatisfaction with my patrons, or any members of the Mission, or because I had any desire to leave the Mission, for neither myself or wife had any such desire. We hope therefore, if anything has been done by your committee to exclude us from the Mission, (should they think us worthy) we hope to be restored again to there patronage.

Last spring Mr. D. & myself received a joint letter from the committee at Ithaca (dated Sept. 20th 1837) an extract of which I will give you (which is as follows.) We are still in the dark as to whether Br. Allis has been appointed Government Farmer of not. Your letters arenot deffinite on this subject. We wish you to inform us fully on this point. Has any definite arrangement of this kind been entered into. And if not, what precise relation does Brother Allis hold to the Mission at presant,— and what are his plans, and expectations? we make these enquiries because when he accepts this appointment, or in any way withdraws from the Mission, it ought to be understood that we cannot extend to him the support of a missionary.

Which questions I answered as well as I could to said committee. At the time of receiving the above named letter Mr. Dunbar then told me (for the first time) that you was also displeased with the course I had persued, (in the course of conversation he had with you when he went east) previous to that time however, I had written to you upon the subject, (as I have mentioned above.) Since that time I have expected to

hear from you, and owing to sickness in our family with some other causes I have not written to you since last winter. The summer past the Lord has laid his kind but afflicting [afflicting] hand hevily upon us. After about the first of June last, Mrs. Allis began to be on the decline, and was quite unwell until the last of August when she was attacked with the remittant fever, and was *quite sick* for about three weeks, when she began to recover slowly, and got so as to be about the house, when she was taken with a relapse, which lasted four or five days, she then began to recover again, and by the time she recovered her health she pinched one of her fingers [words illegible] it pained her so that she did not sleep for three or four nights it being on the right hand she couldnot labor much, it has now been four weeks since she hurt her finger but it is considerably better. Her health is now tolerably good. I have generally, and do at this time, enjoy good health. The fifth of Sept. last we buried our only child a boy of 13 months, he was one that was brought up by hand, but was a healthy child, until about a week before he died,—he was taken with a relax, and died in a few hours after we considered him dangerous.

The Lord has indeed come near to us, by removing from us a dear earthly object, but I trust we gave it to *him* by faith in the *solem* ordinance of baptism, and I feel that *he* has a right to do with us and ours as *he* pleases, and I hope we may proffit by the afflicting providance, and kiss the rod that has smitten us. We are under great obligations also to bless the Lord for the many mercies & privilages granted to us since we have been in this heathen land, and our prayer ought to be that the Lord would come and *rain righteousness* upon this *dark* part of the heathen world. Although I feel that I am verry unworthy I have no desire to forsake the poor Indians, but were I capable I should like to excite christians in America to do much more for the aboriginies of their own happy country, and I feel that I ought to do much more myself than I ever yet have done. I shall omit writing anything at present respecting the Indians, but I hope your committee will send out two or three families as a reenforcement to the Pawnee Mission, whether they consider myself & family members or not.

Mr. Dunbar & family are well. Mrs. Allis wishes to be rembered to you with her kind regards. I remain

Very truly yours SAMUEL ALLIS

*Rev. David Greene, Missionary Rooms, Boston*

P. S. I have a sister living in Hawley, Mass. that has written to me intending to make out a box of clothing for us, and wanted to know where she should send it, I directed her to send it to you; should you receive it, if you will be to the trouble of sending it to me you will much oblige yours S. ALLIS

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BELLE VUE (UPPER MO.), July 10th, 1839.

*Rev. David Greene, Missionary House, Boston*

DEAR SIR—Yours of 20th March was received the first of July. Respecting the subject of my becoming government farmer for the Pawnees, I hardly know how to address you.

I always have suposed that I stood related to the Board and do yet,

for I never intended to leave the Mission without your consent & approbation. I consider myself therefore a member of the Pawnee Mission unless I have been excluded. I may have been hasty in some things & gone contrary to your rules & regulations, if so it has not been wilfully, for I have endeavoured to persue a coarse that was for the best intrest of the Mission. The most that I have to regret is that I have not been more faithful in the discharge of my duty according to my feeble ability. If I have persued any course contrary to Mr Dunbars wishes, it is because I have not always consulted him; and I might say the same of him, but I have never been disposed to find fault with his plans & opporations, and if I have ever persued any course that has injured his feelings, or contrary to your wishes or regulations, I hope you will forgive me, for I certainly never intended to do so. If there has been any unkind feelings existing between us it has been on the part of Mr D. for I have had none. The feelings of myself & wife have been verry much hurt to think that rong reports, or at least rong empressions had gone abroad respecing my becomeing farmer under the U. S. government. If I have felt to blame Mr D for any thing it was that he didnot come to me and tell me if he had any objection to me on the course that I was persuing, before he wrote to you & the committee at Ithaca. But we endeavord to leave the event with him who seeith not as man seeith, feeling confident that he would sustain & support us if we were withdrawn from your services and the Mission. But if there has been any difference between Mr. D. & myself it has long since been settled. The only unpleasant thing there is about it now is that it has been published in the Herald & else where, that I have been appointed government farmer, as if I was tired of the Missionary life, (that is) some may have that impression, but in my view, government men among the Indians ought to be Godly men, for if men here arenot compelled to do their duty, they benefit the Indians but verry little, unless they act from principle. There is here (or near this) two Otoe farmers, one blacksmith & striker, & also the Omoha & Pawnee Smiths with strikers; and I think I can safely say that the whole eight persons havenot done enough for a year past for the Indians, to employ two faithful men nine months, and their salary amounts (I think) to 3,360 dollars—per year. Some of the govt men here are verry intemperate men, and intemperance seems to increase here and comes in like a flood. There has been two steamboat arrivals here ths spring, and each brought from 20 to 30 barrels of alcohol besides some whiskey, besides quantities brought in waggons & on pack horses. It is generally brought in the pure Alcoholic state because it is to expensive to pack the quantities of water used. There are great quantities of the Mo. river water sold to cheat the poor Indians, and to add saton to sin black pepper is sometimes used to give the infernal stuff a more fiery taste.

Five Potowatomy men & women have been killed within ten weeks in drunken frolicks, and one had his nose bit off. One white man was also killed by another white man, both were in liquor. Solong as liquor is permitted to be brought into the Indian country in large quantities, with little or no effort to stop it, there is but little hope of benefiting the In-

dians. I hope the subject will be taken hold of soon by some body whoose business it is to to notice such things, if not, by others who will, and I hope and pray that such efforts may be used, that with the blessing of God it may be banished from the Indian country, yea from the whol world. I write freely to you sir upon this subject knowing that you will dispose of it with discression.

We arenot yet among the Pawnees, and we have but little intercourse with them as we are now situated, consequently we are makeing but little progress in the acquisition of their language, but I am learning Otoe faster than Pawnee. Some of them generally come in here evry fall & spring, but neither Mr Dunbar nor myself have been to their villages since he went east. It is verry difficult for us to leave home, but I am in hopes we shall be able to commence a location among them soon where we can labor more directly for their good. Mr Dunbar wrote to you and I also wrote to the committee at Ithaca upon the importance of an immediate reinforcement to the Pawnee Mission, but neither of us have received an answer. We were in hopes to have received more aid that we might move out to the Pawnees and commence a location the coming fall, but we shalnot be able to move until spring. They are verry anxious we should settle among them soon, and have requested the Agt. to write to the President to send them the men promised in their treaty. As one blacksmith is here now they may be sent to them the comeing spring but it is uncertain. If we can have a reenforcement to the Mission we think it best to move out and commence building and not wate for government men.

The Agt. delivered to the Pawnees last spring 52 plows and they soid all but six of them before the Agt.s eyes. I believe they would value them highly if they knew the worth of them, but there wasnot intrest anough taken to prevent there being sold. Most of my time is occupied this summer in farming. As we are doing but little directly for the Pawnees, I feel that I am bound in this way to labor to lessen my expences. It costs considerable to live here even prudently, as almost evrything is high. I have 2 & ½ acres of corn, and a half an acre of potatoes besides a good garden; this besides hay to cut for our cattle, together with many little choors necessary to be done occopies most of my time. The soil here is verry productive, crops look verry promising. There is between 40 & 50 acres of corn now growing within ¾ th of a mile of my house, and many fields opposite to this groing by the Pottawatomies & whites, and also I suppose 120 or 30 acres 8 ms. [miles] from this by the whites & Indians at the Otoe village, and yet the consumption is so great that it generally fetches one dollar pr bushel. While I labor for the meat that perisheth, I hope it may be in view of that which endureth unto everlasting life, that I may glorify God while laboring with my hands. We have great reason to bless the Lord even for the many temporal blessings bestowed upon us from his *bountiful* hand, and much more for his spirretual blessings. Although I seem to be doing little directly for the Indians I hope that a door of usefulness may be opened soon that I maybe permitted to labor more directly for them. I ask your prayers that I may be faithful in occupying the one small talent given me.

There was three soldiers drowned in the big Platte (the sixth inst. about 8 ms. from this) in crossing their horses. They belonged to the

U. S. Draggoons at Fort Leavenworth, and came up with one Lieut. & 17 other soldiers (with some Omoha prisoners that were taken by the Socks.) The Socks came acrost two or three lodges of Omohas last spring, on one of the Northern-branches of the Mo. River (above this) and killed 10 or 11 men and took 7 boys & 3 or 4 women prisoners; The business of the draggoons here (at the time the three men were drowned) was to restore them to their tribe. I have nothing more of importance to write at present. Yours with respect S. ALLIS

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BELLE VUE (UPPER MISSOURI), Dec. 27th, 1839.

*Rev. David Greene, Missionary Rooms, Boston*

DEAR SIR—Your letter of Oct. 24th arrived on sunday last. Respecting the subject mentioned in your letter of my connection with the Board, I prefer to continue the connection, and always supposed that I did stand connected with them, until I learnt that you considered that connection dissolved. I donot feel to blame you sir in the least, nor never have blaimed you nor the committee, but supposed that you was rongly informed. I have been to considerable expense to the Board in getting here, and I never intended to withdraw from their services without the consent of the committee. But still I believe that christians might be *verry proffitabley* employed by government as farmers, teachers or blacksmiths if they were disposed to do their duty. In answer to some questions in your letter sir, I amnot now, nor never have been government farmer, neither have I received any compensation from government as such, nor appointment. You wish to know also if there is an opening for me now to become farmer? in answer to these questions, the agent offered me the farmers post for the Otoes, which I refused, he then wished me to accept of farmers place for one of the Pawnee villages. I told him that I would consult Mr. D. and let him know soon. And after consulting together we thought I had better secure one of the teachers places, as the Pawnees are to have teachers for ten years. An ill disposed person would exert a bad influence. The agent was willing that I should occopy a teacher place, but would prefur me to accept of that of farmer, as he thought that farmers would be more useful at present than teachers.

In answering some questions in your letter, I might refur you to Mr. Ds. letter to you upon the subject of government farmers. But for fear that his hasnot reached you, it might not be impropper, to repeat in substance some of his letter. Government farmers are to be appointed soon, and the agent greatly prefurs eastern men that will do their duty. Mr. Dunbar proposed that we should offer to become responsible of getting here (within one year from Oct. last) four farmers for the Pownees. I mentioned the thing to the agent, and he said he would be *verry glad* if we would take the trouble to do so for he wanted men (and ment to have them) that would do their duty to the Indians. I hope you have before this received Mr. Ds letter upon the subject, and the right kind of men can be found. Young men are prefferable with small families, men of piety of industrious habbets, good farmers with good healths & con-

stitutions. We have written also to the committee at Ithaca, and also to some of our friends upon the subject, and we hope the men will be found who will be at Fort Leavenworth by July or August next *without fail.* The salary is 600 dollars a year, and if faithful industrious men come on they will probably find employ for five years and perhaps longer.

We hope also to receive a reenforcement to our Mission of as many as three families early in the spring *without fail.* I know that we are not to direct, and the committee are *verry much* straitened for the want of funds, but it appears that if any thing is done for the Pawnees now is the time. We hope therefore the Committee will send us aid if consistant. We have been detained here on suspense some three or four years without doing but little directly for the Pawnees, but still I hope we are not discouraged, we have reason to be encouraged. We hope the Pawnees will soon settle down and become cultivaters of the soil, and the Lord will have a seed[?] to serve him among that dark & benighted tribe. The agent requested Mr. D. & myself to go out to the Pawnees and select a spot for them to settle. (which they have agreed to do next spring) We felt that it was putting considerable responsibility upon us, but still we felt willing to take the responsibility upon ourselves in order that the Indians might be soon settled or remove their villages soon. The agent told the Pawnees that we were to act for him and that they must place as much confidence in us as if he was there himself. We went out with the Pawnees (at the time they came inn to receive their annuities,) and selected a spot for them to locate and some of the cheifs say that they will be on the new ground early in the spring. I suffered much while on my way from the Pawnees, my horse gave out, and kicked me, and while I was *quite* lame I was obliged to walk while I could have but little wate on my right limb. I slept two nights within 25 ms. of home. We must expect and ought to be willing to suffer to advance the cause of Christ, his life was a life of suffering, and he at last suffered and died upon the cross that we might live. Since we have returned from the Pawnees, we have been verry busy in secureing our crops, getting wood & preparing for winter. The winter here has been so far unusually warm but considerable snow, the snow is now about 14 inches deep. We are anxiously wating, and hope to receive a letter from you soon bearing the entelligence of an expected reenforcement. Although we have labored but little directly for the Pawnees we have endeavoured to be industrious. We were doing so little that I felt bound to labor, and have a good part of my time for our support. My time has been taken up more than I could wish in laboring for the meat that perisheth, but at the same time, I hope that my labors have not entirely been lost, but have been in a small degree at least, the fruits of that meat which endureth unto everlasting life. We have made some considerable proficiency in the knowledge of the Pawnee language.

We have a youth liveing with us (of the Pawnee Loups) who will be an advantage to us in acquireing a knowledge of their language, I hope also that we may be of cirvice to him, and be the means in the hands of God of his convertion. He is quite an object of pity. I believe it is six

years ago this winter, he was hunting horses and got lost in a savere cold snow storm; stayed out two nights, and froze his feet & legs to his knees as hard as sticks, and when he got to the village he was almost perished, and as soon as his limbs began to thaw he was in great pain. His feet came off to his ankles, and his limbs below his knees perished. He now walks on his knees, can walk in that position quite fast, can chop wood and do many chores. We hope to go out to the Pawnees in the spring and commence a location, but we shall be *straightened* for funds. Our expencies out for two years past have been small, consequently we have not much on hand now, and after purchaceing our necessary yearly stock of provisions & clothing (encluding the boxes under way) we shall probably have left (of our yearly fund) between 4 & 500 dols and after we have purchased the tools and necessaries for building[?] hired help, & a team to move out we shall not have much left. I remain yours with respect SAMUEL ALLIS

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BELLE VUE (UPPER MO.), 12th Oct., 1840.

*Rev. David Greene, Missionary House, Boston*

DEAR SIR—Some time has passed away since I have received any letters from you, or written any to you, but I have not forgotten that I ought, and shall endeavour to write you more frequent. As we expect to address to you a joint letter, you willnot of course expect much from me at this time that will be interesting to you; neither am I capable at any time.

We still remane here at this place, unsettled, and on suspense, which is verry trieing to our feelings.

Last year at this time, the Pawnees came in to receive their yearly annuities, and they seemed to take quite an intrest in the subject of their locating, and the subject was urged upon them by their Agent, and promised them the men mentioned in the treaty, as soon as they would settle.

When they came in this fall to receive their annuities, there was nothing said to them, by the Agent, respecting their settleing, but I have conversed with him of late, and he expects, (should he remain as Agt.) to fulfill the treaty on the part of Government as soon as they settle.

Some of us have been liveing here along time on suspense, anxiously looking forward for the time when we might be permitted, (in the Providence of God) to locate among them. In looking back, and reflecting upon the long time we have spent here, it seems to me some times like a dream. I fear I havenot accomplished but little for the spirretual, or temperal good of the Indians. My time has mostly been taken up in laboring for the meat that perisheth, which cervice seemed necessary for me to engage in.

Mrs. Allis health, (since we have been in this land of darkness) has been considerable of the time quite poor, my health has been good, and also the other members of the Mission, with the exception of the ague & feaver, which Mr & Mrs Gaston have had this fall, and most of the chil-

dren of the Mission, but still I hope we none of [us] feel a desire to complain.

Notwithstanding the sickness, & afflictions in my family, we have great reason to bless the Lord for the many mercies granted to us, spirretual & temperal.

Intemperance reigns here like a mighty flood, some Indians go out on their hunts, and return with dried meat & skins, and are not at ease untill they exchange most of all of it for whiskey, and others, when they receive their anual in corm from the government, expend it as quick as possible for licker and other things, some of which donot seem to be of much value to them. The Potawatomies opposite of this get a yearly income of 60,000 dollars, and it does not last them long. The situation of the Indians here is indeed deplorable; while there is but little to enduce them to do well, there is almost every thing held out, that is calculated to lead them to degradation & vice, and everlasting ruen; and He who knows all things, only knows what is to be their final doom. But I hope & trust that the Lord has a seed here, that will yet serve him, even among the Pawnees. My old host, the first chief of the Pawnee Loups (Big Axe) is dead; died last spring.

The Lord has blessed us this year in a temperal point of view. I planted three acres of corn, & a half Do [ditto] of potatoes besides Mr Dunbar & myself have each of us good gardens containing a good variety of vegetables, for which we have great reason to be thankful. The soil here is verry productive. There has been five steemboat arrivals here this summer, one of which went to the upper country and has returned back, and one has been snagged about fifteen ms. below this.

There has also 23 or 4 mackanaw boats passed here from the upper country loded with furs & buffalo robes.

The steamboat also brout down 20,000 robes besides some furs, so you see sir that the men of the north range these large territories of country for the purpose of earthly gain.

I must close this, as the Agent leaves early tomorrow morning. I shall be happy to hear from you soon.

Very truly yours SAMUEL ALLIS Pawnee Mission

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PLUMB CREEK, PAWNEE MISSION, Sept. 1st, 1841.

*Rev. David Greene, Missionary Rooms, Boston*

DEAR SIR—I have not written to you since our joint letter last autumn, and while I have to acknowledge my fault in not writing to you sir more frequently I have some good excuse for neglect of writing. Since last autumn my time has been mostly occupied in makeing preperations for, and comeing to this place, and since we have been here we have been verry busily engaged. I have thought it might not be amiss to give you a short account of our preperations for, journey to this place & employment since we arrived here etc. Last Feb. we had a meeting of the Mission to make preperations for our removal, and it was thought best to hire two men, draw money & purchase more teem, and I was appointed to make such arrangements, while Mess Dunbar & Gaston were makeing

preperations at home. I accordingly left Bellevue the 17th of Feb. on horseback, with my bed & provissions, for Fort Leavenworth & Liberty. The wether was plesant and the traveling good for the season. I succeded in hireing men, drawing on Doct. Weed for money, and purchaceing two yokes of oxen & a waggon. I found two boxes at Cant. Leavenworth one from yourself and the other from Mrs. Dunbars friends, to Mr. D. which with corn for my teem comprised my load. I tied my horse to the hind part of the waggon and drove my teem; the rout lay mostly thrue open prairies, but there wase inhabitants the most of the way within 10 ms. and a good part of the way in less distance than that. After an abscence of of 20 days I was permitted to arrive to my family & associates in safety. I camped out inn my abscence but three nights. Four years ago last spring there was no inhabitants above Blk [Black] Snake hills to Bellevue; and now it is thickly settled from the black snake hills to the narrows Wish-na bot ta na, and above the latter place to Bellevue it is mostly settled with the Putawatomies & half breeds of that tribe. If Mr. Parker should pass thrue that country now he would hardly know where he was. After my arrival from below we had our waggons to repair and many other things to do to employ our time, until the time arrived for our removal. We left Bellevue the 30th of April with our families, two hired men, with three ox teems, our cattle & hogs. We were accompanied by the Otoe Farmer & Blacksmith as far as the River Elkhorne, who went to assist us. We were six days going to, & crossing the Horne (wone of which was the Sabbath) which is only 20 ms. from Bellevue. Some part of our rout was wet & mirey, so much so that we had to doule [double] teems, and then were sometimes under the necessity of onloading a part of our loads, lifting at wheels & travelling thrue mud & water, although this was but a small part of our rout. Mr. Gaston, wife & one child all had the ague & feaver at once, but we were able to proscede on our journey slowly, and with safety. After a journey of 17 days (three of them the Sabbath) we we were permitted to arrive at this place distance about 115 or 20 ms. most of the rout thrue a level prairy country up the River Platte, which is in the spring generally wet, but at this season drye & good traveling with the acception of high grass.

The Agent arrived the same day that we did, bringing some presents to the Indians, and held a council with them in which he told them he had not much business with them but merely came to see them & bring them a few presants, he told them they must all come and settle which they promised to do this autumn or the comeing spring. Our first business was to select our locations, cleer off ground plue [plow] & plant our gardens, we then prepaired the ground and planted our corn, (which is 2 & ¼ ms. from here on Plum creek) where we expect to locate this fall.

Our next business was to cut timber, and build us some houses. We each of us have a logg cabben 12 by 14 ft. covered with dirt. (there being but little or no shingle or bord timber). Our shanties were completed about the first of July, and until that time our families lived out without any covering except our waggon covers & small tents, which would by no means protect us from the storms.

The 7th of July I left (with our hired men) & two ox teems for Belle-

vue to get more of our plunder, the traveling was good, and we returned back in 17 days. I brought two dry barrels of clothing etc from our friends at Ithaca for the Mission. Since I returned back from Bellevue we have been engaged in cutting our hay which we completed the 21st of Augt and the 24th Mr. Gaston (& Woodcock, our hired man) started again with two ox teems for more of our plunder. The country here is quite healthy, the soil *productive*. Our corn, and most of our garden vegitables look well and promise a good crop. We planted in low places near the creeks, where the soil was esily broken up, but we intend to have prairy ground broken up in future, for our fields & gardens. If it were not for the scarcity of timber, I believe this would be one of the finest countries in the world. Some of our New england farmers would be verry glad to get land like the prairies here. After going some 20 or 30 ms. above this, the bluffs, and land off from the streems gets poor, but the bottom lands of the Platte are good, but the scacity of timber renders the country useless, and even here, if we can get timber anough to build, and fence fields with, and have sufficient left for fire wood for 8 or 10 years with out moveing we shall do well. The Indians came to see us frequently before they went on their summers hunt, they appear *quite* friendly, and seem to be pleased that we have got here.

I rejoice dear Sir, that your committee have considered the case of the Pawnees, among the many wants of the heathen We hope a reenforcement will soon be found, of sutible persons, such as the Lord will delight to own and bless to the salvation of many Pawnees. It would rejoice our hearts to see such come forth filled with the love of souls. I know that the Lord can save by many or by few, but still I think it important that this Mission be strong handed; other Missions have failed near here for the want of laborers to sustain them. It appears to me that if this Mission can be well sustained it is (or will be) one of the most prommiseing among the aborigineas of our country; there are about 7,000 Pawnees that speek the same, or nearly the same language) and they are not so given to the *base* habbet of intemperance as any other tribes, except the Crows[?]. I do hope therefore the condition of the Pawnees may be favorabley looked upon not only, but entered into. I trust that we share in your prayers that we may be guided in the path of duty, and made instrumental (unworthy as we are) of much good to those among whom we labor. They like all Indian tribes are wasteing away fast. There was a war party of Loups fought with the Shiennes [Cheyennes] last spring, when 50 of them were killed, and also many of the Shiennes [Cheyennes].

Undoubtedly all enlightened christans in America, that have a desire to benefit the heathen, are sensible, that what is to be done for the Indians, to benefit their everlasting welfare must be done quickly, this I consider (under God) is a part of our hope. Mr. Dunbar I believe has a few days since written to you, I therefore donot expect to communicate any thing to you that will be interesting but write from a sense of duty. We are all enjoying good health for which we have great reason to be thankful. I shall be happy to receive a letter from you Sir, in answer to these ill composed lines. I remain Sir verry respectfully yours SAMUEL ALLIS

P. S. 4th yeasterday there was a singular occurrence happened

that hasnot taken place for some years. The Pawnees are comeing into their villages, and have drove the buffalos down so that we have seen them roving about close to our houses which was *quite* a curiosity to our females. Some Pawnees comeing to to see us killed three or four cows last evening and brought us the meat of two, which would have been a curiosity to almost any wone to see the creatures feast. There was about 10 or 12 which stayed here about 20 hours and eat the most of two buffaloes inwards and all. The Pawnees have all an abundance of [words illegible] 5 & 6,000 pounds of dried meat from the Loups village, and have scarcely made a hole inn their meat. The Pawnees say that Te da wah (God) is pleased with our comeing to settle with them, which causes them to have plenty of meat, and as a proof of it Te da wah brought the buffaloes right to our houses. They were not molested this summer by their enemies. They have also plenty of corn. S. A.

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PLUMB CREEK (PAWNEE MISSION), Feb. 14th, 1842.

*Rev. David Grene, Missionary Rooms, Boston*

DEAR SIR—I wrote to you last August, and we have none of us heard from you since. It has been almost six months from that date, I take this opportunity therefore of writing, although I havenot much to communicate at this time of intrest. Since I last wrote we have all been verry busily engaged collecting our crops building, moveing etc. We didnot rais a great supply of provisions last year although what we had were verry good We havenot, nor shall we build only to make us comfortable until we know whether the Pawnees will locate here. I think some of them will at least the comeing spring. We built each of us a log house last summer, 12 by 16 ft. and covered with dirt. We found (when we came to look about) that the Indians had marked all of spots for planting near our houses, we concluded therefore we should have to move or our cattle would destroy their corn. We have moved our houses this winter to the above named creek 2 & ½ ms. east of where we spent the summer. Each of us have our little cabbens, a corn crib & stoar house under both under one, hog pen & chicken house all covered with dirt. The next we shall probably build wil be a study for Mr. Dunbar, and a school house if the Indians settle here.

We have been diligent since we have been here in prepareing the way for the reception of the Pawnees, some of whoom I expect will come next spring. I hope also your committee have found some suitable persons as a reenforcement to the Pawnee Mission.

We have lately learnt of their being a new Agent appointed for this Agency by the name of Miller. What he will be willing to do for the Pawnees we are unable to say as we arenot acquainted with him. The last Agent (Major Hamilton) told considerable what he was a going to do, built many castles in the air, but accomplished but little. Intemperance among the Indians in this part of the territory are most of them becomeing verry intemperate, and it is groing upon the Pawnees. The Otoes are almost entirely given up (as to the hope of benefiting them) so long as whiskey is brought among them so freely, and solong as the traders are

permitted to deal it to them so frely without any restraint. It has been brought past here this winter to be carried above to trade to the Omohas, who are above, hunting. We are knowing to these facts as it has been lodged in our stoor houses, and they have stopt with us over night in bringing us letters. And alcohol is carried all thrue the country here with but verry little restraint, and the Indians here may *truly* be said to be *wasting* tribes. It appears therefore if any thing is done to enlighten and teach them the blessings of the gospel, it must be done *quickly*, and as the Pawnees are the most hopeful and interesting in this part of our land, they may be favored with those who may come forth soon, and unite with us in laboring for their spirretual good. It it is not necessary for me to say any thing more at this time you have already told us that the Committee have voted to send a reenforcement as soon as sutible persons could be found. I will only say that the sooner we have help, (should the Pawnees locate) the better, for they will not proberbly settle so near together but there will have to be two stations. Our strength is in the Lord, and *he* alone can bless or *feeble* endeavours, we have only to discharge our duty as profest christians and leave the event with him. We have great reason to be thankful for the health we enjoy, and the many blessings that are constantly bestowed upon us, spirretual and temperal. The country here is quite healthy, the soil productive, but there is a scarcity of timber, so much so it is difficult to find sufficient for building, either for the Indians or ourselves. The prairys are mostly rolling, and some of them back from the river quite ruff.

We live about 125 ms. from the Junction of the Loup fork, or Woolf river, and about ⅛ a mild from the north banks. We have considerable hard winds sometimes to appearance threatening to sweep all before it. And sometimes the fire is as dreadful as the wind. The Omohos fired the prairy last fall and all of my hay was burnt, but we had a considerable quantity of corn fodder, so that we have got along so far quite well, the winter being mild and mostly warm. On acount of my hay being burnt I left my horses at Bellevue, last fall, and I have heard that three out of four, are dead (with several that belonged to the traders,) by eating rushes; which frequently occurs in this country in the winter. I hope we shall be able to get some news soon from the states, we havenot received any heralds or papers for six months. I havenot written much lately, and not being in the practice of letterwriting, you will be so good as to overlook mystakes. Our families are all well. Mrs. Allis sends her respects with myself.

SAMUEL ALLIS

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PLUM CREEK (PAWNEE MISSION), May 13th 1842.

*Rev. David Greene, Missionary Rooms, Boston*

DEAR SIR—The Pawnees have commenced a location, and there is now *flattering* prospects of usefulness among them. We have a new Agent (Majr Daniel Miller) who I believe is all that we can ask except he isnot a professer of religion. He has left it with Mr D. to select farmers, teachers etc. Two farmers have already been appointed, Messrs Gaston & Woodcock. Mr Wodcock was in our employ last summer, appears to

be a steady industrious man, but not pious, by request and nomination of Mr Dunbar, I have accepted of the appointment as one of the teachers, there has also a blacksmith & striker been appointed who are now on the ground, building their house & shop, the other Smith & striker are at Bellevue and will probably be here in two months.

Two men are also expected next autumn as the other farmers, a genteelman and his son who are pious persons. Another teacher is yet to be found, who probably will be soon. I *hope* also a reenforcement to the Mission as *soon* as possible, there is great need of more help, Mr. Dunbar has more than he knows how to turn his hands to as farmer without spending any of his time in acquiring the language translating etc. Mr Dunbar has requested me to assist him in the language, and I havenot time as I could wish, for when I amnot engaged in teaching, my time is taken up in prepareing my crops, I would be glad to hire but there is no persons to hire, consequently Mr Dunbar and myself spend much of our time in laboring that we would like to spend in acquireing a knowledge of the language, translating etc. Some of the Pawnees from the different bands have moved to their new homes—and others are expected in the autumn. We have great reason to be encouraged as it regards the *judicious & descided* course the Agent has persued in reference to the locating of the Pawnees. There are but few families here near this and we have had upwards of 40 different schollars; average number about 25. The Agent has placed Mr Dunbar as overseer, and charged him to see that all discharge their duties faithfully. The Agent arrived here in the night, and early the next morning went in persuit of some traders, (that were camped 5 ms. above this place) that were on their return from the Pawnees, and he found a keg of alcohol in their possession, which he spilt, and ordered to turn their robes & furs over to him, which they did, consisting of 400 packs of robes, & 100 lbs of beaver, which is on the way to St. Louis to be turned over to the proper authorities for disposal.

Respecting my becoming Government teacher, I have acted in accordance with Mr Dunbars views and think my self (as I have acquired considerable knowledge of their language) that I can be more in that situation than any other. I donot wish to be considered as haveing left the Mission, only to receive my support from the sallary; but on the contrary, wish to stand connected with the Mission. The feelings of my self and wife have alread been *injured* by reports that have been in print, that had never entered my mind, and I would now wish to be understood as not desireing to persue any course but that in which (according to my *feeble* ability) I can be the most useful and best promote the glory of God and advance the Redeemers Kingdom among the Pawnees.

I wish you Sir, to express your views, and also of the committee whether they think I have acted judiciously in the course that I have persued. Mr Dunbar thought, that as the Bord were short for funds it would be well for me to receive the appointment, which with some other reasons enduced me to persue the course that I have. now on hand (as property of the Bord,) 11 heds of cattle, one horse, clothing, household

furniture etc which is for my own family use. I wish you Sir to inform me as soon as consistant, on what terms I can retain said cattle etc. I should like to retain them still as the property of the Bord, if consistant, and should be glad to know on what terms. I came forth here under the direction of your Committee, for the purpose of benefiting the Pawnees, and if I know my own heart I still have the same object in view. I shall expect my sallary to be expended in the most judicious way for the good of the cause of religion among the Pawnees. We have a schoolhouse to build, and other necessary [expenses] which will require funds that can be had without drawing on the Bord. I have lately lost two cows that were mired. I have been unfortunate the year past in looseing both cattle & horses. It isnot for me to say in what menner they were sent, whether as judgments or afflictions, or mercies in particular but I hope that I may proffet by them, and learn to place my affection entirely on things above, and not on things on the earth. Should a reenforcement be sent out soon, a *pious devoted* female could be veery useful here in assisting in the school, if such a wone could be sent here it would coust nothing for her board, and her cervices would be verry acceptable. Yours with much respect

SAMUEL ALLIS, Pawnee Mission.

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WILLOW CREEK (PAWNEE COUNTRY), July 21st, 1843.

*Rev. David Greene, Missionary Rooms, Boston*

DEAR SIR—I have long since expected a letter from you, but have looked in vain, although I have heard from you thrue Messrs Dunbar & Gaston. You have probably heard before this of my removeing to willow creek, five ms. west of the Mission. There are two farmers, a blacksmith & striker here, with myself and our families, and we feel that we *verry much* need a Missionary here with us, for our own spirretual good not only, but *aspecially* for the *good* of the Pawnees. It does seem to us that the time has arrived (if any thing is to be done for the salvation of this people) for us to be associated with a Missionary. I have no doubt, (should we continue here) that such a man myght be useful, and if the means could be furnished to get such a man here, we could furnish *much* towards his support. Mr D. also needs help that he may be able to devote his time *more* to acquireing a knowledge of the *language*, giveing *religious instruction* etc.

Doubless you know that considerable has ben done on the part of our government toward makeing a good beginning at least, for the improvement of the Pawnees. And can there not more be done towards sending the gospel among them? I make this enquiry, feeling (doubtless as you do) the importance of something being done *immediately* towards giveing them spirretual instruction.

The Pawnees have four ox teems for brakeing prairy, and 100 acres of ground has already been broken this spring and considerable of it planted; and at this village, about 80 rods of ditch & sod fence has been made, the first I believe, that has been built by Indians in the united states. The chiefs, braves & principal men of the village assisted in build-

ing, even the first chief blistered his hand useing the spade, which occurrence is not often among Indians. Another teacher, (Mr. Gastons brother in law) has lately arrived, and starts in two or three days for Bellevue to move his family to the Pawnee country. Since I moved here I have been busily engaged in building consequently havenot taught much. Yeasterday we raised my school house (16 by 20 ft) and I expect to complete it before the Indians return from their hunts. The prospect of teaching among the Pawnees will not be verry encourageing until they raise sufficient supply of provisions to allow their children to remane at their villages the whole season, which will not be long, if they are prospered.

Many of the Pawnees have been killed the past spring & summer by their enemies. Three war parties have been out since March, for the purpose of killing horses, from which 80 or 90 men have been killed. About 4 weeks since, the Loups at the upper village were attacked in their village, by a large war party of Sioux, and four killed, & several wounded; and probably 100 horses taken there was but one sioux killed unless taken by their friends. The 27th of June was a day of a bloody battle, at the village below, about one mile from the Mission.

It was judged that 300 Sioux attacked the village about six oclk. in the morning (mostly on horses) As soon as the Pawnees were apprised of their being near, they went out about 1½ ms. to meet them but after a short conflict were driven back to their village and the enemy commenced fireing their lodges, & fighting for horses, (that were shut up in their pens.) And as the women and children fled from their lodges that were on fire, the Sioux would shoot them down, many of them consequently fell victims to the savage destroyer. The enemy was so numerous they formed a line from the bluff to the river, which is over a mile. A party would rush from the bluff to the village fight until they got some horses, and then rush back to the bluff with stolen horses, while others were fighting, the *bloody* conflict continued, four or five hours until their horses were all stolen. There was 68 killed, and upwards of 20 wounded, and from 41 lodges, 20 of the largest was burnt, and 200 horses stolen.

Of the number killed, were 35 Tappags, 28 Republicks & 6 Grand Pawnees. The men that were killed, were mostly Rplks. [Republicans] consisting of the first chief (Cappo Blue) who was one of the first if not the first man in the nation. Several chiefs & braves were killed, also the interpreter (La Shapell) who was a half breed Pawnee. The first Tappags chief, who has been sick for a long time (being week) died thrue excitement. Their village was in plain view at this place which looked *truly distressing*, and some of our white people was there soon after the battle, saw the dead, burning lodges also saw the confusion, heard the screeks & cries of the women & children, all of which rendered the place by no means to be sought for.

The Pawnees say that many of the Sioux were also killed most of which were carried off by their friends to prevent their being scalped. The dead that were buried, were hurried into corn cashes, [caches] and places where they could be buried out of sight. Some of them cashed their things to be left at their village, others left them in their

lodges, others were burned, and not more than two hours after the battle ceased, they were all on their way, for the hunt each fled as it were to take care of them selves.

They wouldnot have left for 6 or 8 days, had they not been fritened away, as it was they left some of their corn onhoed. I was at the *desolate* place the day after the battle, assisted in burying two Pawnees & two Sioux, and went out on the Sioux trail two ms. from the village (where the battle commenced) and found the bodies of three Pawnees, litterally filled with arrows, and a gun barrel thrust into the body of one two feet. They were scalped of course and some of their heads, hands & feet cut off, and their bodies cut in the most horrible manner; there was also in and out of the village, 20 or more dead horses killed in the battle.

Since the first of March there has been from 200 to 250 Pawnees killed, and probably 400 horses stolen by their enemies. No correct information can be given at present respecting what will be done, but we hope for the best, God only knows what yet remains for us to do here.

Those that were kiled in the last battle, were those that had fulfilled the treaty by moveing, consequently they are in a bad situation, from the fact that those that are opposed to moveing make use of every thing like the present calamity to induce others not to move. And I fear that those that have moved will be afraid to return back to their desolate village for the purpose of a permanent residence, unless they can have the promise of protection from the United states. And I know not but our residence here will be short, though we hope to the contrary. We are at the entire mercy of the sioux, but I for one do not apprehend any danger as to ourselves, but if they are to be permitted to come in this way and cut off the Pawnees and drive them from their villages, we may as well give up all hope of benefitting them.

I still hope & believe that something may, or will be done, we may be permitted to remane here and yet be useful to the perishing Pawnees. God in his wisdom rules all mysterious events, and will cause every thing to work together for good to those who love him, and I trust will yet bring good out of evil and for this we ought to pray that he will even make the wrath of man to praise him.

Oh that the time would soon come when nation shouldnot lift up hand against nation, nor learn war any more.

Yours in haste etc. SAMUEL ALLIS

N. B. Please direct letters [page torn] to Savannah, ( [word illegible—An drew?] county) Upper Missouri

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WILLOW CREEK (PAWNEE MISSION), March 2d, 1844.

*Rev. David Greene, Missionary House, Boston.*

DEAR SIR—Yours of the 26 Aug. I received the 20 of Jan. I am under the necessity again of giveing you something of an account of the cruelties & bloodshed of the savages. Soon after the Pawnee Loups arrived at the forks of the Platte last fall (which is about 160 ms west of this) they were attacked by their enemies, the Sioux, Shiennes [Chey-

ennes] or Arraperhoos (and perhaps some of all those tribes) were overpowered, and after their loosing three men & three or four old women & their killing some of the enemy, were driven from their village, the women and some of their men & boys that were not brave, fled in front with their horses, consequently saved them, but the enemy commenced plundering their lodges, and robed them of their robes, meat, corn, goods, hoes, axes, cooking utensils etc. etc. and even cut to pieces their lodges and carried them off. The Pawnees wintered there during the winter, and killed mearly buffalo anough to keep them from starving; and about the middle of Feb. (haveing little or nothing to eat) started for their village, after 13 days travel, from morning til night, arrived the 27th of Feb. and found most of their corn, beans & pumpkin, hurt from must, and much of it spoilt; consequently they are *verry poorly* off for provisions. We have heard from the other villages who have meat, & some of them have plenty; but all of their corn is *veery much* injured Although we are surrounded by darkness we have reason to hope and trust in God, who can bring light out of darkness, & good out of evil. What the future prospects of the Pawnees will be we cannot tell but I think we have great reason to trust in God and take courage and we have *great* reason to bless God, that he has given us something of a realizeing sense of our past feelings & conduct, as the professed followers of the Lord Jesus. I hope that we may all be sensible that we have wounded our Saveiour in the house of his friends. and that we may feel to breake up the fallow ground of our hearts, and repent of our past ingratitude & short comeings in duty. God requires the whole heart, the whole power of soul & body in his service, but I feel that I have come far short of my duty, but I hope for the future that I may feel that Gods grace is sufficient for me, to enable me to do my duty. You probably know sir that a *rong* spirret has been manifested here towards Mr. Dunbar by some of his *brethren* to. And I feel thankful that I can say that I believe God has distroyed that spirret, and enabled such to manafest a spirret of love, and instead of pulling down, there is a desire to build up Mr D. to hold up his hands by prayer, and a united effort Mr Dunbar has preached here once a week for 4 or 5 weeks past, and evry other Sabbath; our meetings have been solemn and interesting and I believe proffitable to our souls there have been no conversions yet amonghts the whites here, but there has been considerable feeling on the part of sinners as well as christians; and I hope this may be the beginning of better days. Mr D. has the enterpreter some this winter and is translating some portions of the scriptures, I feel that this will be a great help to his giveing religious instruction to the Indians. I find it difficult to give the Indians instruction on religious subjects, but still we can instruct them some thing about God, & the way of salvation thrue Jesus Christ.

I feel that there is a great work here to perform, labor anough for many, but God can work by many or by few. I feel of late that I have many responsibilities resting upon me, and oh that I could feel it more & more; I have many immortal soules committed to my charge, and I need wisdom from on high that I may be guided in the path of duty and persue such a course as will meet with the apribation of God in being a blessing

to the children committed to my charge and also the Pawnees in general. I should be verry glad if I could have the assistance of some single female that would be disposed to come here for the good of the Pawnees, I would ensure the support of such a person, and I think she would be verry useful. I have about completed my school house and if my life & health are spaired I shall commence with the children as soon as the weather will permit.

I expect that a good part of the Pawnees will move here this spring, if so they will be poor at least one season on account of their not being land anough for them to cultivate. There has but little been done yet on the part of our government for the Pawnees, but a good beginning has been made our buildings are mostly complete, over a hundred acres of prairy has been broken up, & about 100 rods of sod fence built, and I hope we shall be able to do considerable this season. Mr. Dunbar is comfortably situated and I think is prepared for usefulness here, and I hope he may have our prayers, instead of our curses. I presume your Committee have not listened, or placed much confidence in reports against Mr Dunbar, for it is evident that those who have taken part against him, have been led to see their error, and I trust to repent of the injuries done him, I hope that contention & strife may never appear again here, aspecially among christians. I remane Sir

Verry respectfully yours etc SAMUEL ALLIS

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WILLOW CREEK (PAWNEE MISSION), Oct. 14th, 1844.

*Rev. David Greene, Missionary Rooms, Boston.*

DEAR SIR—I feel it my duty at this time, to give you a brief, but full account of the state of affairs here. There has been a disturbance brewing here, for more than two years among our little white community, and also among the Indians. It is generally acknowledged by whites & Indians that Mr. James Mathers one of the Pawnee farmers, is at the bottom of it.

As a proof of the above I will relate to you some of Mr. Mathers conduct. He first commenced speaking disrespectful of Mishel Sedlow one of the Govt. black smiths who is a French man (who has for several years) been in the employment of the American fur company. The Pawnees spoke to the Agent for Sedlow to be their smith; and he haveing the name of being a good workman, was readily appointed. The only objection I have to the man is, that he has a squaw, instead of a lawful wife, and this he gives as a reason for being long in the Indian country, and being old, it is difficult for him a wife. James Cleghorn, Govt interpreter, has also been assailed by Mr. Mathers and his family; he is a Frenchman who has lived with the Pawnees for 38 years; and the only objection to Cleghorn as a man is that he lives with two squaws. to either of which he is not lawfully married, but treats them and his children, as respectful as a married man would his family.

Mr Mathers has drew up petitions, signed by himself, son, Geo. B. Gaston & Lester W. Platte the latter of which had just come into the country, but supposed Sedlow & Cleghorn were bad men because his

brother in law, & Mr. Mathers said so, therefore joined the oppression party, which used their influence to drive the above named men from the Indian country.

It has been said, that I also ought to be driven from the country because I wouldnot approve of their oppressive measures, and consent to become Govt enterpreter; and several things have been done to injure me and my family, which I shall not mention at this time. It has also been said of Mr Dunbar, that he ought to be driven from the Indian country, that he has done all the good he will here if he stays 20 years. And permit me to say here, that I believe Mr. Dunbar has been scandalously abused by Messrs Mathers & Gaston. Others of our white community have also been assailed. A year ago now Mr. Mathers had some difficulty with an Indian who struck Mrs M over the head wis bow [with his bow?]; how far the Indian was to blame, I am unable to judge; but Mr M went to the village (the evening after the fracas) with one of his sons (as he states himself) with a gun loded with two balls for the purpose of shooting the Indian, which he says he should have done had not a brave whipt him previous which gave him satisfaction.

Mr Mathers also said in another instance he would kill an Indian if powder & lead would kill him, for taking from his house a Spainyard boy who, (according to Indian rights belonged to the Indian. The Indian called the boy his son, and I was told by the Indians that he treated him as a father would a son; but some young man in his lodge, in his absence whipt the boy which caused him to leave his lodge, and go to Mr. Mathers house for protection. Mr Mathers has also last spring and this autumn whipt, or caused to be whipt by his sons, several Indians, squaws & boys who were caught stealing and some times almost in a state of starvation and in one instance one of his boys shot a charge of shot into an Indians back. and the next day, bosted that as good luck would have it he shot at the Indian and some of the shot went into the Indians back sides, and also, at the same time he whipt an Indian girl half to death; the Indian came verry near loosing his life; there was 25 or 30 shot holes in his back left hip & sholder most of which went into the small of the back; but the young man for the *inhuman* act has been obliged to leave the country.

Such conduct is upheld and practised by both father & mother and in a measure by the Agent who told the Indians in a council about nine days since, that it was good for the whites to whip the Indians when they caught them stealing which council I will asure you had no good effect, for the second day after that council, (and sunday to) Mr. Platte one of Major Millers patrons was handled ruff, (by a good but brave Indian) and would have been hurt had it not been for Mr. Woodcock one of the late farmers. If Indians in revenge have stole [word lost in binding] from those who whip, of what they they have from those who donot, and have also shot arrows into their cattle in revenge. The Chiefs & Braves tell us that if we will be stil they wil whip their bad members, but it is bad for us to whip. There has been a constant disturbance here among the whites, and also between Mr M and the Indians, him or his sons have shot several Indian dogs I speak of these things from a sens of duty

that I owe to the Indians, our little white comunity and my God. Major Miller has frequently been informed for 12 months past by the Mission Govt men & the Indians, of the improper conduct of Mr Mathers, and the chiefs have several times urged his removal from the country; But the agent has paid no regard to their entreaties; but has contrary to the wishes of the Indians, discharged evry Govt man that opposed Mr M. & G. and is useing his best endeavors to destroy the Mission, but I am thankful that it is not him that is to decide whether the Mission is to be distroyed or not.

In speaking of Mr Dunbar and myself, the Indians say that we must not go, they also say that I must leave [have?] this house that it is mine, and their land is mine as much as I wish of it to cultivate that their father (the Agent) has nothing to say about me or their country, his land is on the south side of the Platte River. But the Agent does not listen to such talk but has discharged me, and invited me to leave my house and also the Indian country the latter which I have refused to do until I am drove off. The objections to me and others is that we have poisened the minds of the Indians against himself & Mr Mathers, which accusation is false, for they were long ago poisened against them for their own misconduct. Last spring the Indians frequently came to me with complaints against Mr M. I told them not to come to me with their complaints, but wate until their father came out and then if they had any thing to say against any white men to say it to him; this he thinks was verry bad advise.

He blames me for saying to the Indians that I shouldnot whip their young men & women for steeling, if they hadnot got chiefs & braves to correct their bad members they must go onpunished.

He also blames me *much* for saying to the Indians (that brought their things for me to house during the winter) that their father said that I must leave my house, therefore I could not house their things for fear they would be lost; I asked him what I should say, he says, say nothing about it and steel away. Many such as the above I am blamed for, but I shall not lie nor deceive for no man. April 18th 1842 I [became] Govt teacher for the Pawnees by the advise of Mr Dunbar, saying that he knewnot why I couldnot continue connected with the Bord, only I was to receive my support from my sallary, therefore I consented, and commenced teaching, taught from 12 to 30 schollars, near the Mission. Sometimes I taught at my house, and sometimes at their lodges, until the last of June, when the Indians went out on their summers hunt. Sometime in July the second smith came out, and it was thought advisable (as some Indians had moved to this place) that I should come and build here with the blacksmith and commence anew location, which I readily assented to solely for the good of the Indians, without regard to the feelings of myself & family. I used to come here five ms. work hard all day, and frequently start for home after sunset, and do my chores after getting home.

This I felt in duty bound to do to protect my family from the fear of the savage. It is useless to state the trials, hardships & privations we

have had to endure since we have been in this country, suffise it to say that I am *happy* that I have been permitted to endure them.

Since I have moved here I have laboured hard to get comfortably situated, and then to be turned out of doors when I have payed 140 dollars of my own or the money of the Bord I think it unjust and I shall not consent to it willingly.

The idea of the Agents changing the condition of the farmers, haveing one as superintendent and others mere hired men, and changing the teacher into a teacher & agriculturalist and then discharg the teacher til their can be a manual labor school is all a farce, and is violating the letter of the treaty for the Indians have not been consulted at all on the subject. If the teacher could be permitted to make teaching his business, he could get a plenty of schollars to attend school last spring I had from 30 to 150 and most of them boys, and they learnt well while they attended but the Agent advised me to discontinue the school and get as much seed in the ground as possible, and I did so and the children of two or three families used to come to my house and want to read.

I am in a hurry this morning about starting for Bellevue with Mr. Ranney to get his things and lode in for the Mission. The Agent so abruptly ordered me out of my house, (and requested me to leave the country) that as I am calculating to move my family down to Plum Creek at the Mission, I thought it best (after adviseing the Missionaries) to forbid any Govt mans moveing into the house, or meddling with any thing about the premises, and I did so in the behalf of the Board.

I had understood the Agent (previous to my forbidding Govt mens entering these premises) that he was going to send Mr Platte here, one of the Govt Farmers.

As Government will contend that this house was built and these improvements made by myself while I was in the employ of the Govt I will mak out a bill of my expencies that I have payed the money for, or affects that cost the money.

| | |
|---|---|
| And first I payed hired men | $150. |
| The cost of clothing Indian boy, and presents to said pays | 45. |
| Also hireing Indians from time to time, eight dollars pr mth | 40. |
| Also my oxen brakeing prairy, with Govt teem two seasons 5 mo | 40 |
| Also wereing to tools etc while in Govt employ | 10. |
| | $265. |

I shall expect to hear from you soon and what ever your descision is, respecting Govt clameing, and occupying these premises I will abide by. I consider the expenses above or the bil that I have made out as those of the Board and of course the Board will descide whether they consider the bill to be payed. One thing I forgot to mention above, that is my horse for plowing corn ..... $265.
4.
$269.

I am verry sorry Sir that I am under the necessity of writing as I have in this letter, if I have said any thing rong I have done it ignorently, it

has my intention only to defend myself, for I feel that I have been abused, and not only myself, but Mr Dunbar and others, I hope therefore you will take pity on us and defend our rights. This is full of mystakes which havenot time to correct, I am now at Bellevue Oct. 21st expect to start tomorrow for the Pawnees.

Yours verry respectfully SAMUEL ALLIS

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PAWNEE MISSION, April 17th, 1846.

*Rev. David Greene, Missionary Rooms, Boston.*

DEAR SIR—I feel contrained at this time to give you a short history of the present situation of myself & family, and also of the past. When I left Ithaca, it was with a view of spending my days among the Indians.

We were defeated you know, as we were to late to join the comp. of traders going to the Oregon Ty. as we were authorised in our instructions Mr Dunbar & myself went to the Pawnees. Since I have been here ( although verry unworthy) I have endeavoured to persue a course for the best intrest of the Indians. I havenot shrunk from duty to avoid danger, hardships or privations; but have endeavored to make the conforts of myself and family a secondary object.

My wife came here a single female, with those who were entire strangers to her when she left her *dear* home. April 18th 1842 (by the recommendation & advise of Mr Dunbar) I consented to become Govt Teacher for the Pawnees, for the only purpose of being situated where I could be most useful; had I then known I was to be seperated from the Mission by so doing I never should accepted the appointment, I understood Mr Dunbar at the time, my situation wouldnot be altered no farther than to receive my support from my salary.

By the advise & full aprobation of Mr D. and men in govt. employ, (I commenced in Aug. 1842 with one of the govt. blk. smiths & a man that I hired) at Willow creek to cut timber for houses, we soon raised the houses of the smith & he moved his family. In the autumn of 42 Mr James Mathers & family came and moved to Willow creek; on account of my crops being here and the situation of my family, I didnot move until Jan. 4th 1843, after residing a short time at Willow creek I found Mr Mathers (farmer) a verry disagreeable man, disposed to make difficulty with whites & Inds. In short said Mathers & family have been at the bottom of all the disturbances, both among whites & Indians. The difficulty arose to such a pitch, Mission aswell as others, were *assailed* by the Agent Mr Mathers & G. B. Gaston, and by my taking part of Mission, & of the Indians also, that I knew were abused I was assailed and ordered to leave the Indian country, which order I disobeyed knowing them to be unjust. The Agt. also declaired publickly, he or the Mission must one or the other go down. At the time I was ordered to leave the country, my family was in a situation not possible for me to move consistantly.

Messrs Dunbar & Ranney invited me to move down here & join the Mission as farmer. The great and only objection in my mind was I

was afraid I should not be able to perform the duties required, but after counciling my wife & considering the subject prayerfully, I consented to come, we finished, and moved into Mr Dunbars house and was received kindly. You know what the brethren have written better than I do, although I saw Mr Ranneys letter.

I lived as one with the Mission until last summer, I discovered all wasnot right; by enquiry, found Mr Gaston when he left the country, filled Mr. Ds ears, prejudising Mr. D. against me, in a measure succeeded; it appears strange to me, that Mr. D. has been disposed to listen to reports against me, when he would not believe stories of the same kind against himself.

When I moved here from Willow creek, the good of the Pawnees was my object. I felt, and do feel still desirous to remain in the country, I also feel that the Mission want a man to take charge of the secular affairs of the Mission, that the brethren may give themselves *wholly* to the spirretual good of the Indians. I have some influence with the Pawnees, and some knowledge of their language, and I would like to remane in the country that I may lend my feeble aid both for their spirretual & temperal good. For some reason or rather (best known to themselves) the Mission have set me aside and I expect to leave the premises as soon as I can find ahome for my family.

I donot wish to be where I amnot wanted, neither do I wish to stand in the way of your committees appointing a farmer for the Mission

I sure you sir, myself & wife have some disagreeable feelings; I can meet troubles, but they affect her *verry much.* I trust we have one friend who will stand by when earthly friends *forsake.* The brethren think the fact of my name being plased in the Jan. No. of Missionary Herald as no proof of my being connected with the mission, unless I receive an appointment as farmer.

I have no unkind feelings towards any members of the Mission, but as they knew my caracter, (Mr D aspecially) I wonder why they urged me down here to join the Mission, and a house was raised for me, and afterwards rebuilt for Mr Raney; as I have said before I feel hurt and donot know why it is that I have thus [been] set aside by the Mission. I shall endeavor to cast myself & family upon him who will never leave nor forsake those who put their trust in him expecting *he* will direct and order all things for the best.

It isnot my object to complain of any one, but I do think I havenot received the treatment I have deserved, although I am inferior to some others here. You will do me the kindness to write me as soon as you receive this, I would like to know whether your committee, or the Mission, or both disapprove of my being connected with the Mission.

If there are any good reasons I am sure I donot wish to remane here; but I was sent here under your patronage, or that of the board and I expected to remane unless some good reason should prevent. I send these disultry lines with the kindest feelings and best wishes for the Pawnees and the cause of Missions generally I reman

Yours etc SAMUEL ALLIS

BELLE VUE, UPPER MO., Feb. 8th, 1847.

*Rev. David Green, Missionary House, Boston.*

DEAR SIR—I received yours of 20th May, last autumn. And should have answered it long since, but I have been sick, or quite unwell with a bad cough for four months past, but am quite well now with the exception of a slight cough yet.

As it regards my being connected with the Pawnee Mission I donot expect to now; but when I was discharged by the Gov. Agent in Oct. 45 and the Missionary brethren invited me to move, and join the Mission as farmer, it was with no other intention on their part or mine, than to become connected with the Mission as farmer. Mr. Ranney says Mr. Dunbar (with his hearty aprobation,) wrote you requesting my appointment as Mission farmer. And as they got no answer from you, thought if they had to hire, they had better get single men than those with families, which was my mind. You either didnot receive their letter requesting the appointment or, there was a mystake in some way. You was somewhat mistaken also as to my being supported by the Board; I supported myself & family, while I was with the Mission, "and what was more" it was difficult sometimes to get clothing etc. when they had boxes of clothing on hand. I donot wish to cast any reflections upon yourself, the Mission or others, but I cannot but say a year ago now, myself & wife both felt verry much hurt, that we was treated *coolly* by Mr Dunbar without any just cause. I donot wish here to enter into a long explination of past matters, but have found things transpired which have arisen from erronious information from Mr. Gaston etc. Mr Dunbar "as you probably know" has moved down in the state of Missouri some 150 miles from this. Mr. Ranney is here yet, and I am inhopes will be able to goback to the Pawnees. There has been a Superintendent of Pawnee farms appointed, and I understand from a communication of the Supt. Indn. Affairs, there is to be 15 or more men to go out as a guard besides Black Smiths, Teacher etc. As to myself I knownot yet whether I shall go or not, the Indians are anxious I should return, the Supt. & Agent have both expressed a desire that I should return. I came out here with no other expectation than to continue connected with the Mission, but it appears for some reason or other I have been seperated from both Mission & govt. Owing to my names appearing at the head of a paper which exposed some of the abominations of certain govt. man, which resulted in an investigation of the subject, the Agent taking the part against me (as well as the Mission) I was handled quite ruff, which opperated considerably against my pecuniary interest, but I came off conquorer and havenot yet been sorry only, that I didnot expose them before. I am willing to refur to both whites & Indians relative to the course of conduct dureing my stay of 13 years in this country. I have with Mr Dunbar, endured many hardships here, and have injured my constitution; and as I have a family to support without the means which Mr Dunbar has, I am bound to provide for my family in some way. I still feel a great interest in the welfare of the Pawnees, and shall probably return there if suitable means is offered me.

The sioux are quite annoying to the Pawnees and also white men who

live in their country, it is thought best to build a block house and other necessaries for defence in case of an attack from Sioux or others.

The Pawnees have the summer past robed Emigrants going to Oregon & Calafornia, and I understand by the Pawnees and also from other courses, that they have killed some two or three white men the past season.

All Indians appear to be getting worse in stead of better. The govt. buildings at Pawnee are all burned, and the Mormons have Injured the Mission houses considerable, those who go back aspecially of the govt. will have to begin anew. There is an Indian rumor that the Pawnee Village has been burned again, whether so or not is not certain. The Sioux (you probably heard before this) have killed about 80 Omohas mostly women & children, were butchered in a most horrible manner; their young men were absent at the time of the attack hunting.

The Latter Day Saints are wintering some 15 miles from this or the largest camp, there are also some three or four other camps about in the Indian country here. They say they expect to pursue their journey next spring, but I think it doubtful whether all of them leave here for two years to come without they are driven away. It is a great pity they ever were permitted to stop here on the Indian land, they are cutting their timber fast, the Indians are also killing the Mormons cattle almost by hundreds which is makeing them bad. Notwithstanding their high pretentions, I consider them a poor deluded theivish, immoral set of beings, who will cause sitizens of the Und states trouble wherever they go.

I presume you will have the goodness to answer this as soon as convenient, and if I remane in the country I shall estem it a privilege to write to you from time to time. And Be Assured that I still Remain

yours Truly SAMUEL ALLIS

P. S. I ought to have said I consider Mr. Ranney & wife verry worthy persons, he preaches here or reads portions of scripture in Pawnee, and talks to the children here on the Sabbath quite fluently, and should he return there, I hope your Committee will send him assistance as soon as possible.

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BELLEVUE (UPPER MO.) Jan. 16th, 1849.

*Rev. Selah B. Tret, Mission House, Boston.*

DEAR SIR—I was assistant Missionary under the patronage of the American Board about 9 years. Most of the time since, and now am Govt. teacher for the Pawnees.

It has been two years & upwards (as you know) since the Mission was abandoned, I have been here since that time teaching the Pawnees & other children hoping to be able to write something to your Committee incourageing respecting the Pawnees. But their situation has been somewhat discouraging from the constant annoyance of the Sioux. Aside from their enemies they are a *verry* interesting tribe from the fact they have but little thirst for whiskey, which is the *great* obstacle to usefulness.

Pawnees now are unsettled, and are looking to Govt, to select their location. Ft. Childs is near the head of Grand Island, about 70 ms. above where we first located. I think a mission might be established at Ft. Childs, that would be instrumental under *God* of good to the Pawnees, but of course your committee are more capable of judging tham myself; but if they donot, I presume the Presbyterian Board will before long.

We have 13 Pawnee children boarding in my family that attend school, besides our own & 12 in the neighbourhood of half breed and whites, makeing in al 28 schollars, who progress in learning quite fast, 8 of the number are studying geography, our prospects now are quite flattering, but how long these children will continue here I donot know. I feel as much interest in the spirretual welfare of the Indians as ever I did when labouring with the Mission. The youths that we have in our family are quite interesting. The girls are as handy at work and as ingenious as white children. If they are permitted to go back to their people, I fear that most of the labour expended for their benefit will be lost; I hope therefore the way may be open to keep them from returning to their heathenish habbits.

There was a girl of the Pawnee Loup band who lived with us about 5 years, her father & mother wanted her to return home to get married, but we kept her as long as we could, the parents both came here from their country (120 ms) to take her, She went entirely against her will, and said (as I told her father) she shouldnot live long, which words proved true, she lived 4 months. She would say she wasnot sick, but her mind was with us, and refused to eat but verry little, until in the situation she pined away & died. She told some of the other girls she wanted to remane and hear more about God. She was remarckabley ingenious, and honest. In the 5 years time she stayed with us she was never known to take the least thing without permission.

We gave her the name of Catharine, her father is a distinguished brave among the Pawnees by the name of the French soldier, or white man chief. I have nothing of interest at present, there sems to be peace generally among Indians at present. The season here is quite cold, snow 18 inches dep without much drifting which is uncommon for this country. We live 1 mild from the Otoe and Omaha Mission, have a school of 25 children whoom they board; these Missionaries are under the patronage of the Presbyterian Board. We are in the midst of the latter day Saints who are bound for bear Valey Rocky Mountains, as fast we they are able to go. You will have the goodness to write me soon and let me know the minds of your Committee respecting the Pawnees.

Yours verry truly SAMUEL ALLIS

P. S. About 20 months since, a Sister of mine by the name of Clark, (sent a large box painted red and bound on the ends with iron hoops) to Mr. Greene to be forwarded to me which I havenot received nor heard from. My sister informs me that Mr Greene says he shiped it from Boston. Wil you have the goodness to ascertane if possible, what rout, and to what house shiped. You wil confer on me a great favour if you can assertane the facts so that I can get the box, in our present situation the box would be *verry acceptable.* Yours etc S. ALLIS

## LETTERS FROM DR. SAMUEL PARKER, MAY 6 AND 27, 1834.

ROCHESTER, May 6th, 1834.

REV & DEAR SIR—My time has been so completely taken up in making preparation to enter upon our mission and in receiving calls that I have delayed writing until now. Mr. Dunbar was ordained on Thursday the 1st day of May by the Cayuga Presbytery. It was a solemn and very interesting day. A large congregation was assembled, and deep feeling throughout the whole was expressed. I hope an impression was made that will be lasting and result in great good. I shall not in the litle time that I now have to write, be so particular as I otherwise should, was it not that on my resigning my place in the committee Mr. Harley S. Surd [?] was appointed chairman of the Committee with a request that he should give you a full account of procedings without delay, which you will probably receive before this will come to your hand.

We left Ithaca yesterday morning (May 5) A very large number of people assembled at 5 o'clock at the session house, it was crowded to overflowing. Three prayers were offered up with many tears, and the service concluded with singing and the benediction. After which we took our departure in the stage to the Steam Boat, and arrived here this morning.

More than $600. was raised for the outfit and expences on the way. There was no difficulty in rainsing this sum. The people gave willingly and would have given more had it been necessary.

You can place confidence in the committee in Ithaca. They are pious, active, business, men. I hope you will hold correspondence with them, to keep alive the missionary spirit.

As to the assistance which my family will need I think $450. is as small as can be expected. If I die in this enterprise it will not be by old age, and I hope you will not hastily withdraw your kindness from my family.

I closed my labours in the female department in Ithaca Academy and my labours as a minister in West Groton on the 28th day of March, which after I had received notice of my appointment and from which date, I suppose it will be proper that the support of my family shall commence.

I was enabled, (I hope by divine grace) to leave my family and friends with more composure and cheerfulness than I anticipated. I know that the prayers of the good people in Ithaca, and the prayers of many others will follow us. The mission is the child prayer and fasting, and I believe it will live and be productive of great good to the poor Indians. If I should be permitted only to climb the snow topped Rocky Mountains and after having looked over the moral desolation of the West should make my grave in the perpetual snows; and if my companions should also fall, the Indians beyond the Mountains will not be forgotten nor long neglected. The prayers and the interest awakened in their behalf will not be unavailing. "The inhabitants that dwell in the willderness shall bow before the Saveour, His kingdom shall extend from sea to sea.

Mrs. Parker will be glad to receive semiannual payments. It is not best to have her receive it from the committee, but by orders on whom

you should name. Perhaps Mr Edy. Let the Committee pay all their munies into your Treasury. You know how such things operate on the minds of some. You know how it did operate in the support of Mr. Everts and the other officers of the Board.

Please to send Mrs Parker the Missionary Herald.

In haste and with christian fellowship yours SAMUEL PARKER

*Rev. David Greene,*

P. S. We shall write from St. Louis. May we not hear from you at that place.

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ST. LOUIS, May 27th, 1834.

REV. AND DEAR SIR—We left Ithaca on the 5th inst. and arrived here on the 23rd Nothing particularly interesting occurred on our journey. After our arrival here we have lost no time in collecting all the information we can, and from the best sources we can find Gen. Clark is absent to Washington, is expected home in a few days. We have been introduced, by christian friends, to several gentlemen connected with the fur business establishments both on this side and beyond the Rocky Mountains. Some of whom are pious, well informed, and very friendly to missions among the Indians; and some of whom have themselves been beyond the mountains.

You will not be more disappointed than we have been, when we inform you, that we are about six weeks too late to go with *any safety* to the Oregon Teritory this year. The only boat that asscends the Missouri to the Yellow Stone (the Sinnaboine) left this place about six weeks ago. She went up on the spring freshet and will return on the June freshet. If the boat waited for the June freshet, the water would fail in the upper part of the river, before it could perform half its trip. That it should go up on the spring freshet, which is caused by the melting of the snow far east of the mountains, and then return by June freshet, which is caused by rains and the melting of snow about the mountains, is what might have been expected, if the circumstances of these waters had been known. There is therefore now no opportunity to ascend to the Yellow Stone this year. The Platte, and also the Santa Fe caravans all left this part of the country about four weeks since. They leave this place, and places about here, so early as to have passed through the settlements of white people by the time the grass on the Prairies is sufficiently grown to support their horses; and also to avail themselves, as far as they can, of the cooler part of the season. Also to av[o]id as much as possible the large and numerous green fly, which is a very great annoyance to the to the horses, the bite of which is like piercing of a lancet, and which renders the horses frantic often unmanageable; also horses from irritation and loss of blood often die.

To hire a guide (if one could be found who would go) making our number four, in the unanimous opinion of all with whom we have conversed, and under these circumstances, would be throwing away our lives, and in no way benefit the poor benighted Indians. All say that about 20 is the least number furnishing any hope of escaping the numer-

ous robbers found in the interior, among the various tribes. The Indians would not, perhaps in scarce any case, meet us in direct hostility and take our lives; but would in a friendly appearance wish to see our rifles and others articles and pass them around, not to be returned. untill they have taken everything from us. Or if we declined letting take our rifles and other things, they would take offense and fall upon us with violence. And when denudated of everything, unless preserved by a miracle, we should have to perish.

If these statements came from Roman Catholicks, or Fur Traders who disregard religion, we should not regard them, but they are from inteligent, experienced, christian men.

There are some individuals, who, alone, pass from the mountains on expresses. But they are men *well* acquainted with the whole country, the Indian character, and long accustomed to the mode of procuring their living in the woods and prairies. They take such routes as will the least expose them to the Indians, and travel by night and conceal themselves by day.

Now six weeks too late what shall we do? We are not behind the time, but before, which you mentioned we must be in St Louis. You undoubtedly gave us directions according to your *then best information*, and as we have followed them we think you will attach no blame to us, unless you believe we ought to go forward notwithstanding the counsel given us. You wrote us a letter of discouragement, which did not discourage us, nor should any thing now but impracticabilities.

When we ask, what shall we do? We do not expect an answer to be sent us here. We must leave this place, and we think next week. Though we are now kindly provided for by christian friends yet we ought not to lay upon them too heavy a tax. Boarding here would be very expensive, and in addition, the asiatic Collery is in this place, which in this warm season might endanger the health of nothern constitutions.

While our way, as to crossing the Rocky Mountains this season, appears to be hedged up, yet we hope God has not forsaken us, but in his providence is pointing us to a promising field of usefulness. You remember that you point us to the Pawnees of the Platte, and also Secretary Coss in his document mentions the same tribe, as in a favourable condition for the establishment of a mission and school. Very Providentially Maj Dougherty, the Indian agent for the Pawnees of the Platte, Otoes and Omahaws, is now in this place and expects to return in a few weeks. We have had several interviews with him and gained much information from him. He says the Grand Pawnees, Loups, Repub[l]ican, and Tapase [Tapage] constitute the Pawnees of the Platte; and their village all lie within the distance of twenty miles, and speak the same language, and number about 11,000 inhabitants. They are about 120 miles up the Platte river. Mr. Henry S. Ellsworth and his associates have agreed upon a treaty with them, which it is presumed the Senate will accept, in which for a large tract of Prairie on the south side the river Platte, the government are to give one million dollars, build them a mill, two Blacksmiths shops, furnish some farming utentials and some persons to teach them farming, and to give them a thousand

dollars a year to support among them schools. On the part of the Pawnee they engage that enough of them shall become permanent settlers to avail themselves of these advantages. The Pawnees say they wish to learn to talk on paper, as white men do, to men at a great distance. . . . There are about 2000 Otoes, among whom a Mr. Merril, a baptist, is trying set up a school. . . . There are about 2500 of the Omahaws, among whom there are missionaries or teachers. The Omahaws as well as the Pawnees wish for instruction. These three tribes all, men, women, and children, spend about ⅔ of their time out in the Buffalo country hunting. They go out between the 10th and 20th of June after having planted and hoed their corn, and return in Sept. and harvest their corn—and then toward the last of October go out on their winter hunt, and return in March. The Otoes and Omahaws, being so few in numbers, are a prey to more powerful tribes of the west, and every hunt have more or less of their people killed. On this account, they wish to settle down on the rich lands of the Missouri, if they can receive instructor to teach them to live as the white men do.

Maj Dougherty thinks the present time to be very favourable to establish a mission among these tribes, and says he will do all he can to assist us, if we think best, to establish a mission among them. It is very favourable to have the approbation and friendship of an Indian agent, of the influence of Maj D.

Taking all circumstances under consideration, it appears to us, that divine providence is pointing us to these tribes. We wish very much that we could have an opportunity to consult you before we leave this place. But we think that we had better leave next week for Fort Independence, or Fort Leavenworth, and get into the Indian country where there will be an opportunity to acquire knowledge of Indian character. Nothing can however be done directly with the tribes contemplated untill their return from their summer hunt, in September.

I cannot, however, give up my strong desire of endeavouring to be instrumental of establishing a mission beyond the Rocky Mountains. As the whole business presents itself to my mind, this might be the best course. Let Mr. Dunbar and Mr. Allis, which they are willing to do, go to the Pawnees with, and under, the assistance of Maj Dougherty; as soon as it can be, commence a mission. And as nothing could be done directly, untill sept., and as it has been, and still is, an object with me to explore and establish a mission, and as there will be no need of exporing among these tribes, and Mr. Dunbar and Mr Allis will have Maj Dougherty to assist them, it may be best for me to return and endeavour to assist the great object, by assisting at least in finding some more missionaries, perhaps one to join the Pawnee mission, and two others, (if you will still patronize the contemplated Oregon mission) to go with me next spring beyond the Mountains, and to be on our way so early as not to fail of the boat, Sinaboine, which goes every spring to the Yellow Stone, or of the carraven which goes every spring through the Platte route.

We hope our minds are made up prayerfully, and so far as circumstances will admit, well advised.

If I return as above suggested, I think of taking the Macinaw route.

which is as near as the one we came, and collect all the information I can in regard to the several Indian tribes through which I shall pass. To accomplish this object I intend to journey leisurely, and I wish you to write to me at Macinaw and also write to Mr. Dunbar and Mr. Allis, to the care of Mr. Wm. Renshaw, (Cashier of the Fur comp. in St. Louis, who will forward your communications.

Since writing the above, we again called at the office of the American Fur Company to make farther enquiries on the object of our mission. Mr. Renshaw, the Cashier, and who is the superintendent of the Sabbath School in Mr. Polls chh [church], (this last circumstance I mention to show his standing as a christian) says this place, St. Louis, is the centre of all trading operations in the west, in and about the mountains, and as such is the central place of *intelligence;* and added, that he should consider it rashness, not courage, to attempt to cross the mountains, as we should have to do, at this too late period.

What does christian devotedness, and at the same time christian prudence, require us to do? You say in yours of the 12th inst. which we received after writing the first sheet, "We trust almost every thing, relative to the work before you, to the discretion, the perseverance and the faithfulness of yourself and your associates." The great question is, what do discretion and faithfulness under our circumstances require us to do. We think we feel our responsibility, our *great responsibility.* If the honour of God and the good of the souls of the poor Indians, in the far west, would be more promoted by the sacrifice of our lives, then let them be sacrificed. But if an attempt to cross the mountains should result in an entire failure, would not this occasion a longer delay to sending the gospel to the poor Indians, than delaying untill next spring? And by pursuing what we have above proposed, may not greater good be accomplished? A mission be established among the Pawnees, and the one beyond the Mountains not be relinquished? We need great wisdom and grace. It does, after all the information we can obtain, and prayerful attention we can give the subject, appear that divine providence points us to the course we have stated.

Do write me at Macinaw.

With much esteem and in the fellowship of the gospel yours

SAMUEL PARKER

[Addressed to Rev. David Greene, secretary of the A. B. C. F. M., Boston, Ms.]

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## LETTERS FROM DR. BENEDICT SATTERLEE, MAY 4 AND SEPTEMBER 26, 1836.

LIBERTY LANDING, Mo., 4 May, 1836.

*Rev. David Greene, Boston.*

DEAR SIR—I saw in the herald a notice of our departure from Ithaca—I had intended to have writen to you sooner but circumstances have been such that I have delayed until now—it now becomes my painful duty to say to you that the Lord has taken one from the midst of our little band My Beloved Companion is No More—She fell asleep in the arms of her Savior last Saturday night about ½ past eleven—Last winter Mrs.

Satterlee took a cold, not long before we were married, she had a cough but we thought not much of supposing she would soon get over it—in Ithaca she add more to it—we made use of remedies there which relieved her very much—She endured the journey very well untill we got to Pittsburgh, the water of Ohio river did not agree with her—She began slowly to decline—& continued so until we reached this place 3 week last Thursday—She then seemed a little better for a few days—She then relapsed & failed very fast—Still she was able to go up & down stairs untill last Thursday—on Friday morning we told her that she could not live but a few days longer—she was perfectly calm & collected—She said many things which she wanted writen to her Mother & Friends—among the rest was— "she was not sorry that she had started, although she was not permited to enter the field of labour, for it was the Lord will—she wished them not to think that because she came out as a Missionary, that she died for she would have died with the consumption if she had staid at home—She died with strong confidence in the hope of acceptance through the Blood of Jesus—She expressed unwavering faith in the Promises of God—A short time before she departed, I saw she was dying and we took our seats near her bed—She was asked if she had nothing to say to us—Why, said she, do you think me dying? I told we did suppose her dying—Well then, said she, I commit My body, my Soul, & my all to Jesus, Farewell. A hymn was then sung—She said I perhaps I do not fear the terrors of the Eternal world as I ought—Dr. Whitman asked her if there was any terror to those who die in the Lord—No—No—said she, do you doubt my hope, I do not—we told her we did not—a chapter was read—we told her we were going to join in Prayer, Well, said she, but I cannot join with you, I may be unconsciou or die before you get through—but Pray—she was asked if she had any petition to the Lord—That Jesus would keep my soul, said she—there were the last words she spoke—we Prayed, & in a few moments after she fell calmly & sweetly asleep in the arms of her Savior—She committed herself to the arms of her Redeemer, and without a struggle or a gasp, she "breathed her life out sweetly then" —it is a trouble and affliction to part with Friends—and it may seem hard to us— Yet it seemeth good in thy O Father, and thy will be done—although this Providence seem dark to us—Yet it will show us it is not on Heathen ground alone the the Missionary may die—My Prayer is that this dispensation may be sanctified to us, & that I may be sustained under this affliction—Jesus is precious & to Him I fly—You in great Haste

B. SATTERLEE.

The Fur Comp.y Boat passed here on Sunday without halting—so that we are now obliged to go to Bellevew by land—Dr. W. with the left here yesterday by land, I shall follow them in a few minutes—we have hired & bought trams [teams] to take us to Bellevew—I received your letter directed to Independence—I will write soon again in haste

B. SATTERLEE.

BELLEVUE, 26th Sept, 1836.

DEAR SIR—Your favor of July 23d was received Sept 8th—I am thankful for the kind feelings which you express for my deceased companion—and also for the sympathizing regards for myself—it does our hearts good to know that we are not forgotten by our Friends in the East— I had intended to have writen to you by Mr Dunbar, but I had not time before he started—I will therefore take this opportunity of giving you a short account of our wanderings this summer—Mr Dunbar & myself left here (Mr Allis') on the 17th of June, went to the Platte 8 miles, where we found some traders who were going up the Platte about 100 miles above the Pawnee village after some robes which they had left there—they very kindly offered to carry our packs in their waggons, if we would wait till they started, which would be in a day or two—We thought it best to wait as by that means our pack horses could run loose and would be in better order for traveling when we started with the Indians— We left the Platte on the 20th arived at the Grand Pawnee village on the 24th we found the village deserted & desolate, not a living creature was to be seen in it—they had left for their hunt, and by appearances they had been gone some days—27th we came where the remainder of the traders we[re] encamped with the robes, they told us that the Pawnees had passed them the day before—that it was their tenth sleep from the village—we staid with them until morning, when we left, and followed the trail of the Indians still up the river some twelve or fifteen miles, where it left the Platte and struck south for the Republic— The sun had set and the moon was up before we came up with the village—they had encamped on the side of a hill— the fires were burning before each lodge—it was a beautiful sight—one would imagine himself entering some flourishing village in the East with the lights beaming from every window—before we had crossed a small creek at the bottom of the hill on which they were encamped, we were discovered, they knew Mr D. and very soon it was known through the camp that Ta-pusk (the Preacher) had come—we rode through the encampment to the lodge of the first chief which was on the opposite side from where we entered— Our path was thronged on either side with Indians wishing to shake hands with us—we were very kindly received, and had hardly alighted and given our horses to the women to unsaddle than we were invited to a feast—we were invited to two others before we could retire—

30th we came to the Republic and moved a few miles up the river— towards night the wind began to blow and there was the appearance of a hard shower—about sunset it began to rain, soon it began to hail—and I think I never experienced such a storm—Some of the hailstones were larger than a hens egg—by each taking hold of the lodge skin, we could make out to keep enough of it over us to keep us dry in a measure— Soon the cry was heard that the water from a ravine which came in just above the camp was overflowing it—in a few minutes the water was some three or four inches deep in our lodge—the storm had abated—all were now on the move for the bluffs which were about 80 rods from our lodge about 20 rods of that the water was from two to 2½ feet deep—but

we reached the bluffs in safty with all of our things—the lodge was again piched and we layed down in our wet clothes, with no other covering than our wet blankets to repose until morning—the evning before the storm they saw buffalo just above on the river in great plenty—but in the morning there were no Signs of them to be seen, so the Indians said "the storm had scatered them this way and that way, and they did not know which way they had gone"—after spending one day in drying our things, the village moved north again towards the Platte—for several days we kept up between the two rivers—on the Eigth of July we came to buffalo made a hunt & killed some—we moved a few miles farther & found more, killed on the 11th & 12th here the Pawnee Loup's came to us—they had not yet killed buffalo—soon after they left their village, they were met by a war party of Siouix—They had an encounter—Seven of the Souix & two of Loup's were killed—16th we encamped on a small creek between the Rep [Republic] & Platte, in the afternoon we had a hard shower— two horses that were tied in front of a lodge, (which stood next to ours) were killed by lightning—it struck great consternation through the camp—that lodge with all near it (except ours) moved immediately in the rain to another part of the Encampment—23d we again encamped on the Republic—for three nights while we were here it rained very hard—the Indians gave as a cause for the rain, that there were mad wolves about—they had come and bit one of the women—and that they would come nights and bite the lodge polls—Thus do these Poor Creatures labor under superstition—After proceeding up the Rep—for some distance we again left it for the northwest, and stoped high up between the two rivers on the 3d of Augt—here we remained for some days—the Indians made several hunts, killed meat plenty, and turned for the village—we arrived at the village on the 30th of Augt, after seventy five days absence and about 230 miles travel—

While on our travels, I was called often to see their sick, to whom I administered such remedies for their relief as was in my power, & with very good success—on the 24th of July I was called to see a Loup who had been wounded in the Sioux battle—the wound had been received about twenty days previous to my seeing him—he was wounded in the hip, the ball struck between the superior & anterior spinus processes of the pelvis and fractured that bone—I found him laboring under a high fever and inflamation—I commenced a course of treatment under which the fever and inflamation yielded, and he was in a fair way for recovery—a few days after I commenced attending on him we were invited to a feast at his lodge—there were several Indians assembled when we arrived, in the course of the feast one of them made a speech to Mr D. of which I will give you the substance—it showed in what light they hold the white mans doctor as they call the Physician of the east—"It is good," said he, to Mr D, "that you came to live among us, and have learned our language so that you can talk with us, and it is now good that the doctor has come to live with us, for, said he, if we are sick you can make us well again, and what disease have we that you cannot cure, this man was dying and you came to see him and gave him your medicine, & he is now get-

ting well, so it is good that you have come to live with us"—Mr D replied to him that we had come to live with them that we might do them good—and as for this man, he is recovering, and if the Lord is willing he would get well—but that we could not make him well without the will & help of the Lord—they all assented to it, and said it was so—

I feel that I have gained some influence, & hope I shall be useful among them—I hope that soon we shall see some of these Poor benighted Creatures turning to the Lord—

They understood that Mr D. was going to the East and would not wander with them this winter—but just as we were getting on our horses the first Chief said to Mr D., it is good that Koo-ru-oo (the doctor) should come back soon and go with us this winter—we are poor now and have nothing to give you—but this winter we will make both of you a robe—

I shall leave here in a few days for the village—I shall go in the lodge of the first Chief of the Grand Pawnees, I shall be alone as to whites whites while in the village, and I expect to be alone from here to the village, as I know of no one who is going out—but the Lord will be with me, He will guide and protect me—

Before we left here in the spring for our hunt—we formed a church, under the name of the Pawnee Mission Church, composed of Mr and Mrs Allis, Mr & Mrs Wrentz, and myself—Mr D. at the request of the church became our Pastor we have had two communion seasons, and happy seasons they were to us—Oh that the Lord would own & nurture this twig of the great Vine, that it may prosper and bring forth much fruit, that in this fold may be gathered many benighted fellow mortals who now know not the Lord, neither have tested the bying Love of a Crucified Redeemer—

Yours Sincerely B. SATTERLEE.

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## LETTERS FROM GEORGE B. GASTON, APRIL 22, 1840, TO NOVEMBER 13, 1842.

MISSOURI RIVER, April 22, 1840.

*Rev. D. Greene.*

DEAR SIR—We started on our journey March 27, traveled by land about one hundred & fifty miles, took the Miami Canall at Dayton Ohio for Cincinnati. arived at Cincinnati so near the middle of the week that we concluded to remain there over the Sabbath to avoid traveling on the Sabbath. We found Dr Weed in whose family we spent the time verry pleasantly. I received a letter from you directed to Dr Weeds care in which you gave me encouragement that I should receive another at St. Louis. We arivd at St. Louis Sabbath morning about daylight April. 19th where we spent the day verry agreeably in Mr Bullards family, I made inquirys at the Post office for letters found none there inquire also of Massrs Bullard Bud & they had received none for me so I go to the Pawnees with no other directions than you gave me in the letter directed to Cincinnati.

I presume however I shall not be wanting for imployment after we get there. Mr Dunbar & Allis sent some time since to Dr Weed for supplyes. they were to be sent from St Louis & had not been when I arivd there,

The Am. fur Co. sent their Boat some time since but they would take no more freight than they had of their own. consiquently Mr Bullard could not get them to take the supplyes. There is no probability that a Boat will go up as high as Bellevue before July & the brethren at St Louis thought I had better take a boat for Westen which is the highest point to which Boats go with merchandise unless it is the Co Boats There was a Boat, at the wharf bound for the poart 100 & 50 miles below Bellevue. We put our things on board with supplyes for the Mission. The fair for myself wife & freight is about sixty seven dollars. Unless we find a Boat going to Bellevue we shall have to get a Team to take us & our baggage to that place.

The Brethren at St Louis & myself thought it was best to proseed as soon as possible to the station with as much of the supplyes as possible that we might proseed to the Indian country as soon as possible & commence our opperations if the thing is practicable. We still feel that unless we keep at the feet of Jesus & have our soules filled with love for his cause that all our efforts will be like a "sounding brass or a tinkling Cimbol" among that benighted people.

Our request is to all our brethren, pray for us that we may be kept above the world & not forget where our great strength lies. I have receivd two hundred & ten dollars from the funds of the Board & I hope to refund all or a part of it if the Lord spar my life. I write these last few lines on the Boat & I can neither sit still nor hold my hand still.

Yours truly GEO. B. GASTON.

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BELLEVUE, August 11th, 1840.

*Rev. David Green, Mission House, Boston.*

DEAR SIR—I received yours of 12st March at Cincinnati & another at Ft Leavenworth in which you requested me to write you when I got settled. Since I arrived here my time has been all ocupye in clearing a spot of land for cultivation & returning to Weston for supplyes for the mission. We started from Oberlin Ohio 27th March. We traviled within sixty five miles of Cincinnati by land, where we took the Miami Canall. From there to Weston, a landing on the Missouri 160 miles from this place by water. From there to this place we came by land & arived 27th May. We were some what disappointed in not having the compiny of Mr Kinney from Oberlin. but the Lord has provided friends in this land of strangers though his company & assistance would be verry acceptable. The Pawnees have not located yet & the Agent could not appoint me government farmer, but will as soon as they locate, & still manifests a wish that more may be sent from the east. He appears to be determined to fufill the Treaty as soon as the Indians do on their part. It is not expected that they wil remain in one place a *whole* year before any thing is done for them, but as soon as they remove to the place of their location then government will begin to help them. From the acquaintance I have had with brother Kinny & the little I have had with the Indians I should think he he was a man that would be usefull among them. from his natural temperament & the desire he has to labour

amond them. If any more familys are sent they had better get to St Louis by the last of March, for unless they get there to come on the Co-s Boat they will have to come by land the same distance that I did. If they could not get passage in their boat the best way will be to land at Liberty & purchase a team & when they get here if the team is not wanted for the mission it will be worth as much here as it will cost below. We are verry much in need of a Physician here. & we shall rejoice to see one as soon as you can consistantly send one.

The mony that I received from your agents is as follows.

| | |
|---|---|
| From the sec [secretary] of the missionary com. [committee] of the Ch. [church] of Ithaca | 20.00 |
| Dr Geo. L. Weed of Cincinnati | 20.00 |
| C. H. Budd of St Louis | 90.00 |
| Received of Dr Weed provision to the amount of | 29.83 |
| do goods for outfit | 9.69 |
| Received of Mr Dunbar for traviling expences | 5.50 |
| | 255.02 |

I have on my account book the particulars for which this mony was expended but as it would take sometime & considerable room to draw it off I shall not give it in full.

| | |
|---|---|
| From Oberlin to St Louis expences | $66.71 |
| Fair from St Louis to Liberty Mo | 30.00 |
| do freight for myself & mission | 28.25 |
| Expences at Liberty where I was advised to stop with the expectation of hireing a team to bring us to this place | $6.00 |
| Board at Weston | 6.00 |
| Traviling expences from this place to Weston | 6.29 |
| Incidental expences | 62.25 |

I purchased a yoke of oxen & waggon to bring me to this place & gave an order upon Mr Budd & when the order was presented he protested it which protest cost $13.00 ten per cent upon 130.00 for this order I received 120.00 dollars in cash for which I have had to give my note. I have written to Dr Weed to take it up. if it is contrary to any of your rules please give me some advise what to do.

Yours truly GEO B. GASTON
Assistant Missionary to the Pawnees

I have just learned that Dr Weed has taken up the note at Ft Leavenworth which will make an addition of 143.00 The team & waggon that I purchased are wanted by the mission G B GASTON.

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BELLVUE, INDIAN TERRITORY, Nov. 21, 1840.

*Rev. David Greene.*

SIR—After I began to keep house here I found it would be an addition to our comfort to have a cow & as I did not expect to be employed by government this summer I wrote to Dr Weed for money to purchase one. I found a man that had one to sell & I stated to him what I had done & that I expected money by the Boat in the fall. He let me have the cow & the Boat came & no money & after that I heard from the

Post office but nothing from Dr Weed. At length the man wanted his pay as he was going below on business. & I gave him a draft for the amount that I wrote for & requested him to go to the office & if there was a letter for me with mony in it not to get the draft cashed. He did so & by some means they overlooked a letter from Cincinnati & he had the draft cashed & upon going to the office a second time they gave him the letter so that I have a double portion. The money however is greatly needed by the other brethren. I write this lest the committee think that I am incuring unnecessary expences. We look forward with pleasure to the time when in the Providence of God we may enter upon our field of labour among the Pawnees & also to the time when we shall be joined by some devoted men from the east. Will you write to us in season for us to get letters before we go in the spring & let us know what the prospect is. My family have enjoyed tolerable health since we came here except three or four atacks of the fever & ague. The other familys are enjoying tolerable health. O for more of a spirit of humble devotion to the interest of the redemmers kingdom & then we shall do good wher ever we are. Yours with much regard. GEO B GASTON

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BELLEVUE, Sept 1st, 1841.

*Rev. D. Greene.*

SIR—Permit me as I do not recllct the given name of our treasurer to say to him through you that when the other bretherin made their returns I did nat know it in season to send mine with theirs as this is the first opportunity I now send mine regretting that is is so late.

I left the Mission family all well, & am at B. after more of our goods, with our hired man.

The Pawnees had not returned from their hunt when we left but were expected evry day when we hope they will make preperations to locate near us. For myself I can say I think my groth in grace is progressing though not so rapidly as when I enjoyed more gospel priviledges I have but little time to write as I must return to my family as soon as possible.

| | |
|---|---|
| Receivd of G. L. Weed Cincinnati by letter | 40.00 |
| Received on a draft given to Chick on G. L. Weed | 40.00 |

*Moneys how expended.*

| | |
|---|---|
| One Cow | 25.00 |
| Two hundred ninety two lbs. pork | 23.36 |
| Payed J Dunbar Cash | 10.00 |
| Goods for family use | 12.75 |
| One bushel & ¾ dried apples | 2.75 |
| One narrow axe | 2.00 |
| Postage | 1.00 |
| Cow wire [three words illegible] | 0.81 |
| One bake kettle | 3.00 |
| | 80.67 |
| Allso two barrels of flower for which Mr Dunbar gave a draft | 18.25 |

If I am not employed by Government my expences will not vary much from fifty dollars another year unless some unforeseen providence should occur. Yours truly G. B. GASTON.

PAWNEE MISSION, Jan. 13, 1842.

*Rev David Green.*

SIR—Some time has now elapsed since I have written to you, & all the excuse I have is the multitude of business that has called for my time & exersions early & late. Since I last wrote in Sept, we have been busily employed gathering our crops & making the necessary preperations for winter. We are now located on plumb creek about thirty miles from the mouth of the loups fork & in sight of that stream, which winds its way through a fertile plain & presents a beautiful appearance. Our prospects with regard to the works of God is beautiful but with regard to the Pawnees it is rather dark. The Grand Pawnees & Tappage Chiefs gave us encouragement, last fall that they would come here when they return from their hunt in the spring. It is thought that they will. but the scarsity of timber in this neighbourhood I think will be an obsticle to the location of all the bands in this place. With regard to their language I have made but little progress in attaining it for I have had but little intercoarse with them. I intend the Lord willing to use all the exertions in my power to get them located this spring, & trust the bretherin will do the same. The Lord has blessed the labour of our hands & we have a comfortable supply of corn & vegitables & we made provision for our cattle but then the Prairie burnt there was a brisk wind & the fire came with such fury that Mr. Allis hay took fire & burnt to the ground which was nearly half that we had provided. My stock consists of one cow, two young cattle & two small pigs, allso one yoke of cattle that belong to the Mission. I wish the Board would give us their opinion of Mr Ds & As. keeping so many cattle as it requires a great deal of time to take care of them that, it appears to me Missionarys ought to spend in a different & more usefull manner. I trust you have not forgotten our need of a *Spiritual* man as a Missionary to assist in leading these dark minds to the Saveior & allso in instructing us that verry much need Spiritual instruction. If you send another box please send us some usefull works upon Phisiological reform for *we* are verry ignorant upon that *important* subject. Yours with respect GEORGE B. GASTON.

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PAWNEE MISSION, April 19th, 1842.

*Rev. David Green, Sec. A. B. C. F. M.*

DEAR SIR—In the good providence of our Heavenly Father my little family are enjoying our usual health & our hearts are cheered with the prospects before us with regard to the Pawnees. The first Chief of the nation is now reclineing on the table by my side & a part of two of the bands ar located in sight of our house & the others are expected soon. The new Agent, Maj. Daniel Miller has visited us & held a council with the Indians. They on their part have conplied with the treaty so far that the Agent has appointed two farmers & one teacher. He appears to be a man of good judgment & takes a *decided* stand against alcohol. I went to the camp of the Traders that were in this neighborhood with him & saw him turn out *two* gallons of alcohol in the presence of three of the first Chiefs of the Pawnees. They manifested some surprise when they saw it run upon the ground & said it was good & laughed

hartily about it. I have received an appointment as farmer & have entered upon my duties. It becomes my duty now haveing received money from the Board & expended it for articles for our comfort to ask advice of you what coarse to persue. I have One Cow & two Hoggs that I have paid money for. I have raised two young cattle. I have One horse that I received from Mr Dunbar. I have a House Corn house, hogg pen, & hen house. I have a garden & yard fenced & some rails in a fence at my field. I made also an oxsled & sawed some boards for making conveniences around my house that I have not used. I must say to you that one of the oxen belonging to the Mission that was in my care haveing eaten fresh grass a few days since bloated & died in a few moments I have stated these particulars that you may know what I have & I wish to know what is to be done with them. I should like to keep them & I wish to know if the Board expect me to refund the money that I have received since I have been connected with the Mission, if so to whom it shall be paid. If not what is expected I have received a share of the clothing that came in those Boxes that have been sent to the Mission. We have not so much clothing as we had before we became connected with the mission. I have sent in connection with the Mission for articles to Dr Weed at Cincinnati for which I shall pay upon receiveing them & shall do the same for the supplies for which we have sent to St Louis Please write me at as early a day as possible & give me advise what coarse to persue, as you stated in a letter to me that when employed by Government my connection with the Board would cease I therefore consider my connection with the Mission at a colose but I trust that my labours for the good of the Pawnees has but just commenced. Farther my tears shall fall for them my prayers assend & I hope that soon the Mission may be reinforced by efficient men that the gospel may be *preached* to them. A good Physician would I think have more influence among the Pawnees than any other man & it is *verry important* that there should be one among the whites. Please direct letters to Council Bluffs Bellevue Indian Agency Savanna Postoffice Andrew Co Mo.

I remain yours truly in the bonds of the Gospel GEO B. GASTON.

Received of the Board the following

| | |
|---|---|
| Sept. 1st 1841 Received of John Dunbar | $11.88 |
| Feb. 12th 1842 Received of John Dunbar to pay for one half barrel of sugar | 13.00 |
| Feb. 25. Received of John Dunbar one Horse | 40.00 |
| | 64.88 |

Expended money for the following

| | |
|---|---|
| Sept. 8th 1841 | |
| Two Piggs | 4.00 |
| One pair of Shoes | 2.00 |
| One lb of brimstone | 0.50 |
| One doz flints | 0.25 |
| Postage | 0.75 |
| | 7.50 |
| One Sack Salt | 6.00 |
| | 13.50 |

The above is my account since July 1st 1841 Geo-B GASTON

PLUM CREEK, Sept. 2d, 1842.

*Rev. David Green.*

DEAR SIR—Yours of Jan 10 came to hand in due time & it has remained to this time unanswered & permit me now to answer some of the inquiries you made.

You rather intimate that there may be hard feelings existing between Mr Dunbar & myself as a reason why the business between myself & the Board is not settled, but you are aware that I had not received your letter.

It has never been my wish to be any expence to the Board since I have been in the employ of Government & whatever I have had of the Board that it was right for me to pay for I am willing to pay its value.

You inquire if I make sufficient allowance for the real amount of secular labour & responsibility that has devolved on Mr D by the Agent in the present crisis of affairs with the Pawnees I am not aware that the Agent has requered any secular labour of Mr D & he has had but little responcibility aside from his own farm & stock. You enquire if I have kindly & in a christian manner confered with him I have frequently inquired of Mr D respecting his plans for usefulness among the Pawnees & I could never find out that he had any plans.

Respecting aiding Mr D in prepareing for religious services, my dutys require that I employ all my time for the Pawnees. Respecting my being censorious I am not aware of being accused of censoriousness.

Respecting writing to friends censureing Mr D & the Board. In answering inquiries of friends respecting the Pawnees listening to the Gospel I have been under the necessity of saying to them that they have never heard it.

In answering your letter I do not wish to say anything harsh or accuse any one or even intimate that any one wishes to accuse me falsely, but I wish you to know that I do not feel that I have done wrong in saying what I have and respecting the course that is pursued by this Mission

The Pawnees have returned from their summer hunt & are verry poor & in consequence of government neglecting to send them such Annuitys as they want & the distruction of their village by the Sioux they are allmost discouraged though I think they will rebuild their village. I remain Yours in christian love GEO. B. GASTON.

P. S.—I wish to say, (that there may be no misunderstanding) that while I was in the employment of the Mission I endeavored to take all the labour that was possible off of Mr D hands that he might labour for the Indians & after we came here he did but verry little manual labour aside from taking care of his garden. G B G.

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PLUM CREEK, Nov. 13, 1842.

*Rev. David Greene.*

DEAR SIR—Your letter of April 13th came to hand in July & I have delayed to answer it hoping to receive an answer to a letter that I wrote you in April, but as I have received none I will write again thinking that perhaps some of the letters may have been miscaried. I wish to have this business between the Board & myself broat to a close soon for I wish to

know what disposal is to be made of the property that I purchased with the money of the Board.

You say with regard to the Cattle owned by the Mission that you have never been informed of the numbers or uses [?] of them. I trust you have been informed ere this of the number of cattle here, but permit me to express my views with regard to the uses that have been made of them. The Mission (or Mr Dunbar) owns five cows that give milk & has raised all the Calves with *care* they receiveing the most of the milk. He has five yokes of oxen & one [word illegible] allso several young cattle The farmers were permitted to use one yoke of oxen fourteen days last spring when Mr Dunbar adopted a rule that no one could use the oxen unless he or his hired man went with it. Consiquently those of us that formerly belonged to the Mission have been debarred the use of them & you must be aware that it is quite convenient some times to use a team & it looks hard when we see Cattle running at large, fat two, with nothing to do. that one can't have them to draw a load of potatoes when they ly exposed to the light fingers of these savages.

For what purpose he is raising & buying so many Cattle I have not been informed. But this I am aware of that it has cost the farmers no little labour & trouble to take care of them the past summer & with all our care they have destroyed considerable corn for the Indians. Is it the desire of the Board to sustain Missionarys here to raise corn & cattle. if so I have entirely mistaken their object The Cows are kept to make Butter and Chees as there is verry little milk used in their family it being considered unhealthy & their has never been a creature killed to eat since we have been in the country. Mr Dunbars time the past summer has been devoted to raising corn & potatoes takeing care of his cattle. We have had no preaching since the first sabbath in April & I am not aware that there has been any religious instruction given to the Pawnees since we have been in the country. You inquire "Why may we not hear even this presant season of wonderfull displays of Gods power & grace among the Pawnees. You say the Lord is able to work a work of salvation among them. He is indeed able, but God works by means, & the Pawnees are ignorant of the true God & have never heard that a saviour has died to save Sinners. Consiquently you need not look for this untill some one tells them the simple story of Jesus. I have not written these things to find falt but I have long felt that you ought to be made acquainted with what is doing here, I should infer from your letter that you was unacquainted with the true state of affairs here. I am desirous that as the most of the four villages are now located at their new homes that they may receive religious instruction & I have looked for some one to take upon themselves that work, but as no one here does it, I entreat the Board to send some *Spiritual* help. for there are allso young men in the employment of the government that greatly need instruction. Before I left Ohio I expected to support the Mission but I cannot under its present organization I hope erelong to have a little money to devote to benevolant objects & I yet hope that things will so turn that I shall have the satisfaction of seeing good results from it bestowed here. Government are fulfilling the Treaty with the Pawnees. All the men save one teacher are on the ground & he

will probbably be here in the spring. We have four yokes of Cattle & expect ten more in the spring. we allso have Plows Harness & all the Agricultural impliments necessary to labour benificially for the Indians. Please have the bills of supplyes for the Mission that were sent from St Louis sent to us as we know not each ones proportion for I wish to have these affairs settled as soon as possible. I remain yours most respectfully GEO. B. GASTON.

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*Rev. D. Green.*

DEAR SIR—The foregoing communication I am directed by our committee on missions to forward directly to you. If any of the missionaries are inefficient we leave it with you to correct the evil as in your wisdom & experience may dictate. Deacon Gaston the father of George—I have long been acquainted with personally. He is a man of mild & unexcitable temperament & doubtless acts with a sincere desire to promote the good of the mission in sending us this statement—He is also a man of intelligence & respectability & any communications from him are at least worthy of consideration.

If Mr Dunbar is doing what he can for the attainment of the object for which he was sent he ought to encourage & sustained But if doing comparatively nothing it would be proper to recall him & substitute one more faithful in his stead.

Yours in the Fellowship of the Gospel HARLEY LORD.

ITHACA, 4 Jany 1842 [1843]

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RUSSIA [N. Y.?] Dec. 26th, 1842.

DEAR SIR—It is with pleasure I take my pen to correspond with you upon a subject of the highest importance to those who love the cause of Zion I have just received a letter from my son George B Gaston who still continues at the mission station among the Pawnees and from what he has written in this letter and what he has several times before communicated I have thought proper to state to you some things concerning Mr Dunbar and his labors at that place as a missionary. My impression is that the Church at Ithaca have done much and are still doing something for that mission and they would feel unwilling to waste their money by paying it to a man who did not attend to his business. George has never felt wholly satisfied with the management of Mr Dunbar placed as he is in such a field of labor where a new language is to be learned before the Gospel can be preached to them to any profit, I will now transcribe from his letter and you can have what he has communciated to me in his own language—"With regard to the improvement of the Pawnees in a temporal point of view the prospect is very fair, but in a spiritual light it looks dark indeed. Their missionaries time this summer has been employed in raseing corn cutting hay takeing care of his cows, calves, chiekens etc., instead of learning the language and instructing the indians., for I cannot see that he can talk any better pawnee than he could when we came here. he is a man of the

least sociability of any one I ever had any thing to do with I think—he has not preached to us for more than six months and he has never been into my house to talk upon the subject of religion in his life. It is the strangest thing in the world that the board should send such a man into the indian country—for the indians so far as I know them are an exceedingly sociable race of beings and think much of white men that will take notice of them and allow them to come into their houses—I have often thought since I was recommended to the board as a suitable person to go to the indian country & more especially since I became acquainted with the brethren here that the board do not know who they send out as missionaries. I have been waiting hoping that a different course would be pursued here but I have waited in vain & all that I have to ground my hope upon now is that men may be sent here that will take hold of the work for which I think missionaries are sent among the heathen."

And now after making this statement to you from his letter I would say I cannot think it is all from predjudice against Mr Dunbar that he has made this statement for it accords very much with the information he has given us before but I have thought it my duty to make his views known to you and others who I suppose feel a deep interest in the prosperity of that mission I would now leave it with you and your brethren at Ithaca to take such measures as you shall think wise and best. ALEXANDER GASTON.

Our family are enjoying good health though none but Ceilia is at home this winter. Alonzo is teaching school in an adjoining town Emala I suppose visited you last fall Elvira sat out in Nov. for the Pawnee mission with her husband expecting to spend the winter at Cincinnati and take the first boats in the spring, as we see families do not continue long together for we live in a changeing world. I have but little news to write. One thing I would mention we are building a meeting house in the society where I live which we expect to have dedicated in a few days Mrs Gaston joins with me in our best respects to you and family and all enquireing friends ALEXANDER GASTON.

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## LETTERS FROM TIMOTHY E. RANNEY, JUNE 12, 1844, TO JANUARY 25, 1847.

CINCINNATI, June 12th, 1844.

*Rev. D Greene.*

DEAR SIR—According to your suggestion I am seated to write you from this place I have however nothing of special interest to write at present We have been a long time in getting here but have met with no accident nor anything unusual to delay us in our journey. The mode of travelling which we took you well know was a slow one. We arrived in this place this morning before light. We found Mrs. Barker at Worcester and have enjoyed her company since. She is communicative and has told us much that is interesting and we think will be profitable to us respecting the customs and habits of the Indians. We have all enjoyed perfect health excepting Mrs-B-s child which has had two or

three turns of being unwell somewhat although it appears to be healthy now—The anniversary of Lane sem. [Lane Theological Seminary] takes place to-day and many of the good people are gone to attend the exercises and among them the family of Dr. Weed we expect now to leave this place this afternoon for St. Louis though we cannot hope to arrive there this week. We shall probably stop on the Sabbath this side of the mouth of the Ohio at some village—

I found a passport here from the Indian department such as we need and such as you directed for us— I am now in some confusion here, and cannot that I think you would be interested in anything which I could write I have several times undertaken to write on board the boat but have been surrounded by so much company that I have sometimes given it up almost or quite entirely for some time I have endeavoured to do good to those on board and have succeeded generally in at least gaining a respectful attention from all—

I drew sixty dollars when at Cleveland of Mr. Handy He seemed to think I should need nearly that amount to come on to this place. But I found when I arrived here that I had about forty dollars of it remaining— There are three boats that start this day for St. Louis I do not yet know which I shall take. Dr. Weed is quite engaged for us and does all he can to make our journey pleasant and expeditious. I met with the Rev. Mr. Curtis who has been an agent for the Board and who was my tutor in College—

I remain as ever truly and sincerely yours TIMO. E. RANNEY.

P. S. Mrs. R wishes to be remembered to and by you and all enquiring friends

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ON BOARD STEAM BOAT MO. MAIL,
MISSOURI RIVER, Aug. 5th, 1844.

*Rev David Greene, Boston.*

REV. AND DEAR SIR—We now have the prospect of arriving at Bellvue to morrow morning and I am trying to improve the time to day in writing to send back by the boat to St. Louis. We have been as you will perceive a long time in prossecuting our journey thus far. We arrived at St Louis on the morning of June 16th Our friends at that place advised us by all means not to start from St Louis till we could obtain a boat that would take us all the way to Bellevue and we though contrary to our feelings complied with their advice— Our travelling expenses were considerably increased by our staying there Our friends could not find a place where we could stay better than at a public house where our board was $8.00 a week for each making in the aggregate $16.00 a week we boarded at that price about 3 weeks when a good woman invited us to her house to spend the remainder of the time, for which the expense of the board was nothing You will receive an order from Milton Knox for $228.94 which was given at St. Louis and perhaps another smaller one from the captain or clerk of this boat though I am not certain yet as to that. I found no funds in the hand of Geo. R. Budd at St. Louis We made purchases there according to the advice of our friends to the

amount of $148.17. The remainder of their order has relation to our traveling expenses— Dr Weed also purchased for us a stove and pipe for $24.50 The rest that we have taken up has been spent in traveling expenses that is since we started from Boston. About $15.00 dollars of the draft from Putney in favor of Isaac Grout was traveling expenses The remainder was an outfit The whole expense for outfit then is $257.67 We have taken no money since leaving Boston except at Cleveland from G. P. Handy and at Cincinatti from Geo. L. Weed We have invariably received cordial treatment from all with whom we have become acquainted on our journey. The kindness of some perhaps should be mentioned particularly. I would mention with gratitude the kindness of Mr Milton Knox of St Louis who with two brothers showed us not a little kindness. He is a commission and forwarding merchant who feels as lively interest in the welfare of the Board as any individual with whom I have become acquainted He did as much service in making our purchases apparently feeling as much interest as though he were doing it for himself alone We spent two of the weeks while delaying at St. Louis in visiting in the Southern part of Illinois. We there fell in with Mr. Williams who had been among the Choctaws. Of him we gained much valuable information. He wished to be rememberd to you with affection. He is now teaching school in Carlinville Ill. We have had much trouble and anxiety about our freight which we shipped at Boston but have at last received it safe and sound We could not call and see the Rev Mr. Pratt at Westport I sent the letter which you gave me to him enclosed in one from myself requesting him to give you the information if able to which you wished in a letter You excuse the penmanship of this letter which is much affected by the jar of the boat.

We have for the most part been perfectly well each of us since we left Boston and are animated with the prospect of getting to our field of labor. We think from all accounts that we shall have occasion to rejoice that the Lord has turned our feet to various tribes and our interest for them increases at every different view we have of them. All accounts agree that the frontier tribes are receiving more injury than good from the white men. There are many individuals who are making themselves rich in this world's goods by selling whiskey to the Indians. Such a course I am glad to learn is opposed by the Indian agent at Bellevue We learn that Maj Miller has many enemies and there is one on this boat with us who has been on to Washington to get him removed and as I learn seeks for the appointment himself and I am told he has great confidence that he shall succeed but from what I can learn I think it quite doubtful at least about his success.

Tuesdy Aug 6th 8½ oclock A. M. We are now in sight of Bellevue and I shall be obliged to close this letter without filling it out as I intended. I shall have no opportuntiy to write after we get to the landing Yours truly TIMO. E. RANNY

[From copy.]

PAWNEE MISSION, Oct. 9, 1844.

*Rev. D. Greene, Boston.*

DEAR SIR—I arrived at this station safely with my wife, Monday, Aug. 13th. Our journey had been a long one, but the Lord in his kindness watched over us to our journey's end & on our way caused that we should meet with many friends who showed us not a little kindness by the way. We found almost everywhere that men appeared to be interested in our work. I sent you a letter from the boat at Bellevue. When we landed there we found Maj. Miller on the shore to whom I delivered your letter of introduction. He then kindly invited us to stay at his house till the mission team could come in. I at first thought I would accept the offer, & accordingly went to his house. I had not been there long when he offered to read to me his last report to the department. In that report he represented things as being in a very unfavorable condition among the Pawnees, & in that report he made sundry charges or insinuations against your missionary, Mr. Dunbar. And I found by conferring with him that he was anxious that Mr. D. might be removed, considering him as the cause of the difficulties which existed there. I soon concluded that we had better by some means go immediately to the mission, if found practicable to do so. We found a horse & wagon which we could hire, & a Pawnee Indian who was willing to go with us as a guide. Accordingly we set out on thursday, Aug. 9th. for the Pawnee villages where we arrived as stated above. I immediately, without saying anything to Mr. Dunbar, began to inquire into the truth of the agent's representation, using caution that Mr. D. should have no intimation of what was doing. I soon became satisfied that there was no foundation for the insinuations of the agent. I found that there were men here in employ of government, who had for reasons best known to themselves, set themselves at work to get Mr. D. removed; &, by some course of conduct or other. had so obtained the favor of the agent to their plans, that he was ready to be their instrument to do anything, though I hoped it was not as bad as it was represented. The Indians were, that day on which I arrived, coming in from their hunt, & I soon saw that the chiefs & best men of the Indians were pleased with Mr. D., & would not like to have him removed. I had not been here a long time before I received a letter from the agent in relation to opening a correspondence with you to obtain two blacksmiths for the Pawnees. We had then just received a letter from you, in which there were some suggestions which we thought well of, & I, in reply to the agent, told him I thought you would not have much confidence in the coöperation of the government here. I heard no more from the agent until last week Wednesday, when he came out here, & called & dined with me. I then told him, as in fact I told him in my letter, that there were some men here in the employ of government, against whom the Indians had strong objections & of whose management they were continually finding fault to us; and that threats of violence were passing between them, & that on account of one act of violence to the Indians, our lives were all put in jeopardy while we remained in the Indian country. The agent, & Maj. Hamilton, who was with him on his way to the Sioux country as agent for

the Sioux, both thought my fears were groundless. But when you receive from Messrs. Dunbar & Allis the accounts which they will give of occurrences here, I think you will not consider my fears as altogether groundless.

On thursday the agent called to see Mr. D. & myself as we were at work, professedly to gain information, but apparently to obtain something which he could use against us or against Mr. D. You may well suppose our interview was not of the most agreeable kind. I then told him, as I had repeatedly done before, that we wished to have nothing to do with government operations here; all we ask was the protection of government. The agent said in the course of that interview that he was going to hold a council or talk with the Indians, when he wishes all the whites to be present. The next morning we were told that the agent wished us to be present that day at the council. We accordingly went to the council, which was held in a public square in the village of the Pawnees. It was the request of the agent to the Pawnees that they would all be present men, women & children. This is contrary to the custom of all agents of the Indians, & I believe contrary to the custom of all governments. But after much entreaty many of the Pawnees came together, when the agent addressed them in substance as follows:

Pawnee Chiefs, Braves, Men, Women & Children, I am glad to see you together in so good order, & I hope you will keep good order while I talk to you, all of you, Chiefs, Braves, Men, Women, & Children, & first I shall talk to the chiefs.

I hear much complaint against some of the white men that are here with you, & now I want you to tell me what men are good to you & what are bad, what ones use you well & what ones use you ill. Do not be afraid; you see all your white men here. Don't be afraid; tell me what you think. Tell just how you feel—all about it. Then I will address the women and children.

The head of the Grand Pawnees than rose & said substantially as follows: After saying a few words to his people, he pointed to his farmer & said he liked him very well. He then pointed to Mr. Dunbar & myself —Those two I like. Mr. Dunbar & Mr. Allis have been with us long; we know them & they are making good for me & my people every day. This is all I have to say: other chiefs may speak for themselves; each of the four bands have farmers. All the village are looking on them every day.

One of the Tappage chiefs then rose, & says, My Father: My Grandfather has sent men to work here which have no sense. Our Grandfather sent them to work for us, but they do not work for us. There is one there (pointing to Mr. Gaston) & one there (pointing to a Mr. Platte who lives with Mr. Gaston, but is not at present employed by government) that belong to us (meaning our band) but they do nothing every day but whip us. This is the reason I do not go to see them. The team looks as if it did not belong to us. They do not send them to work for us. I would be glad if those two men would go away (meaning from the country).

The chief of the Republican band then rose & said that one that sits there (meaning his farmer, as I suppose) has got no sense. It is a fact

not only that he has got no sense, but we have got no sense ourselves. My Father told me he would give me a man to plough for me. He does not plough for me. You have put us among the Loups, & they steal our corn & whip us. You know that we told you we do not want them—we want them to go off. As to Mr. Allis, they like him a good deal. The cattle do not belong to us—they belong to them. When you have given us cattle, they say they are ours; but we shoot them, then they say they were theirs & whip us. The others he wants to go off—the old man may stay (alluding to old Mr. Mathers, the farmer for the Loups.)

Another one of the Tappage chiefs then rose & said, My Father, these men here have no sense. Will you give them some? If you were to take these away & send others it might be so with them. My Father, it would be well if you would tell them to have sense, & that they would have to go away if they do not have sense.

The head chief of the Loup band then rose & said, My Father, It is true that when you told me to come here, I did come, & now I am poor, I have got nothing. You must recollect that I listened to you & came here. The reason that I came was that I thought these men were going to work for me. But that old gentleman has got no ears; he does not listen to us. When he first came here, I took care of him; but I will not take care of him any more. Our Grandfather asked us to come here & now we have nothing to eat. You may go into every lodge, you will find them all asleep; & the reason is because they have nothing to eat. Those men plough more for themselves than for us. We look to our God: we think we are not poor. We look around us & we are just the same. Before I came here I had plenty to eat—now I am always starving. I want to tell the truth: My men always get the timber over their heads when they go that way, (pointing to Mr. Mather's). I would be glad to make you say right once. I will let my young people do as they are a mind to; I will not restrain them any longer. This is the reason why I have asked you to take him away. I expect the young men will kill him, & then I shall be blamed as I am chief. Look around on our village & see we are all poor. I have got nothing bad against them myself, but I fear my young men. When we came here we did not think they would shoot us. There is a man there (Mr. Allis) & that one (the blacksmith) whom I like; as to the other (the assistant smith) I do not yet know him, but shall know him after a while.

Another one of the Loups then arose. My father, look at me, I am poor. It is a fact, I am tired. I have seen my Grandfather, I have talked with him. My heart is open. It is a fact you are to decide the question to day. You may see where he has been wounded, (presenting a man who had been shot by one of the farmers) It would be good for him to go off. The man who was wounded then showed his wounds & said a few words in a low tone of voice which appeared to be simple conversation with the agent. The agent then asked him what he was doing when he got shot. (Ans.) He was hungry & was getting something to eat. The Agent—How dare you go into the field. His Grandfather wants him to be like white men & not steal. At this time the agent became quite ex-

cited and spoke furiously. The principal chief of the Loup band arose & left; the council many of his people followed him, which led the agent to call out to them to stop. The larger part did stop, but many left The substance of what the agent said then to all was this—You must always expect to be poor if you steal. I feel bad to see him shot. But if he & all the Pawnees will stay out of the fields & not steal, they will not get shot. If they will not steal, the white people will not whip them. They do not like to hurt them. Who tells you it is bad to whip when you are stealing? After a long pause one of the chiefs came forward, & spoke without answering his question. I wish my father would tell those men to throw away their bad hearts—tell them to have a good heart. Several spoke, but none deigned to answer the question

The head chief of the Loup band came in again & said a few words, & left not to return. One of the Tappage chiefs also left in the midst of the council. The agent then said, tell them it is good that all the white people should whip them if they steal, & the chiefs should whip them again. Never let me hear more complaints of the white people whipping you. White people *are whipped when they steal.* I will give farther account of the council & its results in the next letter.

Yours truly, (signed) TIMO E. RANNEY.

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[From copy.]

PAWNEE MISSION, Oct. 15, 1844.

*Rev. David Greene, Boston.*

DEAR SIR—I was obliged to close my last letter rather abruptly for the want of room. I intend to have given further account of the visit of the Indian agent to the Pawnees. I had nearly completed what I had to say of his talk with the Indians, & from what I wrote you will see that the Indians were much dissatisfied with what the agent said. Indeed it seemed to be but little if any thing less than a declaration of war, for I am told that, with the Indians, to leave in the midst of a council is equal to a declaration of war. After the agent had concluded his talk with the Indians, he turned to the whites & said he had a few things to say to them, & first he would say they must each of them approve to an Indian of all the acts of white men, however bad. Mr. Dunbar & myself both felt called upon to say at once that we could not submit to be obedient to such advice. I considered such a request equal to a prohibition from preaching the gospel. There are many acts committed by whites here which are in direct contradiction to the spirit & precepts of the gospel which we were sent here to preach. I endeavored faithfully to represent to the agent & to the whites what my object was in coming here, which I stated to be to preach Christ & him crucified to these ignorant & degraded heathen. My object was not to approve or disapprove of the acts of any man or set of men. I was quite excited at what the agent then declared, & hardly knew what I did say in reply to him. The declaration was this as near as I recollect. Addressing Mr. Dunbar & myself, the agent says, I shall feel called upon, when I return to Bellevue, to represent to the department that, for the good of the

Pawnees, it is necessary either that the missionaries be removed, or that the government operations must cease. Here then we are told that we cannot preach the gospel to the Pawnees while the government have farmers and blacksmiths with them. I am not conscious that any crime has been laid to my charge, unless it be a crime to try to gain the confidence of the untutored savage, that I may preach to him the unsearchable riches of Christ, & refuse to approve of a course of conduct altogether at variance with the practice & precepts of Christ. I am not conscious that I have violated any law, civil or military, by which I am to be governed in this country. In relation to Mr. Dunbar, he acknowledges that in one instance he deliberately & understandingly violated the laws of the United States in relation to trade with the Indians. This was not a subject of complaint in the last report of the agent, but will probably be a subject of complaint in the next report to the department. Mr. D. thinks the circumstances in which he was placed afforded sufficient excuse for the course he took. Mr. D. was placed in such circumstances as I hope not to be placed in, but if I were placed in the same now, I think I would not understandingly violate the law of the land. Probably Mr. D. will, if he has not already, informed you what the circumstances were, & then you will be able to form some opinions as to the propriety of his course. Mr. Allis, I think, approves of the course he took.

In relation to the conduct of the agent after the council, it was such as greatly to aggravate the difficulty between him & the Indians here. He proceeded to dismiss from the employ of the government all for whom the Indians expressed any attachment (excepting one blacksmith) & he has avowed his intention to dismiss him as soon as he could obtain one to fill his place. The head chief of the Pawnees went to him one day before he left, & he said he had a fight with the agent. The talk, as we gathered from the chief & the man who acted as interpreter, was substantially this. The chief says to the agent, I feel poor to-day; you are going to take away my farmer, my blacksmith, & assistant smith, & my missionary, & where shall I go in the spring when I come in from my hunt. The agent says in reply, I will not take away your missionary, & there are plenty of blacksmiths in every village of the whites, & I will send you another in the spring as good as the one I take away. The chief says, I have plenty of young men: they are good young men; I have heard no complaint of their doing bad, but it would be easy for them to do bad if I would permit them. The agent then threatened that if they did anything bad, troops would be sent with large guns which they would fire at their village. The chief says in reply, The day that I see those troops coming, it will be well for me to go out & meet them. I came here because my Grandfather wished me to come. I was glad to see my men come, & just as they were all coming from the other side of the Platte, you wish to take away all that will do us any good. I have lost much by coming. My father was killed here, & my brother & my son-in-law, & many of my people, & it will be good for me to lie with them when the soldiers come.

It was reported in the village that Mr. Dunbar & myself were to

leave with the rest whom the Pawnees loved, & when they thought to be doing them good, & the next morning our houses were thronged with chiefs & head men who entreated us not to go & leave them. We could only tell them that the agent willed to have us go, but that he was not master in the case,—that it would have to be as their Grandfather the President should say, & that we should not go immediately. Being assured by the agent, as we were, that he would make an effort to have us removed, we thought it our duty to see all the principal chiefs, & ask them to subscribe a paper, signifying their wish in relation to it. I accordingly drew up a paper simply stating that they wished Mr. Dunbar & the mission to remain undisturbed. Mr. D. with myself called on Mr. Allis & one of two others to accompany us around the village when we saw all the principal chiefs of the four bands. We found them all ready to sign the paper, & all wished Mr. Dunbar & Mr. Allis to stay. Most of them, or all, said they had not yet become acquainted with me, but Messrs. D. & A. had been with them a long time & had become like them & they wished them to stay. One chief said, & it was substantially the language of many of them, This is not our Father's land, We have sold him the land on the other side of the Platte river. There is his road, & that is his; this is ours, & we gave you as much as you wished long ago. What you wish to occupy is yours; it is not our Father's. This I think I might say is the universal feeling with the Indians. The Indians started last week on their winter's hunt. Before going, the principal of the Grand Pawnees, who is head chief of the whole nation, called on us two mornings in succession, & expressed a strong wish that we would not go away; & if I understood him correctly, he said that if we would stay he would defent us against the agent. He seems disposed to favor us in every way which he can. You will thus see that we are tried, not on account of the obstinacy of the heathen, but of the opposition of our own government. But we trust in the living God that we shall be delivered from the snare of the fowler & from the jaws of the lion. We need to be strengthened with more men in order to go forward successfully. I have wondered much how Mr. Dunbar has accomplished so much alone, though it be but a little. He is obliged to support himself mostly with his own hands; And he has a family of four small chldren. It is not to be wondered at, then, if at times he is ready to lay down his commission & retire from the field; but what can I do if he does. I am but just beginning to learn the language of the Pawnees, which he has tolerably well acquired. If he & Mr. Allis were removed, I know of no one to whom I could go to get assistance. The government interpreter cannot talk English intelligibly. Mr. Dunbar has become well acquainted with him, & derives much aid from him in interpreting the scriptures, though he could render me very little, if any aid, in learning the Pawnee at present. We have thought it would be well to have a farmer connected with the mission here. If we employ a hired man as Mr. D. has done, it requires much of our time to see to him; if we can have a man connected with us, who will give his attention to these things, it will leave us free to pursue our work, & we think will not be more expensive to the Board than for us to hire. For

us to live by purchases in this country seems to be out of the question at present. We thought as Mr. Allis is dismissed from the employ of government, & as he is already on the ground, it might be well, if he were willing, that he should become connected with the mission as a farmer. It is true this has not been his occupation in life, but we think he can so superintend our secular affairs as to leave us an opportunity to pursue our appropriate work with the Indians. The agent in one of his reports to the department speaks of Mr. Allis as second to no one in the Indian country in the influence on the Indians for good, which is probably true. So far os the most numerous band is concerned (the Loup) there is no white man who has near the influence that he has. He talks the Pawnee with more fluency than Mr. Dunbar, though he says he does not understand the language so well. If the mission is not broken up by this assault of the agent, & we hope & believe it will not be, we wish in the spring to commence a boarding school. We think the Pawnees are prepared for that. The treaty with the Pawnees allows them 1,000 dollars annually for schools, but they have never been supplied for any length of time with a school nor do we think they will be while the present agent can prevent it. The only obstacle to the establishment of schools to any extent is their fear of the Sioux. And we think this fear is fast vanishing away. We expect to hear from you whether this course meets the approbation of the committee. We feel that we need, at this critical time with the mission, the prayers of God's people for us, that God would deliver us from temptation to sin against him by distrusting his power & willingness to succor us.

Yours respectfully (signed) TIMO. E. RANNEY.

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PAWNEE MISSION, Dec. 28th, 1844.

*Rev. David Greene, Sec. A. B. C. F. [M], Boston.*

MY DEAR SIR—Yours of the 19th of Sept. last was received a few weeks since and as an opportunity now occurs of sending to the office I am seated to answer it We hope to receive returns from our letters which were written in Oct. We are placed in very unpleasant circumstances in relation to the U. S. agent He is now here taking depositions in relation to some charges which Mr. Allis with others, who were then in Government employ sent to Maj. Harvey, Superintendent of Indian affairs at St. Louis, in September last. The agent is himself deeply implicated in those charges, and hesitates not to say that he is a party concerned; and his method of taking the depositions is such as to be entirely unsatisfactory to Mr. Allis The method which he pursued in relation to Mr Allis' deposition was to get at the whole by leading questions which Mr. A. felt obliged to answer by a simple yes or no so that his deposition does not fully indicate what he intends to say

Mr. Dunbar and myself were put under oath yesterday we were permitted and requested to write out our own depositions. I have completed writing mine and shall probably give it in to day. Maj. Miller informed me also yesterday that he reported me to his government which I understood to imply that he requested my removal from the Indian

country. What his report was I do not know If you think it worth you time and judge it best to obtain so much of it as relates to the Mission or the whole for me it would afford me some pleasure to see it. In my deposition I am obliged to do what is is very painful for me to do (viz) Say that the agent's report of last spring to the department conveyed false ideas to my mind when he had the kindness to read it to me. I am obliged also to say that James Mathers and Geo. B. Gaston who are in the employ of goverment have endeavoured to prejudice me against my associate in the Mission The treatment Mr Dunbar has received from these two individuals is far from that which is due from one individual to another not to say professor of religion. These charges of Mr Allis to the superintendant were principally directed against James Mathers and had relation to his treatment of the Indians If depositions could be taken in a proper manner it is quite evident that our governmen would not approve of them unless they wish for an opportunity to go to war with the unoffending Pawnees The Pawnees all say they have been beaten like dogs that all their rights have been disregarded and if their wrongs are not redressed they will not come back to live here. But I have before informed you of these things. The agent now pretends to think he has additional evidence against Mr D. and myself. Mr D. has had a young man in his employ a year and a half by the name of Josiah E. Stevens Mr Stevens is a native of the state of Me. and has in a great measure retained his New England habits and though not a a professor of religion yet has in the main has sustained a good moral and sober character. Sometime in September he left us to go into the states with the intention of returning but as it was not probable that he would get back till after our crops were secured and as we did not know what the prospects would be with us on account of the agent's course—Mr. D. settled up with him and told him he might do as he pleased about returning He need not return on our account as we could not assure him that we would hire him. But we understood that he would return and would bring letters and papers from the B. Office. When the agent was out here he through one of the government men sent an agent to Mr. Dunbar saying that he wished he would deliver up to him Mr. Stevens' cloths and that Mr Stevens would not be permitted to come into the Indian country again The reply which Mr. D. made I think was that the clothes were Mr Stevens' property and were subject to his order The agent did not mention the subject to either of us though he saw us repeatedly after that before he left Sometime in October after the agent had left Mr. Allis and myself started with our teams to go to Bellevue. On our way we met Mr Stevens and another young man on their way to the mission. Mr Stevens said he saw the agent and he did not speak to him nor had he forbidden him to come into the country And as I was not much skilled at driving the team and we had a bad stream to ford I employed Mr. Stevens on my own responsibility to go to Bellevue with my team in company with Mr. Allis When they came back with the teams Mr. A. brought a letter from the agent

directed to Mr Dunbar and myself saying that Mr Stevens had been forbidden to come into the Indian country and forbidding us either to employ or harbor him. On showing the letter to Mr Stevens he said it was not true that he had been forbiden to come into the country and after consultation though we thought his services would be of much use to us we did not hire him or set him to work nor did we turn him out of doors but he went to work as though it was his home I informed Mr. S. that if an opportunity occurred I should write giving information that he was with us No opportunity occurred hence things remained in that state till the agent came out here last week. He says we were obliged to turn him out of our houses on a requisition from him— Since writing the foregoing the agent has called on me and I have given in my deposition or at least he has taken it but expect he will return with it to get the signature with answers to some quesions which he thought Mr. Mathers and Mr. Gaston might wish to ask. The agent also read some from the report which the government farmers made to him last fall It is signed by four different individuals and accuses Mr. Dunbar of things that are worse than lying These accusations are so bad that no one who knows any thing of Mr. Dunbar will have the least confidence in them. These men seem to have sold themselves to work unrighteousness and it would seem as if they were doing it with all their might

What shall we say then to these things if God be for us? who can be against us? We know not what will come of these things but it looks as if the Lord were trying us in the furnace of affliction that he might bring us to him more completely My interest in the Indians and in the work of the Missionary do not in the least diminish on account of all the trials that are sent on me. The prospect of accomplishing good for the Indians is small while the government of the U. S. pursues its present course. The agent seems to disregard entirely what he is required to do in my passport. Instead of assisting us as that requires he seems to rejoice if he can in any way discourage us by throwing obstacles in our way. He reports us to be exerting a bad influence on the Indians and seems to think that will justify him in any course against us. When here he will try to appear friendly but go away and report so bad that he is ashamed to have us see it What we have written will give you some idea of our situation but it is impossible to give you in one letter or in a dozen an accurate view of the state of affairs. You speak of my detention at St. Louis as wholly unexpected. I believe it is the opinion of all whom are here that it was best that I staid as—I did.—The expense of staying in St. Louis was great but I should not have arrived much sooner had I come as far as I could by a boat and then come by land than I did as it was—and the expense probably would have been greater in the latter way—I think I have sent you a account of my expenses till I arrived at Bellevue.

| | |
|---|---|
| From Bellevue to this it cost me for a Horse and wagon to come with eighteen dollars | 18.00 |
| Storage bill at Bellevue Five dol $^{25}/_{100}$ | 5.25 |
| Mr Stevens bill for going to Bellevue 6 $^{67}/_{100}$ | 6.67 |
| Making a sum in the whole of | $29.92 |

Which I have received from the Mission as travelling expenses.

We should like to have you send us the Bibliotheca Sacre and Theological Review if you think it best. And a paper—Boston Recorder or New E [England] Puritan We have now the New York Observer and the Biblical Repository—

Decr. 30th Mr. Dunbar wishes me to say that he would be pleased with any investigation of the charges against him. And also that Mr. Allis has been ordered out of the country by the agent notwithstanding his permit from the Secretary of War. Christian regards to all

I remain yours Truly TIMOTHY E. RANNEY

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PAWNEE MISSION, May 14th, 1845.

*Rev. David Greene, Sec. A. B. C. F. M., Boston.*

MY DEAR SIR—Yours of the 31st January is received and also of the 9th of Decem. Since I wrote before—24th Dec—there has been no change in the policy of the agent for the Pawnees that we are aware of. He has visited the Pawnees this spring but we think his visit has been attended with no good results. He did not call on the Missionaries only as he was about leaving the country. He then called on myself to know if I had ever heard said or heard James Mathers his superintending farmer say of him that he had a soft head. What his object was in coming to me with such a question I do not know unless it was because he knew that I had had nothing to do with James Mathers and by finding that I could not testify to any such thing he would report—as he implied that he was going to report—to the department at Washington that no such thing was true. Such is a specimen of the business of the United States agent to the Pawnees. My associate the Rev Mr. Dunbar was present when I was called up and could have told the agent that he had heard James Mathers use language in refference to the agent which to me —seems equivalent to incompetency for the duties of his office but there seemed to have been an effort made to prevent Mr. D. from saying it His (the agent's) visit here was in a measure private While in the Pawnee country he held a council with the chiefs and braves at which none of the whites residing here to our knowledge was invited to be present There happened to be traders in the village and a blacksmith and assistant who have been discharged by the agent for the enormous offence of having said something offensive to the agent or some of his friends according to his account of the matter and it should probably be mentioned also that the Indians were pleased with them and their work. We have endeavoured to get as full an account of the council which the agent held as we are able both from the Indians and the whites. We learn that the Pawnees chiefs and braves were very free to talk to the agent in plain language. They did not hesitate to tell him that he had lied to them repeatedly and nearly every one who spoke if not every one demanded the removal of James Mathers and L. Platte from their country and some went so far as to threaten violence if they were not removed. The agent was deaf to all their entreaties and remonstrances. The agent has also removed the interpreter and as he says ordered him to leave the Indian country although he had travelled with the Pawnees for thirty years and

has a Pawnee family of children and grand children He is acknowledged on all hands to be an honest man and has the entire confidence of the American Fur Company in whose employ he has been in the country only since he has been interpreter for the government. There seems to be no other man at present qualified to act as interpreter The reason for his being discharged and ordered from the country appears to be that he was willing to assist us in our work of translating the gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ It is not probable that the agent will assign this as a reason to the department if he condescends to assign any. We judge that this is at the bottom from the fact that he was told last fall he must not aid us in any way but he disregarded such an order as unreasonable and in consequence was turned out of a house in mid winter which he had assisted the blacksmith in building and which was promised him by the agent in the fall The services of the interpreter were of so much consequence to us that we went to work and built a house for him. He was consulted in relation to the site on which it should be placed. He chose to have it near his ground so that he could see it from his house This would make the most favorable location to be near the house from which he was ejected and after we had commenced drawing the timber Mr Hegly a blacksmith recently appointed acting as we suppose with the advice of G. B. Gaston and others in government employ came and urged the interpreter not to place the house where we were placing it on account of some supposed inconvenience it would be to him. In order to avoid all trouble Mr. Dunbar talked with the blacksmith and with the interpreter and supposed we had found a spot which was satisfactory to the blacksmith though not entirely so to the interpreter. After the Indians came in from their winter hunt the blacksmith found one day a buffalo robe in the creek where he got his water supposing it to belong to the family of the interpreter he immediately came to Mr. Dunbar and threatened to whip him if he did not stop them from putting their robe in the creek.

I have been thus particular in order to give you some idea of the unpleasant situation we are in A representation of this affair was made to the agent at the time of his recent visit but we could not learn but what he approved of the blacksmith nor did he give us any assurance we should not be roughly handled by men acting under his directions. I might fill out this letter and more in giving you particular of which the above is a sample—but of course you would not be interested in such details, I will leave speaking of our trials of this kind for they are but light afflictions and turn to the brighter side for I rejoice that it is not all dark and gloomy So far as our intercourse with the Indians is concerned it is generally of a pleasant and agreeable kind and I can say that I for one never felt more enjoyment than when labouring for the good of the benighted heathen. It does me much good to see with what fixed attention they listen to the little of truth we are able to communicate I sometimes dare to hope that the seed we are sowing is beginning to germinate though I may be too sanguine in my expectations I as yet know but little of Indian character and I find myself disappointed almost every day in some respect But I hope in God that he has purposes of Mercy in relation to this people which he will reveal in due time

It is my prayer that he in his wisdom would hasten the time. It appears to me now to be a favorable time to labor for the good of these Indians if the United States agent does not succeed as he wishes to break up all those who are doing good to them But if there is not soon a change in the policy of the government it is our unanimous opinion that it would be advisable to break up the mission at no distant day. Such an event would be very painful to us not so much on our own account as on account of the interest we feell in the wellfare of the Pawnees. They seem to me to be my people and how shall I give them up till Christ be formed in them the hope of glory. If the mission is to be continued it ought to be sustained with vigor. It is now a favorable time to establish one or more schools among them. We have applications in great abundance to take children to learn to read and work and there would probably be no difficulty in obtaining children to stay with us the year round to any desirable number—had we the means and accomodations for them. As we are situated we can accommodate only a few. We have two girls in our family and Messrs Dunbar & Allis have each a girl in their families Making four girls who are learning to read in their own language two of them have been with us through the winter and two of them have recently come to us. Three of the four belong to very influential families The four are from the four different bands of the confederated Pawnees so that each band is represented. Mrs. R is engaged two or three hours a day in learning them to read, write and sing. The two that have been with us longest have made commendable progress. If we had conveniences we should be pleased to take as many boys as we have girls but our conveniences are so restricted that we cannot well accomodate more at present The Pawnees are entitled by treaty stipulations to $1,000 a year for the purposes of education how much they are reckoned as receiving we do not know whatever it is in amount, so far as the education of the Pawnees are concerned, it is worse than useless. L. Platte who is supposed to be employed as teacher by the government has been employed as the Pawnees say for some time in trade with the Pawnees, on whose account we do not know, though it is said by the Indians and believed by the whites, on his own account. He is very obnoxious to the Pawnees so much so that they have threatened to take his life and if it had not been for the regard they have for other whites they would probably before this have executed their threats. The Pawnees like all heathen are extremely poor and two of the chiefs of the Loup band have sent each one child to live with the teacher saying that only want them to get something to eat till they go for buffalo and then they will take them away— How far those who have committed children to our care are actuated by the same motive we cannot tell but they profess to have much better motives. We all enjoy good bodily health and I think are pleased with our work but we need the prayers of all christians that we may labor with more faith and zeal in our master's work Yours Truly

TIMO. E. RANNEY

PAWNEE MISSION, Jan. 12th, 46.

*Rev. David Greene, Secr. A. B. C. F. M., Boston.*

DEAR SIR—Your communications of April 2nd and July 19th 1845 are received and yet unanswered. It is not often that we can obtain letters from the Post office. Our opportunities for sending are more frequent though these are far between hence your letters remain so long sometimes unanswered. Since I wrote before there has been a change of agents for the U. S. With the new agent we have not yet become personally acquainted as he has not yet visited the Pawnees His name (we learn from a note addressed to Mr. Dunbar) is Jon. L. Beans He has not yet that we are aware made any changes here except in the oppointment of a blacksmith We do not know that he intends to make any changes though it is altogether probable that things have come to such a pass here that some changes will be necessary. It would seem that Mr. James Mathers must now leave the country and that before a long time Last fall he had some contention with the first chief of the Loup Band which resulted in the infliction of a mortal wound on the person of the chief and also on the person of a son of Mr. M. This affray as you will suppose produced a very great excitement among the Pawnees A general destruction of property ensued near the house of Mr. M. and had not he kept close in the house which was guarded night and day by some chiefs it is probable he would have lost his life This happened but a few days before the Pawnees were to start for their winter's hunt and the excitement had not wholly subsided when they left If Mr M. should be found here when they return we have every reason to fear that the whites in the country will not be safe either as regards property or life. In these circumstances we have written to the agent and to the Sup of In Affairs at St. Louis asking their immediate attention to the afair What the result will be is only known to Him who knows the end from the beginning and with him we willingly leave it I do not suppose that you would be interested in all the particulars of this bloody affair

The subject alluded to in your last has occupied many of our thoughts and we find it a subject attended with many difficulties It is in relation to taking Pawne children into our families. In your letter you allude to some some of these difficulties and you request as to report upon the practicability and desirableness of the plan. I do not know that we can do this in any way better than by taking up the difficulties which you suggest in their order. The first enquiry is then is in relation to house-room The last autumn this was an insurmountable objection to taking an additional number of children. As to myself I live in a house about the size on the ground of the room you occupy in the Mission house It was built and occupied by G. B. Gaston while connected with the Mission It is low and we have a room over head scarcely high enough for our girls to stand erect under the ridge with no window or convenience for airing it only as it has become old and a few holes are found between the logs. This little room below furnishes us with a kitchen bedroom parlor dining room study and all else we wish to use it for In such circumstances it cannot be supposed that I can take 4 or 5 Pawnee children into my family and have any opportunity for study. But I do

not know that the other families are better supplied with room than we in proportion to their families. In relating to this difficulty we intend to remedy it soon by building an additional house or two. The logs for one were hewn and mostly raised last spring and we are engaged at present in finishing it. This house is 14 feet by 28. on the ground and has two rooms below and two above It is designed to have me occupy this house in addition to the one we already occupy when it is finished

No 2—.

The next enquiry suggested was in respect to the instruction of children. Hitherto Mrs. Ranney has taught the children all that they have been instructed from books. We have no children of our own and aside from Pawnee children Mrs. R's family cares are not very burdensome and she finds that she can when in ordinary health find time to devote two or three hours a day to the instruction of a class. We have neither of us yet acquired a knowledge of the language so as to be able to instruct them far in their own language and Mrs. R. feels incompetent to teach much in Pawnee. But instruction from books is but a small part of the teaching which should be given to children taken from Heathenism. The duties of a parent in the midst of civilization and refinement are great and arduous—what care, what watchfulness is necessary in order to keep children from pollution and crime? The disposition of children is the same in this land shadowing with darkness that it is in other places—and then it must be remembered that here all the influence of parents and relations is combined with their natural disposition. In order to reclaim children it is necessary for them to be kept in some employment. What employment have we for them is a question we cannot at present answer It will not do to confine them with their book for a long time. In the summer boys might be employed in the field but some one must be with them especially if there is any number of them together. Mr Dunbar has a family of boys of his own over whom he is obliged to exercise constant watchfulness Mr. Allis also has a family shall they mingle indiscriminately with Pawnee children in such a case there is great danger that the children of the missionaries will become even worse than the children of the heathen inasmuch as they will have more knowledge. In respect to girls we cannot find constant employment for many of them at present unless we send them to the field This we think is not desirable The women in the village do all the work in the house and in the field. We wish to make an impression on their minds that it is the duty of men to do the work out of doors. The present indolent habits of the men presents one of the greatest obstacles to our success among them The girls that are with us are disposed to be industrious and soon become skilled in the use of the needle and our cooking utensils But we have not the material to furnish them with needle work to any great extent They would soon learn to make garments for themselves and their Pawnee relatives who would be much pleased with them but they have not the material nor can we furnish them with much

As it concerns the expense we can make no very definite estimate At present we reaise most of our own provisions. The soil is very rich and with a little labor will produce wheat and corn in abundance and there

is a plenty of land unoccupied. We should need to purchase but little therefore more than household furniture groceries and clothing. What the additional expense would be on these articles to each child we cannot tell though we think it would be something less than the sum you mentioned $25. to each child *annually*

The next question has reference to the permanency with which children might be had. Children can be obtained in great numbers especially girls and we think permanently if we could be free from the incursions of the neighboring tribes— Though we have experienced some difficulty in this respect. The girl that lived with Mr. Dunbar was taken away contrary to the girl's known wish last autumn The cause assigned was the sickness of her father and other members of the family. One of the girls that lived with us was also taken when they went out to hunt. But her father wished us to take another daughter in her place We thought this looked too much like trade and refused to take her in such curcumstances We however took another girl who is an orphan having neither father nor mother. We have been more unfortunate in this respect with boys than with girls We have taken three neither of which staid with us long though one of them has been anxious to get back or its parents have been anxious to get him back. We have had boys come and offer to stay with us and seemed to be anxious to do so and I still think boys can be obtained whenever we can accomodate them who will stay with us permanently Two boys have staid with the people in government employ till they were unwilling to go back to their village and one of them went to the states with Mr. G. B. Gaston the other is still with a farmer here but is anxious to go to the states

No 3—

The last topic which you suggested was whether the labor and care could be borne. We cannot tell what amount of additional labor and care would be borne until the experiment shall have been made We think we can do the work that will be necessary to take two or three additional children and think we may take some boys in the spring if they can be obtained It seemes to us to be all important if the mission is to be sustained to have a school under the direction of teachers who shall make it their business to teach Is it desirable that Mr Dunbar or myself should devote ourselves to teaching? We are not unmindful that it is our great business to preach the gospel and this we endeavor to do as much as in us lieth with all symplicity and purity if by any means we may save some

With christian regards to all Yours Truly TIMO. E. RANNEY

P. S. Jan 15th Since writing what I have I have heard that Mr. James Mathers was called from the country and is expected to leave today. Will you have the kindness to have whatever is shipped to us sent to the care of Milton Knox, St. Louis instead of the firm to whom it was formerly directed as that firm has become extinct. We employ Mr. Knox to purchase our supplies in St. Louis. Yours Truly T. E. RANNEY

*Rev. D. Greene, Boston*

BELLEVUE, COUNCIL BLUFFS, July 11th 1846.

*Rev. David Greene Sec. A. B. C. F. M. Boston.*

DEAR SIR—Yours of 10 April was received at the Pawnee Mission. Mr. Dunbar wrote to you a few days since and probably gave an account of the circumstances in which we left the Pawnee country. As to ourselves it is now a serious question what course to pursue. I have in my family four Pawnee children Some or all of which must be sent back to heathenism if the Pawnee mission is entirely broken up One half-breed girl we wish to keep with us if we go to the states Our situation here is unpleasant and what to do it is difficult to decide. Are the Pawnees to be given up? A great work of preparation has been done The confidence of the Pawnees has been acquired We have obtained some knowledge of thir language and have to some extent reduced it to writing. The gospel by Mark has been translated. A few Pawnee children have been taught in the elements of the christian religion Shall all be given up? It is considered that at present it is not safe to reside near their village unless the U. S. Government have troops near for protection There is no agent here for the Pawnees and we cannot learn that the government are disposed to do any thing to protect their own citizens or the Pawnees. When we first arrived here I went to the garrison situated on Gable creek, some 40 miles below here I found but few troope only enough to protect the public property A lieutenant was in command who assured me that at present no troops no troops could be stationed in the vicinity of the Pawnees. A fort will be built probably next year in accordance with a late law of congress at Grand Island in the River Platte The point of that island nearest our station is reconed to be 40 miles and the island is said to be 50 miles long so that at the uper end it would be 90 from us This fort is to be for the accomodation of people going to Oregon and it is not probable that men would be posted there who could come to our protection even if much nearer than 40 miles. It is thought by many who live here that an establishment might be kept up somewhere in this vicinity with as great a prospect of usefulness to the Pawnees as where we have been stationed. Our great hope any where must be with the rising generation and perhaps children might be obtained to stay with us in this vicinity to as great an extent as we might desire. I think it is the sentiment of all that a place might be selected near this that would be safe from any incursion of the Sioux I am told that the Presbyterian Board of Miss. have selected a site near this for a missionary establishment for the Ottoes and Omahas. These nations are both at peace with the Pawnees and if they should go to war it is the general opinion that neither of these nations would molest Pawnees living with the whites at a missionary or trading station. A teacher employed by the government for the Pawnees has brought 20 Pawnee children to this place. He is hoping I am told to retain his place as teacher and reside in this vicinity whether he will or not depends on the new agent. The U. S. government have not yet fulfilled the stipulated treaty with the Pawnees in relation to schools and it would seem that it is under obligation to maintain a school for the Pawnees somewhere. Is the Board willing to give up what ground they have gained before knowing what govern-

ment is going to do with their treaty stipulations? My personal feeling is that the Pawnees must not be given up even if much greater sacrifices are to be made than have already been made. I came with the intention of spending my life for their good and now I feel that my life would be but a small sacrifice if the nation could be brought to the knowledge of a crucified Savior. I do not wish to be imprudent or to expose myself unnecessarily to savage violence but if the will of God so require I trust I am ready to yield myself to the Tomahawk and the scalping-knife if I may bring this people to Christ So far as the Pawnees themselves are concerned I know of no obstacles that would not meet me any where on heathen ground It is my opinion that the obstacles are not as great here as among most other heathen nations. So far as we know they are attached to no system of Pagan idolatry Most of them acknowledge the superiority of our religion and customs as compared with their own It is true that we have no assurance of any conversions among them but when we consider the small amount of truth that we have been able to preach from want of a suitable knowledge of their language we could hardly expect such a thing. There are many among them who are apparently much interested in the truths presented to them and some of their first men have seemed to much affected at times when they were told of a righteousness of a resurection of the dead and of judgment to come. They have trembled and with tears have appeared to say almost thou persradest me to become a christian Our influence has been constantly increasing among them and nothing has ever happened to lessen it till our removal from their country Last spring some of them were importunate to have us take their children One man was so determined that he left his girl with us against our wishes. Had we been prepared to receive them I think there would have been no difficulty a hundred children Mr. Platte the teacher employed by the U. S. government told me that it was not difficult for him to obtain children to any amount. And we thought the Pawnees had less confidence in him than in any other white man in their country. The first chief told the agent this spring that his farmers were comparatively of no account they might be removed but the missionaries (including Messrs Dunbar Allis and myself) must stay with him And so far as I have ever heard they have always said the same not only to the agent but to all whom they have had conversation The traders among them all see and acknowledge that our influence is great with the Pawnees The influence of the traders though bad enough in a moral point of view is never exerted in direct opposition to us as a mission When I think of the influence we have acquired and at what expense I cannot think of giving up all unless compelled by necessity There are men enough who would hazzard their lives among the Pawnees for money or the gratification of unholy lust and shall the servant of Christ be found shrinking at the mere sight of danger when his master periled all for him. The Pawnees are among the people that are to be given to Christ if not through our instrumentality then will deliverance arise in some other way. I know we are weak and faint-hearted but will the church of Christ sustain us. Will they carry us

with faith before God asking his protection and guidance for us. It is for the church and for the Board acting as their agents to decide whether we leave this field or whether we toil on.

Very truly yours TIMO. E. RANNEY

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BELLEVUE, COUNCIL BLUFFS, Aug. 15th, 1846.

*Rev. David Greene, Sec. A. B. C. F. M., Boston.*

DEAR SIR—I wrote a letter to you since our arrival at this place. But as a steam boat is now in sight and I expect an opportunity to send to the office by it I have seated myself to write a few lines. Mr. Dunbar left here friday July 31st. I understand it to be his intention to ask a discharge of the Board If so will you think it best to continue the Mission to the Pawnees? As to ourselves we have become attached to the Pawnees, and we are pleased with the service of the board and if they wish us to remain in their service we are willing to labor as we are able in this field or some other If we are still to be called a Pawnee Mission it seems essentiall to any success that we be reinforced with additional laborers. If we are to be sent to some other field it is desirable for us soon to be made acquainted with our destination as the opportunities of getting from here will soon be closed till spring. If we are to be removed we would like to visit our friends in New England during the winter. There is considerable property belonging to the Mission. This property consists principally of cattle and donations in boxes. If we are to be removed we should like to know whether we are to dispose of this or take it with us. Yours in haste TIMO E. RANNEY

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BELLEVUE, COUNCIL BLUFFS, Oct. 2nd, 1846.

*Rev. David Greene, Sec. A. B. C. F. M., Boston.*

DEAR SIR—I received yours of 29th Aug a few days since. I have not much that is new or important to report at this time we are still in the Indian Territory surrounded by savages and others who need converting influence of the gospel as much as any others Since I last wrote two parties of Pawnees have visited this place The first party consisted of some six or seven. Their object in visiting the place was to get their children who came in with us They took some eight or ten and among them was one of the boys who lived with us. The reasons they assigned for taking them was fear that we would remove into the states with them and they should see them no more. The last party came in with a company of traders who had been to their village to trade One of the objects they had in view was to get the children which remained. They did not however take but one with them One of our girls had dyed with the congestive fever. So that now we have one boy and girl in our family. They are half-breeds and we wish to keep them both in our family till they are grown—The new agent has not yet arrived and we do not know when he will—We of course remain in state of suspense and uncertainty like those in the employ of government who came in from the Pawnees. There were three farmers two blacksmiths and the teacher besides Mr.

Allis and family who are in as unsettled a state as we are Since Mr. Dunbar left us we have had an exercise on the Sabbath which is attended by the whites who usually attended our meetings at the Pawnee villages and some fifteen or twenty Pawnees most of them children connected with the government school and I have undertaken to talk to them in Pawnee on the Sabbath and improve opportunities to talk to them during the week. My knowledge of the Pawnee language is so limited that I do not know that I make myself to be well understood but by conversation I find they understand some They have become so accustomed to the talk of those who have but half acquired their language that they understand more than they otherwise would. I think my opportunities for usefulness here are confined in a great measure to the Pawnees and those who are connected with the Pawnees by the government operations The great majority of the whites are someway connected with the trading establishment and are French or half-breeds and I think that most of them are Roman Catholics. There are but few that can read or write English or talk it in an intelligent manner There are two tribes of Indians that pretend to have a claim to this land and both of them are located near this and we see some of them every day. They are Omaha and Otoe tribes. on the opposite side of the river from this is the land of the Potawatomies which our government has been trying to purchase for some years a treaty has been effected by the Indian department for it but is said that it is not yet ratified by the U. S. Senate Two missionaries have just arrived under the patronage of the Presbyterian Board to labor with the Omaha and Otoe tribes The Potawatomies have had Roman Catholic missionaries among them and many of them have been baptized by Romish priests. Since I have been here I have become more and more impressed with the advantages we had with the Pawnees for missionary labors from the abscence of some of the vices derived from intimate intercourse with the whites. This is especially apparent in relation to the habit of intemperance. The Pawnees have not yet learned to love whiskey nor have they as yet the means of obtaining it even if they had a desire for it. With these Indians the case is far different. Notwithstanding all the efforts of the government to exclude whiskey from the Indian country they will get it and some of them are drunk a great portion of the time. The other vices attendant on drunkeness follow among Indians as with other people

The Messenger has arrived to carry this to the Post office and I must close in haste Yours truly T. E RANNEY

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BELLEVUE, COUNCIL BLUFFS, Dec. 16th, 46.

*Rev. D. Greene, Sec. A. B. C. F. M., Boston.*

DEAR SIR—I have been waiting as it seems to me a long time to hear from you and as the winter is fast passing I will wait no longer before writing to you again though I have written twice to which I have not yet received an answer I received a letter from Mr. Dunbar a few days since in which he says that he has received a letter from you of a late date in which you mention having written to me in relation to a discon-

tinuance of of the Pawnee Mission and instructing me if I judged expedient to proceed south to the Cherokees or Choctaws The latest date I had from you was the 29th of August when you requested me to confer with the New agent and with Maj Harvey of St Louis in regard to resuming our labors among the Pawnees Since that I have had a short interview with Maj. Harvey and frequent and protracted interviews with Maj John Miller the present agent at this place and also with some of the head men of the Pawnees The Pawnees having heard of the arrival of the agent and that the Superintendent was expected at this place some four principle men came to request that their white men be sent back to live with them according to the terms of their treaty and especially as they said to request that their missionaries might return to them They were the most urgent in relation to their Missionaries and blacksmiths They said they were ignorant of God and wished to learn and hoped to be benefitted by it if not for themselves they would plead for their children They were poor in other respects but more especially in relation to their knowledge of God They repeatedly assured me that there was but one mind with all the Pawnees in regard to their Missionaries all the chiefs and all the men in the village wanted Missionaries to be with them They arrived here on Monday and among their first enquiries was to know when the sabbath would come and to know if I would talk to them on the Sabbath and they staid over one sabbath and till another came Some of them were at meeting on the Sabbath and one chief seemed to me to present some of the features of one who was enquiring to know what he should do to be saved I tried both in public and in private to direct to the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world. Their interviews with the Superintendent on account of his limited time were short But they were importunate in the request that their Missionaries might return to them with their other whites They said so much that Maj. Harvey promised them that their whites should be returned and I heard he said that he had had some correspondence with you and intended to have more. Maj. Harvey also said that he would do all in his power to give us protection and I am told that he instructed the agent in case of no other protection being afforded another season to hire some 15 or 20 young men to go to the Pawnee villages and reside during the summer. He told the Pawnees that when the Mexican war should be closed a sufficient number of troops would be sent out there to give all the protection that would be necessary.

The present agent seems to be a good man and one that would be disposed to look after the spiritual interest of the Indians He is a member of the Cumberland Presbyterian church He appears to be anxious to have missionaries among the Indians and I doubt not will do all in his power to facilitate their operations if pursued properly. The plan at present proposed for protection I do not consider as of much account yet it is thought by some that it will be efficient. This so far as I know is a faithful account of the state of matters so far as the U. S. are concerned As to the mission you know probably as much as I do in relation to Mr. Dunbar's plans. Myself and wife are the only ones here to continue the mission if Mr. Dunbar is discharged, and we are quite in-

clined to think we can never return and be useful unless some are sent with us. The men that government employ are not as a general thing those that sympathise with the missionary nor do I suppose men could be found in this vicinity who would be likely to to sympathise with us and is it asking too much to say that some must be sent to our aid speedily if we return to the Pawnees and I dare not take the responsibility of running away from what seems to be such a manifest opening of providence. Perhaps I am too sanguine in my expectations but it seems to me that the Pawnees are ready to receive with open arms those who come to them in love to preach Christ and him crucified. If we could be speedily reinforced we would not object to returning to the Pawnees.

We are very anxious to hear definitely what to do Our situation here is anything but pleasant without much prospect of usefulness to any body.

The Otoes who claim the country here have requested our removal from their country.

Although we seem to be doing no good to any body yet our expenses are in a measure high while we reside here and I do not know but we shall be obliged to draw the full amount of what we are allowed if not more this year But on this subject I am very ignorant and do not know how much we are allowed to draw Mr. Dunbar has repeatedly told me that some years ago he was instructed that he might draw to any amount not exceeding $800.00 annually and we do not know but we can draw up to that amount now. To explain if it is necessary something why our expenses are so high here I would say that when we first came in from the Pawnees we left provisions there to considerable of an amount but finding the Mormons were going past our old residence as a mutual accomodation we entered into an agreement with them to take our provisions consisting of wheat and corn and were to take the same amount of them here in pay. But they so managed as to get ours and have paid us but little in return. We have had to purchase provisions at a high rate on account of scarcity here. We have considerable sickness in our family and have hired help in the house and if we go back shall need to purchase provisions to last till we make a crop.

We have received the boxes that have been sent from Boston within a a few days including two boxes of donations one from St. Johnsbury Vt and one from Sullivan N. H.—and the box containing the things we sent to the rooms for

Please write immediately and direct to High Creek Bridge Holt Co. Mo. Yours as ever TIMO. E. RANNEY

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BELLEVUE, COUNCIL BLUFFS, Jan. 25th, 1847.

*Rev. David Greene, Sec, A. B. C. F. M, Boston*

DEAR SIR—Your letter of the 17th Sept was received on the 16th instant. In that you say you "intend to write again next week" My principle object in writing now is to inform you that I have received nothing since that date. Letters usually arrive from Boston in 4 or 5 weeks if directed properly. The reason of the present delay I ascribe to misdirection as the one I received was directed to Fort Leavenworth P. O. I

should not be likely to receive any thing directed to that office as there is a large number of offices nearer. Since receiveing your letter I have written to the Post Master at Fort Leavenworth to forward any letters that may have come there to High Creek Bridge Holt Co. Mo. and if any thing is at that office now I shall probably get it in process of time. There are opportunities of sending to the P. O. very frequently from this place and our papers are sent to us considerably regular. I wrote to you last month and since then have nothing new to communicate have not heard from the Pawnees Have exercised myself in the study of the Pawnee language. Have translated some of the scriptures into Pawnee. Have had a mixed service in English and Pawnee every Sabbath. My Pawnee congregation has been very regular never varying far from 20 The attendance of those who understand English is very irregular I have some reason to think my preaching in Pawnee has not been altogether in vain. The interest in the preaching has apparently been increasing ever since I commenced it and yesterday the interest seemed to be as great as I ever saw in any congregation. It seems to me that if I could speak their language well I should have much hope from the present state of feeling One of the older of the children has said she dared not to retire at night without prayer to God I know that I am liable to be deceived but it seems to me that Spirit is striving with the hearts of some of the Pawnee children I hope that an impression has been made on the minds of these immortals that will redound to the glory of God in the salvation of their souls. I find my interest in the Pawnees rather increasing and I become more and more averse to leaving them the longer I stay in a heathen country. The advantages the missionary has among them over those on the border appear to me greater and greater every day There are two tribes who claim the land on which we now live A missionary and family and an assistant missionary of the Presbyterian came to them last fall They find it very difficult to get a hearing from any of these people and I fear they will give up without the accomplishment of that they so exceedingly desire. If a mission could be prosecuted with vigor among the Pawnees I see nothing to hinder the gospel from taking effect in the hearts of a multitude of them Much ground has been already occupied which if left to itself will be speedily filled with noxious weeds. It seems to me that it would take a much greater expenditure of time and money ten years hence to get to occupy as good a standing with the Pawnees as we now do than has already been expended. Shall we then give up? If the Mission is broken up it is thought by many that the U. S. government will abandon all their operations among them and the Pawnees will be left to work out their own destruction as a nation and certainly they will not do that until they have destroyed a multitude of other people also. They stand in the position of a people asking to be instructed in the gospel Shall we deny them that gospel? Will not their blood be upon us if we do? The perils to which we must be exposed among them seem to be great But hitherto hath the Lord helped us and can we not trust to his protection still? Hundreds are willing to expose themselves for gain even to greater perils than we are called to encounter. What can be said of the

piety of the christian church when they suffer themselves to fall so far in the rear of worldly men in carrying out their plan of operations. To be worldly minded is in accordance with the dispositions of a depraved heart and leads to death to be spiritually minded is life and peace. The christian goes into perils in safety the worldly man runs the risk of loosing his soul with his body The christian if he loose his life for Christ will find it again So that he will be no looser should he fall in the midst of peril I expect now to hear something definite soon from you as to our destination If we should hear nothing more in the course of a month. And government should send men to the Pawnees we think we may go with them though we have not yet fully decided in relation to our duty in this respect. With christian regards to yourself and associates I am truly yours TIMO. E RANNY

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## SOME EXPERIENCES AS A TEACHER AMONG THE PAWNEES.

By MRS. E. G. PLATT.[1]

IN FULFILLMENT of articles of a treaty made by our government with the Pawnees in 1833 (proclaimed in 1834), teachers were to be sent them when they should have settled on lands north of the Platte river. This settlement was not accomplished till 1839.

In 1834 the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions sent the Rev. John Dunbar and Mr. Samuel Allis as missionaries to the Pawnees, and they traveled with the tribe the greater part of the five years after the proclamation of the treaty, till they built their villages on the north side of the Loup Fork, twenty miles above its junction with the Platte. As missionaries desired an assistant when they were located, the board which had commissioned them requested G. B. Gaston, of Oberlin, Ohio, my brother, to go and assist them in their work, which he did.

As the government treaty under which the Pawnees were then acting promised teachers for each of the villages where they were stationed, and the members of the mission much desired that such teachers should be those who would coöperate with them in their work, my brother, by request of the agent, wrote, asking that Mr. Platt and I go to them in that capacity, and in 1843 we joined the missionary company.

But the day we landed at the seat of the Council Bluffs agency, situated at Bellevue, in the then Indian Territory, a large war party of Sioux attacked the Pawnee village for which we expected the appointment as teachers, killed seventy or eighty of the villagers, among whom were many of the leading men, who were much honored and beloved by their white friends, and burned the village which was built by the Tappaze band. Those of the band who escaped the slaughter fled to the upper village, five miles distant, which was occupied by the other three bands—the Grand Pawnees, Petehowe-eats[2] and Skee-dees, situated at

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1. Mrs. Platt wrote these sketches in 1900, at the request of Mr. W. E. Connelley. She was then living in Oberlin, Ohio. The originals and her letters are in the private library of Mr. Connelley.

2. This word appears with various spellings—Pe-te-how-e-tat, Pe-te-how-e-rat. Dunbar has it Pit-a-hau-e-rat.

the confluence of Willow river (now known as Cedar) with the Loup Fork. The tribe immediately left for their summer hunt, and on their return all remained in the one village.

On hearing of the destruction of the village from a messenger sent to inform the agent, the question to be settled was whether we go forward and join the missionaries in their work for the Pawnees—a distance yet to be traveled of 125 miles across the uninhabited prairies—or return to the states.

Learning there was work to be done, if not in our special line, and wishing to see the people for whose sake we had come so far, as also to see our brother and sister after years of separation, when the farmers came to the agency for the yearly supplies for the mission and the annuities for the Indians, we returned with them, arriving at the station the second week in August, 1843.

As we could not receive our expected appointment as teachers until further developments, Mr. Platt assisted my brother in building a double log cabin, which was covered with earth, and the two families moved into it late in the fall, where we spent a very severe winter.

In the spring of 1844, when Major Miller came to the reservation to look after the interests of his wards, we were about to return to the agency with him, but when he saw the destitution of a portion of the people, and foresaw how all were to be obliged to live on short commons in dividing their abundance with those who had very little, he said with great energy, "For God's sake, Mr. Platt, stay and help raise food for these starving Pawnees, and I am sure when I represent the situation to the Department you will be rewarded."

On account of the Sioux raid, the Pawnees hurried out on their summer hunt and did not finish the cultivation of their patches in their usual careful manner, so their crops were not large, and on their return they were much hindered from gathering them by the almost daily cry, "The enemy are coming"; so they often had scarcely entered their fields after their five or six miles' travel to reach them from the village where they had taken refuge before they ran to hide in the willows by the river, or ran for the village, and dared not return for that day. The alarm was so often given, I began to think them foolish to regard it, but learned afterwards it was my ignorance of Indian warfare that led me to that judgment.

We staid at the request of the agent, Mr. Platt working with the farmers, while I fed the Indians who came from the village to learn the art of agriculture, as teaching the men it is honorable to labor, and how to do it, was one of the duties of the farmers.

In the fall, as Mr. Allis, the missionary, having resigned his duties to the A. B. C. F. M. and accepted the position of government teacher, had failed in his attempt to gather a school we were appointed to take his place, and removing to Willow river to be near the village, began an effort to gather pupils into our home. Before the Indians left for their winter hunt we had succeeded in winning two to be willing to stay with us. One was granddaughter of a brave who had been to Washington, the other a daughter of a fur trader by the name of Pappan, by a Pawnee woman.

The latter is still living among her people, though for years her home was near Decatur, Neb., she having been the wife of Henry Fontenelle, whose father had a romantic history.

Just here I will say Major Miller was not permitted to complete his benevolent purpose of securing our payment for services under his irregular appointment. He truly sought the highest good of his wards, and among other orders forbade the bringing of spirituous liquors to the Pawnee villages, authorizing any person who should find such liquors on the reservation to destroy them. This order all those connected with the work of the mission were ready to obey, and the men in the employ of the American Fur Company, finding one of their great sources of gain likely to be cut off, and being in touch with government officials in Washington, succeeded in removing one of the most philanthropic agents ever sent to take the charge of Indians, and having a man by the name of Bean appointed in his place—a man of extremely intemperate habits, who died in less than two years, I was informed, in a fit of debauchery.

When the Pawnees returned from their winter hunt, ten more pupils were gathered into our home, that being the number our agent supplied the material for giving each two suits of wearing apparel. The food was to be supplied by purchases of corn and meat from the Indians and the products of our garden, which Mr. Platt would cultivate, assisted by the three Indian boys who were our pupils, while the nine girls would assist in the household duties and learn to sew outside of regular school hours.

The twelve pupils remained with us when the Pawnees again left for their summer hunt. The events of the coming year must be just hinted at, as to relate them in full would require a small volume.

There were continual alarms from war parties of Sioux, who twice surrounded the school building in their attack upon the sick, the lame, and the lazy Pawnees who did not go on the hunt but camped in a building near us, thus jeopardizing our lives at the school. On the return of the villagers a quarrel broke out between one of the chiefs and the superintendent of the farms, in which the chief received his death wound, and in revenge took the life of the son of the superintendent, the interpreter, for the Pawnees, who was much beloved. This chief had not his chieftainship by heredity, but had been so appointed by a former agent and was mortally hated by the tribe. In consequence of this tragedy we moved back to Plum creek and the superintendent was sent from the reservation. Our pupils too, went on the winter hunt because of this fearful affair. But in the spring twenty children instead of twelve came to the school. For this our hopes for the future brightened, but soon they were darkened by the continual visits of the Sioux, who at last came down upon us in battle array, bearing the Stars and Stripes, in their ignorance, but refusing to eat with us. They left us without special proof of their enmity at that time, except in taking every horse from the reservation but one, the door to the stalls of which opened inside the pickets which had been made as a protection from their invasions.

Then a council of the missionaries and government employees was held. And as the enemy had twice fired upon men of our company when

outside the pickets, and as the farmers could not be safe in caring for the crops and gathering hay for winter use, and since the lives of the community were greatly imperiled, many of us having "suffered a thousand deaths in fearing one," it was decided to leave the station and return to Bellevue, where we arrived in June, 1846. Our twenty pupils were in the company.

The honored Major Miller had long been gone from the agency. The weak, besotted Major Bean had run his course and died, and no one had yet appeared to fill the vacant office. But finding a vacant warehouse belonging to the government, infested with fleas and rats, the doors were pried open and we took possession, reporting to the superintendent of western agencies, whose seat was at St. Louis. He later approved our action.

When the Pawnees returned from the hunt and found we had left, a company came to Bellevue and under various pretexts took eight of our pupils back to the village. The remaining twelve staid contendedly with us, and amid the confusion of tongues—five different languages being spoken in the court into which our door opened—we made progress in study and labor.

But the new agent who came, bearing the name of Daniel Miller, was not the counterpart of the old one by that name. And it was through many tribulations we made our progress till May of 1847, when he dismissed us from our work, giving our children for whom we had suffered much, and learned to love much, into the hands of a family who had been content to send their son to study with our Indian pupils, and who, lacking either ability or the willingness to conduct the school themselves, procured a teacher from the Mormon camp.

The Mormons were crossing the Missouri river in their flight from Nauvoo when we who fled before the face of the Sioux from the Pawnee villages arrived at Bellevue in 1846. The following autumn, as we needed aid in preparing clothing for the coming cold, Brigham Young supplied us with two young women to give such assistance as was needed, and he and his apostles visited us. We thus made their acquaintance.

The living of the missionaries with the Pawnees in such harmony for so long a time, and their being willing to trust their children with us while they were absent on their hunts, proved their confidence in us. That there was never any quarrel between them and their white friends, except in the one case between the nonhereditary chief and the superintendent of the farms, is sufficient evidence of their friendly and confiding spirit. O course there were difficulties attending our daily intercourse with them. The masses were thieves, and having been taught it was a proof of bravery to steal, they had no sense of its being dishonorable. The shame was in being caught in their theft. The chiefs and braves and better classes, if they appropriated what did not belong to them, which was seldom done in their daily social life, did it in a way not to be discovered. There were noble characters among them, and close friendships were formed between us and them.

They are a magnetic people, and we were attracted to them in a manner inexplicable to us. As I have mentioned, many of the leading men,

who were very helpful to the whites in their associations with them, were killed in the battle which occurred the day we landed at the seat of their agency—Bellevue. Of those I cannot particularly write, but I have many pleasant memories of both men and women with whom I came to be well acquainted and with whom I had many delightful social hours, when I had gained sufficient command of their language to converse with them.

La-shar-o-Pel-a-hoo-soo (Big Chief), of the Ske-dee band, was very genial and a keen observer as well as a close thinker; indeed, all were acute readers of mankind. I often coveted their gift of reading men at sight.

Big Chief had been to Washington, and gave us many amusing reminiscences of his visit. He claimed me for a sister, and often called to cement our friendship. One visit I especially remember. As I walked in our yard he came galloping up on his little pony, dismounted and drew up his painted robe, which had lain loose above his girdle, over his right shoulder, leaving the other bare. He did this with the skill and grace known only to an Indian, and came courtesying toward me and clasped my hand, saying, "This is the way the women in Washington did." On being seated in the house he continued to tell of the women he met at the seat of our government, of their dress and general appearance. He said they had coverings for their hands, but they took them off and raised their hands to their heads, pretending to fix their hair, but it was done to show their rings and bracelets; and rising, he walked across the room, imitating the mincing gait of many of my sex, saying, "This is the way they walked." How my heart sank at thought of those women whose motives for action were so plainly read by one upon whom they looked as an ignorant savage. As my "brother" seemed to be living on his memories of Washington, I listened interestedly as he spoke of the food he had to eat, but said the best of all was "bread with birds baked in it." He had sat, by request, to an artist for his likeness, and after sitting for a long time for several days, he was called to see the result. "Wha!" said he, "it was very much my brother, all, everything—there was the mole on my face (pointing to it), and even this loved bead in my necklace." He had received rare beads from various Indian friends and strung them on a tiny thong for a necklace, placing a very large one in the center. All this and much more to which I listened at various times proved his simple, childlike regard for his white friends, and it lasted to the end of his life. The last time I met him was at Bellevue, some years after we left the reservation. He, with a company of chiefs and braves, had come to the agency, and we, who had known them in their homes, being then settled in western Iowa, and hearing they were so near, mounted our horses and rode up to Point au Poobe, a distance of 35 miles, and there, crossing the Missouri, went to their agency to visit them. My brother Chief met me at his tent door, clasped my hand in one of his, and, placing the other on his mouth, led me to a seat, and, sitting beside me, remained for some time silent, looking at the earth with a sad face. Suddenly he looked at me and said, "La-sha-kip-e-de-doo." This was the name of his young son who had been killed in battle by the Sioux after we left them, and knowing that we much admired the youth, the silence was to his

memory. After this his face shone with delight, his eyes sparkled, and we spoke together long and tenderly of bygone days. He died of cholera in a few days after this interview, as did several of his company, and they were buried there on the banks of the Missouri.

Another Ske-de, Cha-hix-ta-ka-Le-sharo (White Man Chief), was in all respects the finest character I knew among his people. He was tall, finely formed and with classic beauty of features, logical in reasoning, wise in council, peaceable and loving in spirit, honored and obeyed by his tribe and much admired by all his white friends. He went to Washington in the same company with Big Chief, and I think the same artist who copied Big Chief so faithfully also painted his face and figure, but both pictures were burned when a building containing many of the treasures of the Smithsonian was destroyed by fire years ago.

His report of his eastern visit was characteristic. A dish was brought to him containing a liquid. He was asked to take it. It was small, but "Waugh!" he was near letting it fall, it was so heavy. A drop fell to the floor and he was asked to pick it up. It ran from him and became many drops and the more he tried to catch them, the farther they ran in every direction. A gun was brought and loaded with a bullet. He saw it pressed down with great force (suiting the action to the word.) There was a target placed at a distance and the gun pointed toward it. He heard no sound, he saw no smoke, but on looking closely at the target he saw the ball had entered the mark. That would be a good gun for his people. They could hide in the tall grass, and when the enemy came they would begin to fall, and neither seeing or hearing anything, they would run, thinking a miracle was being performed to kill them.

There came a day when the people of the city dressed nicely, and many went into a large, beautiful house and sang. A man stood on a high place and talked to them, while all listened silently, and after this he spoke to an Invisible One. The next day they all seemed rested, shook hands when they met, and looked happy. He thought it would be good for his people to have such a day. When he was taken to the Great Water and he looked to see the other side, but saw only water, he looked again more earnestly and still he could not see across; the third time he peered into the distance, but it was all water, water—nothing beyond—and with solemn countenance and suppressed voice he said, "It was like God."

I have said there were noble women as well as men among the Pawnees; but when I have considered who to select as samples it has come to me with sad force that those with whom I was best acquainted were those who had been familiarly associated with white men. This leads me to write of some of the peculiar customs of that people.

When a man appeared among them, to be entertained as a guest for any length of time, their expressions of hospitality were not perfected till a respectable woman was presented him to share his bed. I never discovered that the woman thus proving the hospitality of her people lost caste among them, so if offspring were the result of such associations the mother did not hesitate to speak of its parentage. Woman, in the view of a savage Indian, is made to serve man, and though the Pawnees

demanded the strictest loyalty from their wives, and though their daughters as they approached young womanhood might not appear in public without the blanket or shawl drawn over the head in such a way as to practically conceal the face, and must always be attended by a matronly woman, yet if a man chose to give any woman to serve as a proof of his hospitable friendship, it was a public act, and I think often looked upon by the chosen one as an honor.

With this explanation, I will write of two or three women of my acquaintance. The sister of White Man Chief possessed all the beauty of form and feature and dignity of carriage and appearance which marked her brother. During a visit of the fur traders to the village, according to custom she had been given to one of the principal men, a Frenchman, Monsieur Pappan, who had a wife and family living in St. Louis. One result of his life with her was a pair of twins, one of which died in infancy. The other, when about eight or nine years of age, the mother took to the wife of the superintendent of the farms and gave to her, saying, "God has been good to me and given me a white child; it is good for her to be taught the white man's way." To this sentiment she was always true, and after her daughter was placed in our school, if for any reason the child became uneasy and returned to the village, the mother came back with her, insisting she should remain, though she was evidently a loving, tender mother. This child is still living among her people, being the Mrs. Fontenelle to whom I have referred. She is one of my foster Indian daughters, whom I respect, love and honor, having had many proofs of her true Christian womanhood.

Another woman whose life touched many of the whites who were employed in after years on the reservation, and also those who settled near, was one who in her young life was taken by an army officer at Grand Island to live with him. Of her days spent with him she often spoke with much satisfaction—said he dressed her well and was not ashamed of her, but kept her by him in his tent when he had visitors, and when he was ordered away, as he might not take her with him into the enemy's country he left a sum of money with a friend to supply her future possible needs.

After her return to her people there came to their reservation, as traders, two brothers from Virginia, and as Mary was a very winsome woman and had a civilized air, the younger brother took her for his—shall I say wife? He lived with her for several years, and I was told by an intimate friend of his that had the laws of Nebraska permitted he would have married her, as he was much attached to her and to the children she bore him.

When his eldest child was between three and four years old the father came to me saying he wished to place him in the school, which, after years of absence, I had again gathered from the villages. The mother, hearing of the arrangement, took her beautiful boy on her back and brought him to me. She said the child was hers to give and not the father's. He could not give away his child; that was her privilege, and therefore it was she and not the father who gave me her boy to educate. The father had sent her to the village away from his home, because his elder brother

was ashamed to have an Indian woman at the trading post with children known to belong to his brother. The boy remained in the school till the Pawnees went to the Indian Territory, and though the father earnestly invited him to remain in the states with him, the son was true to his mother, caring for her till her death. His picture, with his white wife and three of his children, is before me as I write this, he having recently sent it to me from Pawnee City, telling me his eldest is not in the group because he is away at school. The independence his mother showed in bringing her child to me was characteristic of her. She was pure Indian blood of the Ske-dee band; not beautiful, but finely formed; a candid, clear thinker and a virtuous woman according to her idea of that term, always true both to her Indian and white friends.

A woman of marked ability, belonging to the Kit-ka-ha band, made our acquaintance on our first going to her people. She was the only sister of seven men, known as "the seven brothers." Their grandmother was a white woman—of the circumstances of her capture by the Pawnees I never learned. Katie, as we called her, talked and walked and bore herself in every way like a princess in her own right, and was very cordial in her friendship for us, as no doubt many of the wives of the chiefs and braves would have been could they have overcome their modest shrinking from all strangers.

Te-row-a Tup-uts (God Star) was leading brave of Chief Malan, first chief of the Grand Pawnees, the ruling band of the tribe, when I first knew them. He was an ideal Indian in form and feature, with sinews strong as oak and limbs swaying lithely as a willow; long, glossy black hair, and eyes piercing as an eagle's. He ruled not only his band, but held in check the whole tribe by his commanding figure and strong personality. And woe betide the offender against their simple rules of living when God Star learned of the act. There was no call for a court, but the heavy thongs of his riding whip briskly applied to the back of the culprit warned all beholders to beware. Te-row-a Tup-uts loved all right doers, was genial, social and witty, and as long as his life lasted was a close friend to all whites who sought the good of his tribe. He was a clear thinker, and served, as neither of the three interpreters whom I knew were able to do, in answering a list of questions sent to the agent by an ethnologist with regard to the reckoning of relationships. The list was sent me by the agent to fill, and for two weeks, several hours each day, "the old brave," as we came to term him, sat by my writing table, and with the strictest attention to my questions, answered each one. So correctly were his answers that when the list was completed and the agent gathered the leading men from each band, and with the old brave as interpreter, repeated the questions and answers to them, they contested only one. And when he patiently went through the long list of relationships they decided he was right. In a courtly manner he attributed his success to me by saying I had taught him to write, and, with twinkling eyes, inquired if it were not so. I, of course, with smiles and bows assented. I was well rewarded for this long and studied effort, not only by the knowledge I gained, but by the assertion of the scholar who made the request, that it was the most perfect list of answers he had received from any reservation.

The faithful, grand old man became blind in his last days, but was tenderly led around by his wife with whom he had lovingly lived from his youth, ever refusing to follow the example of the other leading men of his tribe to add to his wealth by taking other wives.

At his death the agent and many of the employees followed him to his burial on the bluff overlooking the beautiful valley of the Loup. A most remarkable phenomenon occurred as we awaited the burning of the dried buffalo meat which his wife had drawn aside to offer for his support as he traveled to the distant land of the dead. As the smoke of the offering ascended, from out of the clear azure above us came a long roll of distant thunder. Should you wish to substantiate this, there are several persons still living who will bear witness to the fact.

Some days after our old friend was laid to rest his lonely companion came to the school, and entering the sitting room, exclaimed, "I have been to burn more meat for the old man, and I think he will stop coming to me. He has been in my lodge every night disturbing me, and I have told him he must stop." Some time after this I saw and asked her if she rested now, and she assured me that the "old man" left her alone; that he came no more. I tell this to show something of the views entertained relative to the movements of departed friends by this interesting people.

As I continue to look backward, all those years are full of characters and events of great interest to me, of which I might write. However, both time and strength forbid; but a few words must be given of the life of the last head chief of the tribe, who figured on the stage of the Pawnee reservation before they left Nebraska for the Indian Territory.

Peet-a-la-shar-o was a boy when we first went to his people in 1843. On our return, in 1861, he had taken the place of his uncle, Chief Malan, who had died during our absence. His greatness as chief consisted in his physical form and size, not mental superiority. He was full of friendly good nature and fond of being recognized as chief, but I judge his braves were those who suggested legislative action. He was very fond of dress, and often visited me robed in his favorite costume, never failing to inquire if I did not think him beautifully attired. The year before the removal of his tribe to the territory he received a wound—I think by the accidental discharge of firearms. He was corpulent; the heat of the season was on, and refusing to let a white doctor visit him, gangrene, which his medicine men did not understand, filled his system and he died.

### LE-SHAR-O PIT-KO.[3]

My first meeting with Le-shar-o Pit-ko was the morning after my arrival at the mission station.

The chief and braves had come from their village, five miles away, to learn from my brother what messages he brought from the agent, as he was one of the men who went to the agency to assist in bringing the yearly supplies for the mission and the annuities for the Pawnees. As they sat conversing, some women who had gone to work in their little corn patches in the ravines came running by the house, crying, "Te-ra-de-da! te-ra-de-da!" (the enemy! the enemy!). Since their recent return

3. *Le-Shar-o*, chief; *Pit-ko*, two or twice—Twice a Chief.

from their hunt, to which they had hastily fled after a fearful battle with the Sioux, they took affright at any sign of the approaching foe.

Each chief and brave sprang to his feet, bow in hand and quiver at his back (for they were seldom unarmed in those perilous times), and ran for his pony, which stood at a little distance hobbled by having one of his fore legs thrust through the loop of its bridle or halter.

Le-shar-o Pit-ko was prominent among those rushing warriors. He was in the prime of his young manhood, and his piercing eyes, his mass of black, glossy hair, his regal air and his elastic movements as he mounted his pony and galloped away, all marked him as worthy of being called Twice a Chief. As there were no councils to attend in those days, and Pit-ko brought no child to the school, I only met him as he came to make a visit to prove his friendship, which seemed very sincere. Thus during my first stay with his tribe I learned little of his peculiar characteristics.

On my return to the Pawnees in 1861 a sad change had come to the fine-appearing, agile chief. Through some accident he had become lame, and was known to the whites as Lame Chief. His former cheerful face wore a pained and rather sullen expression, and his dress was as that of one in mouring—faded and worn. But he was friendly, and brought his son to the school to be educated for his high position, for he would inherit the chieftainship; but the boy died in a short time of a lung disease which afflicted so many of his people. His father mourned his loss and asked for a remuneration, but was easily convinced it was not a proper request.

He was considerate and thoughtful and manifested his wisdom in a marked manner on two or three occasions. When Grant's "Quaker policy" was about to be established among the Pawnees, I received a letter from a committee of Friends asking that a council of chiefs be called to inform them of the change, which they promised should greatly benefit the people. I invited them to my room and gave them the information.

It was received in silent dignity, not even "Waugh" being uttered to show they understood the promises that were made. At last Le-shar-o Pit-ko quietly answered for the company: "We will wait and see what comes to us." Knowing as I did how often they had been bitterly disappointed and shamefully abused by the failure on the part of our government to regard treaty stipulations, that answer spoke volumes to me. When Yellow Sun was accused of murdering a white man, Pit-ko sat silent through the trial till near its close, when, rising and walking to the center of the room, after the usual friendly shaking of hands, he said: "My father, you have lost one man. Fourteen of my men have recently been killed by white men. Let us call it even."

That season a company of young Pawnees went on a visit to a southern tribe, and on their return called at a white man's house for food and drink. The family and their neighbors not being acquainted with Indians, and supposing they were hostile, killed them. It was to this act that Pit-ko referred. Our government had taken no notice of the foul deed.

My last interview with this chief was to me the most memorable.

Sitting in my school room one morning during recess, the scholars came running to say the chief called for me. Going into the hall I found Pit-ko surrounded by the children. He was holding his blanket tightly over some object he held in his arms. He wished to go to my room, and motioning the crowd away, he followed me down the long hall. When we had entered the room and the door was closed he drew from under his blanket a tablet of red pipestone about one-half inch in thickness, having a surface of from ten to fourteen inches. He wished to give it into my possession till he should call for it, and he said that the eye of no common person might fall upon it; that it was his Too-war-ux-ly stone, and I could not know what wonderful things he saw when, gathered for their religious services, he, with blackened face, looked down upon that stone. He was going to the territory, and I was to keep the precious miracle worker till he called for it. The tablet was in my possession for nearly two years, and having heard that its owner was nigh to death's door, I began to call it mine.

But one morning after leaving the reservation, being in my sitting room listening to the musical waters of the Loup that was not far away, a stalwart Pawnee stood suddenly in my presence. I had scarcely time to greet my former friend, Big George, before he demanded the Too-war-ux-ly stone left with me by Le-shar-o Pit-ko. No pleading, that as the chief was dead, I thought it mine, was of any avail. Big George would get a horse for delivering it safe to the Medicine Lodge, and so I parted with the coveted treasure.

## DIAMOND SPRINGS, "THE DIAMOND OF THE PLAIN."

By George Pierson Morehouse.

They called you "Diamond of the Plain,"
So great was thy far-reaching fame,
When o'er the prairies heated wild,
They stooped to taste a beverage mild.
No water flowed so full and free
Along the Trail to Santa Fe—
Dear Old Diamond, Diamond Springs.

THE Diamond of the Plain—or Diamond Spring, as now generally known—is situated near the headwaters of Diamond valley, in the southwestern part of Morris county, Kansas—a county about which clusters some of the most ancient and interesting history of our state.

When that famous old overland highway, the Santa Fe trail, was first surveyed, in 1825, from the Missouri river to the Santa Fe region, Diamond Spring was called "The Diamond of the Plain," and was also fully described, with the surrounding country, in the history of the Santa Fe trail exploring and surveying expedition of that year. How long before that date it was first visited by white men may never be known; but since that time it has often been visited and praised by overland travelers and by those who plied the commerce of the prairies along that famous natural and direct route to the far Southwest. Being one of the oldest known Kansas geographical spots of which we have record, it deserves more

than passing mention; and, also, because its surroundings are attractive as well as historical.

There is abundant evidence that long before this wonderful spring was found by white men it had been known for ages by their red brothers, whose trails north and south, east and west, here crossed and gave the first clues to its location. The relics of ancient prehistoric Indian villages have been found in that vicinity, and the stream or creek which is formed from this large spring has always been a favorite watering place for the wild animals of the plains.

It is related that during the earliest expeditions of white men to cross the Great Plains on their way to Santa Fe, that they often had to search for watering places, and in this region the numerous trails of buffalo, elk and deer were worn plain and deep and led them to this cluster of fine springs in that portion of Morris county now known as Diamond Valley township—one of which was the place we are describing. They were so pleased with the abundance of the clear, cold and sparkling water that they hailed the spot with the same delight that pilgrims, famished with thirst, greet an oasis in the desert, and thereupon aptly christened the place "Diamond Springs"—a name which since has been justly famous in the annals of the Santa Fe trail.

There is little doubt but that several of the earliest Santa Fe traders passed this way and knew of this favored camping place as early as 1804, 1806, 1812, 1815, 1821-'22—Becknell expeditions; and the Storrs expedition in 1824. One thing is certain, that when the Santa Fe trail was surveyed and recorded by the government expedition in 1825, the United States commissioners seemed to know just where to go to find the best watering spots and camping places, which would have been impossible without previous information, which they doubtless had from those who had preceded them.

"THE DIAMOND OF THE PLAIN," AS VISITED BY MAJOR GEO. C. SIBLEY, IN 1825.

The United States commissioners to survey and obtain right of way for a road from the Missouri river to Santa Fe reached Council Grove, on the Neosho river, on the 10th day of August, 1825. There they held a council with the chiefs of the Great and Little Osage Indians under the famous "Council Oak," a part of the fine grove, which place after that event has always been known as Council Grove. A treaty was there made with this tribe for right of way over the plains, and $500 in gold was paid and $300 in merchandise was given. On their way southwestward, over a trail already somewhat used, they reached, on the next day, August 11, 1825, "The Diamond of the Plain," on the headwaters of what was then known as Otter creek. It was a most welcome resting spot after a day's journey over the hot and arid plains, and they were so struck with its enormous flow of clear, cold water that they were slow to leave the cooling shades of the beautiful stream and its picturesque valley. On the field notes of the surveyor of the expedition "The Diamond of the Plain" is recorded as being 158 miles from Fort Osage on the Missouri (now Sibley), and 589 miles from Taos, N. M., with the following notation: " 'Diamond of the Plain,' a remarkably fine, large fountain spring, near which is a good camping ground. Otter

creek is three chains west of the spring and affords wood for fuel. It is 15 links wide and runs southward."

Going west from this "Diamond of the Plain," his notes mention crossing four other creeks within five or six miles, which he terms "1st, 2d, 3d and 4th timbered creeks." These were Mile and Half, Three Mile, Six Mile and Camp creek—streams which are now familiar to people of that region. Major Sibley, in a signed article found in volume V, pages 180-181, of *The Western Journal*, gives a fuller description of "The Diamond of the Plain" in the following graphic language, which is important to preserve:

"This treasure was, in fact, discovered by 'Old Ben Jones,' a hunter of our first party, on the 11th day of August, 1825. It is thus noted in my 'Pencil Sketches' at that time.

"The spring gushes out from the head of a hollow in the prairie, and runs boldly among the stones into Otter creek, a short distance. It is very large, perfectly accessible, and furnishes the greatest abundance of most excellent, clear, *cold* water—enough to supply an army.

"There is a fountain, inferior to this, in the Arabian Desert, known as 'The Diamond of the Desert.' This magnificent spring may, with at least equal propriety, be called 'The Diamond of the Plain.' We found it a most excellent camping place. A fine elm tree grows near to and overhangs the spring.

"On the 10th and 11th of June, 1827, I encamped here with my party. [This was his second trip to Santa Fe for the purpose of correcting the route.] During our stay I made requisition of 'Big John' [this was the 'Big John' Walker for whom the well-known stream east of Council Grove was named] and his carving implements once more to inscribe on the stooping elm, 'Diamond of the Plain,' which was promptly done. The tree has since been cut away, I believe. The fountain is now generally known as 'Diamond Spring.'

April 1st, 1839. (Signed) GEO C. SIBLEY."

The old tables of distances of points on the Santa Fe trail vary somewhat. This is caused by the fact that at different times in its history the traffic started from different points on the Missouri river—Fort Osage, fifteen miles east of Independence; Independence; Westport Landing, etc. And then as the caravans become more acquainted with the country they could shorten the route and save distance. In Major Sibley's tables he gives "The Diamond of the Plain" as being from 155 to 158 miles from the Missouri, making the entire distance from Fort Osage to Santa Fe 810 miles, or 795 from Independence.

Thus on account of the abundance of water, fine camping facilities, and the richness of the wild pasture grasses surrounding this almost enchanted spot, it became a favorite stopping place for the great overland trains and caravans which carried the commerce of the prairies to and from the far Southwest, and is frequently mentioned in the history of those stirring frontier times. It was the last waiting place for the smaller trains to be united into one great caravan, for better protection, before moving out into the grassy sea—often an arid desert—of the great plains, which, from this rest haven stretched—

"In airy undulation, far away,
As if an ocean in its gentlest swell
Stood still, with all its rounded billows
Fixed and motionless forever."

West of "The Diamond of the Plain" was truly the region of danger, it being the home or range of the "Bedouins of the Plains"—the Cheyenne, Comanche, Kiowa and other roving tribes, who often attacked the trains, but seldom ever ventured east of this place.

A NOTED STAGE STATION.

In course of time, as the traffic along the great trail increased, it became a well known stage and relief station, and several large two-story stone buildings and a large stone corral were constructed. These buildings were erected by Waldo Hall & Co., who in 1849 obtained a contract from the United States government to carry the mails from the Missouri river to Santa Fe, a distance of about 800 miles.

These stone buildings, and the large corral capable of holding several hundred head of stock, with sheds and other improvements to shelter man and beast, were the most pretentious of their kind between Council Grove and the Santa Fe region. One of these large buildings was a sort of ranch hotel or stage station, where meals were served, horses changed, and the thirsty traveler regaled with ardent liquid refreshments, if not satisfied with the cooling draughts from the Diamond Spring. The other large building was a storehouse of supplies, where the plain, primitive provisions of plains days could be purchased. Then there was the useful blacksmith shop, where horses and oxen could be shod and the wagons and stages could be repaired. The foundations of some of these structures have been preserved, and many iron and other relics have been found since the active and palmy days of this famed resort.

During those frontier days along the Old Santa Fe trail, Diamond Springs was often the scene of tragedies and disasters, and the spot is rich in its abundance of historic events and the interesting traditions and legendary lore concerning the Indians, plainsmen, freighters, cowboys and early settlers of those strenuous times.

Several encounters with Indians took place near here, and some of them were so long ago that the exact date and circumstances are shrouded in mystery. In a lonely ravine some two miles east of the springs and near the head of Dodds creek, a tributary of Diamond creek, some ill-fated wagon train must have been destroyed. The history of the tragedy is not yet clear and must have taken place at a very early date of trail traffic. In this ravine the early settlers often found all kinds of wagon and caravan remnants scattered around or half covered with the dust and mold of past decades. There were chains, bolts, wagon irons, nails and various iron artifacts which told of the disaster. Evidently this train sought refuge in this hollow, or, upon attack by the Indians, the oxen stampeded and dragged the wagons to disaster and their owners to death.

In the fall of 1852 a troop of United States cavalry, camping on the highland just east of Diamond Springs, were surrounded by Indians and their camp nearly destroyed by a prairie fire which the Indians dextrously scattered around the camp in the tall, dry grass and during a strong wind.

Col. Percival G. Lowe, once president of our Society, gives this graphic account of the event:

"Returning from a trip to the forts along the border in the fall of

1852, nothing of special interest occurred until we reached Diamond Springs, now in Morris county. The weather had been frosty at night and days sunny—a continuous Indian summer all the way—grass dry as powder. We had barely a quart of corn per day for each horse, and they were poor. All day we had seen little bands of Indians a mile or two off the road, traveling in our direction and watching us. This was the Kaw country and no other Indians were there. Of course the Kaws knew our troop and they had no love for it, but we were slow to believe they would attack us.

"We camped on the higher ground east of Diamond Springs, on the south side of the road. We had been very careful of fire all the way in, and here we were especially careful on account of the dense growth of grass and the constant danger of burning the camp.

"We had finished dinner, about two hours before sunset, when, as by one act, fire broke out in a circle all around us not more than a mile from camp. A stiff gale was blowing from the south, and when we noticed it the fire in the tall grass was roaring furiously and the flames leaping twenty feet high. Quickly we commenced firing the grass outside our camp, whipping out the fire next to it, thereby burning a circle around it. Every man used a gunny sack or saddle blanket and worked with desperate energy. The utter destruction of the camp was imminent, and we faced the fire like men who had everything at stake. Success was ours, but the battle left scars on nearly all. I have never seen fifteen minutes of such desperate work followed by such exhaustion. Scarcely a man could speak. Blinded by smoke, heat and ashes, intuitively we found our way to the creek and bathed our hands and faces. Many of us were terribly blistered.

"My hands and face were blistered in several places; my mustache and whiskers—the first I had ever raised—were utterly ruined. I could not wash on account of the wounds, and dipped my face and head deep down in the lovely spring of water and held my hands under to relieve the pain. My experience was that of most of the troop. Fortunately we had quite a quantity of antelope tallow, which was warmed and applied gently to our sores.

"Undoubtedly the Kaws had set fire to burn us out. Men who could stand together in such a fight, and win, could stand against desperate odds anywhere. The troops were notified at retreat roll call that we would start at daylight. The guards were doubled and we rested as best we could."

Colonel Lowe's account then tells how they reached Council Grove, where they procured corn for their horses; how they proceeded to the Kansa or Kaw Indian reservation below Council Grove and arrested a Kaw chief and forced the Indians to turn over some stolen horses; and how close this small band of brave soldiers came to having a bloody battle down at the old agency near the mouth of Big John creek.

### JORNADA DEL MUERTE.

The tragic incidents taking place at old Diamond Springs illustrates that it was located upon a stretch of that famous highway which very aptly gave it, at times, the name of "Jornada del Muerte" (The Journey of the Dead). Along the way, for many decades prior to their being picked up and marketed (first done in the early seventies), the route of the trail was strewn on either side with the white and weather-bleached bones of oxen, horses, mules, buffalo, antelope and deer; and even the unburied bones of humankind were often found scattered with the rest.

This was particularly the scene from Council Grove westward until

the advent of the railway, when a class of men known as "bone pickers" made a living by gathering them and taking them to the Union Pacific and Santa Fe railway points for shipment.

At a spot near Diamond Springs a deep gulch or ravine filled with tons of bones was long the marvel of mystery to the early white settlers of that locality. To many the cause of this accumulation was never cleared up, as it occurred so many years before their knowledge of the spot. Away back in the palmy days of Santa Fe trail traffic, a freighting train, the motive power of which was over fifteen hundred oxen, was returning late in the season from a successful trip across the plains. Just as it had reached the more protected and sheltered country of the Diamond valley region, one of those terrific blizzards or storms of blinding snow and intense cold swept down upon them just before they had rounded up for camping. The oxen stampeded, and, driven by the storm, fled before its fury to a grewsome destruction; for, coming to the sides of the precipitous gulch, they piled into its trap of death, filling it full, and the entire fifteen hundred perished. For years the festering mass of hair, hides and bones, even after the flesh had decomposed, polluted the atmosphere for miles around, and it became the trysting spot for myriads of carrion birds and droves of ghoulish wolves and other foul beasts and birds of the plains.

### THE DICK YEAGER RAID.

Diamond Springs was not without its tragedies during the Border and Civil War period, one of which is worthy of mention. Dick Yeager was one of Quantrill's officers at the Lawrence raid and massacre of August 21, 1863; but in May of that same year Yeager conducted a raid of his own along the Santa Fe trail as far as Diamond Springs, where his band was guilty of murder and outrage. Early in that month, as soon as grass was good, this noted border desperado and trusted lieutenant of the guerrilla Quantrill led a gang of his kind from their lair in western Missouri and went as far in their raid along the Santa Fe trail as Diamond Springs. Before they returned they committed a number of cowardly acts of murder, robbery, horse theft and burning. In their progress they broke up into small squads of twos and threes, that their movements might not excite suspicion. Then by prearrangement they would all come together at some favored meeting spot, and, as quite a little army, steal from, burn the houses of, and murder or terrorize defenseless people.

On the afternoon of the 4th day of May, 1863, the gang had all gathered at Council Grove and camped in the heavy woods along Elm creek, on the General Custer land, which afterwards became Sampletown addition of the town. With a companion, and upon two splendid horses, Yeager and his trusty pal rode up to the office of Dr. J. H. Bradford, in east Council Grove, early in the evening, and said: "Doctor, I expect that you know me; but I have a tooth that aches like hell, and if you will give me relief I will be good; but if we are bothered by any movement on the part of your Unionists we will burn the old town before we leave; for that is what we came for." Doctor Bradford, who was from Missouri and knew his patient, pulled the tooth and provided him with a

bottle of soothing medicine, and he left the office in good humor. During the evening the Yeager camp was visited by some of the citizens, some of whom knew the leader back in Missouri and when he was a freighter along the trail. This act was always condemned by Union men as an act of disloyalty; but the defense of the visitors was that they went to the camp to persuade Yeager to spare the town, and they always claimed that they succeeded. At that time there was quite a number of southern sympathizers at Council Grove, and in all likelihood that fact, along with Dick Yeager's relief from a racking toothache and a good supply of warming stimulants, was all that prevented Council Grove from experiencing the same fate that befell Lawrence a few months afterwards.

The next day, May 5, after permitting his men to vent their spleen upon loyal citizens by cursing them and threatening their lives, the gang departed westward on their mission of murder and outrage. At about ten o'clock that night they raided Diamond Springs stage station and store, conducted by Augustus Howell, whom they killed, and severely wounded his wife, who tried to defend him. After robbing the store and the destruction of property, they scattered, and, skulking around the country for a day or two, passed eastward again, but not through Council Grove. In their wake they left a line of ruins, bloodshed and cowardly devastation, all of which was a fitting prelude to the Quantrill holocaust and massacre at Lawrence in the following August.

The writer and all of the early settlers of Diamond valley remember this estimable lady and her two dashing daughters, who afterwards became prominent for many years in the social life along that frontier valley. Jennie and Ella Howell and their mother (afterwards Mrs. E. Stotts), who survived this raid, lived for years at Hymer and Elmdale, in Chase county, and often related the terrors of that night and the destruction of Diamond Springs.

R. M. Wright, of Dodge City, once president of our Society, who passed over the Santa Fe trail after this raid, once wrote:

"In making my second trip across the plains, in the spring of 1863, I noticed the country was dotted with bare chimneys and blackened ruins of houses along the old Santa Fe trail, from within a few miles west of Westport to Council Grove. A friend by the name of Chatfield with his family, and I with my family, were traveling together. We drove about ten miles west of Council Grove that day and camped with an ox train going to Santa Fe. Chatfield and I had a very large tent between us. That night about midnight, during a heavy rainstorm, two men (Wright understood them to be Bill Anderson and Up Hays, two desperadoes, often companions of Yeager) rode up and dismounted with about fifty others, and as many of them as could enter our tent crowded in and asked for water. We happened to have a keg full, and after they had drank they saw that our wives, as well as ourselves, were much frightened, and they said: 'Ladies, you need not be frightened; we are not making war on women and children, but on "blue coats".' When we reached Diamond Springs we saw what their purpose was. They had murdered the people and burned their houses. The place indeed presented a look of desolation and destruction. Not a living thing could be seen about the premises, and we were too scared to make an investigation."

DIAMOND SPRINGS RANCH.

During the latter days of Santa Fe trail traffic Diamond Springs was abandoned as a stage and supply station, but was still a favorite camping place for the thousands of central and southwestern Kansas settlers, who, in their white-covered prairie schooners, used the old trail in passing to their frontier homes and claims in spring, and also followed again, in fall of drouthy years, as they went eastward, "back to winter with wife's folks."

When first known to the writer the old Diamond Springs ranch was the center of as rich and favored wild prairie-grass pasture as our state could boast, and was from fifteen to twenty miles in extent, with only a few settlers along a portion of Diamond valley to the southward. Where the thriving towns and villages now exist, like Wilsey, Delavan, Latimer, Burdick, Lost Springs and Herington, the region was a perfect sea of luxuriant prairie grass, and so it remained, practically unused, during the latter 60's, the 70's and most of the 80's, although it was free pasture for any who could own the stock to graze it. Around this oasis of rich grasses and springs and streams of fine water our herds and flocks ranged at will. The owners of the Diamond Springs ranch were non-residents, and the vast area of adjoining lands was the property of railroads and not open to free settlement, but could be used by any one as a stock range. Along the valley below the spring Kentucky blue grass had started, and for years was the farthest west it could be found in Kansas, and was probably from seed dropped by some passing wagon train years before.

As an adventurous cowboy, on horseback all day long, I loved to linger around the mammoth spring, view the ruins and contemplate the glories and tragedies of the place and the old trail in its palmy days, when famished man and beast were refreshed by its cooling waters. And then it was customary to watch and interview the still numerous passing travelers, who, on horseback or in the regulation covered wagons, followed its well-worn way. The trail was still bare and grassless for rods in width, and to those of us whose homes were in the valley, a few miles southward, it afforded a friendly fire guard from the annual prairie conflagrations which often swept down from the north. In course of time the unused parts of the grassless trail grew up to sunflowers in great profusion, and in blossom time it presented a winding belt of golden beauty across the verdant plain—green and gold, green and gold, as far as the eye could reach. My earliest recollections of Diamond Springs ranch were the tall stone gables of the destroyed buildings, with the huge chimneys, which could be seen for miles. They loomed upward and stood for years like spectral monuments of the past—speechless, though eloquent, of the historic days of the Santa Fe trail and its unique commerce, now vanished forever.

The Diamond Springs of Santa Fe trail fame is about four miles north of the present village of Diamond Springs, on the Atchison Topeka &Santa Fe railway, a place which took its name when Santa Fe trail traffic ceased and the post office was taken down to the settlement in Diamond valley.

In that day there were many noted cattle "ranches" along the old trail or at some favored water and timber spot upon some near-by stream—Six Mile ranch, Terwilliger's ranch, Conn's ranch, Brown's ranch, Morehouse ranch, Elliot's ranch at the site of the present Herington, and the Diamond Springs ranch—but the most famous of all was the latter. Around it hovered the historic and traditional halo of Indian and border warfare tragedy, the ever interesting tales of the Santa Fe trail and all of the lore and legends of frontier times.

And probably at present there is no place in Kansas along that famous highway were its scars and route is so indelibly marked as in the still uncultivated and extensive prairie pasture around Diamond Springs ranch, now often called the Whiting ranch, after its present owner.

In many places for miles we can see where the grinding wear of the huge wheels of the freight wagons and the steady tread of thousands of oxen, mules and horses wore a broad, deep and dusty scar, which the subsequent years of disuse has failed to obliterate. In the present prairie landscape its ruts and ridges are still plain—frozen, as it were, by the firm sod of grassy pastures; and even the very marks of the strong tires of the wagon wheels are visible, where the trail passed over the crest of bluff slopes, grinding the outcropping limestone ledges into powder and leaving wheel-chiseled inscriptions forever.

THE PRESENT HOMESTEAD OF MR. AND MRS. C. R. WHITING.

In the Centennial year of 1876 a change took place in the ownership of the Diamond Springs ranch, which was fortunate for the preservation of its past fame, and also as one of the spots which should be made prominent on the route of the National Old Trails Highway which is being projected.

Major Richard H. Whiting, of Peoria, Ill., came out to Kansas to invest in pasture lands. Passing over the then sparsely settled portion of Western Morris county, he came upon this wonderful spring among the ruins of the old stage station at the head of the beautiful Diamond valley. When he saw the rich and unused wild pasture lands, in the midst of which flowed the clear waters of the stream, whose main source was the noted "Diamond of the Plain," he decided to go no further. Purchasing the original holdings of the old stage station and other adjoining lands, he improved a body of land three miles north and south and two miles east and west. Being prior to the wire-fence era, he fenced the entire tract, ten miles around, with a heavy stone wall, which with some cross fences made about fifteen miles of fence. Large barns, stables and sheds were built, and also a commodious modern dwelling house. The major became a pioneer in experimenting with various new crops, grains and grasses, and did much for that part of Kansas by introducing fine strains of thoroughbred horses, cattle and swine.

He took great interest in the noted spring, and by the use of a hydraulic ram forced a stream of pure water from the "Diamond of the Plain" up to the house on top of the bluff, where it poured its faithful stream for over forty years without further expense, and only recently has a new equipment been installed.

For a number of years this splendid property has been owned by his

son, Charles R. Whiting, who, with his estimable wife, Mrs. Carolynn Oakford Whiting, has made it a most attractive and noted Kansas home.

When our Historical Society and the Daughters of the American Revolution of Kansas marked the route of the Santa Fe trail across the state, Mrs. Whiting procured one of the monuments and planned a fine celebration for the day it was set and dedicated. The event took place on the 26th of April, 1907, and was the first Santa Fe trail celebration of the many that were subsequently held when the monuments were placed at other historic places along the trail. A fine dinner was spread under the blossoming apple-tree orchard in sight of the famous spring, which never fails to pour forth its abundance of pure, cold water—enough to supply a city. The affair was attended by crowds of old and young, among which were many old settlers who had followed the trail during its palmy days. Mention was made of the differences between those times and the transformation wrought by Mr. and Mrs. Whiting in changing this historic Old Trail ranch into a fertile modern stock farm and a cultured Kansas home of thrift and hospitality; and yet, at the same time, preserved the noted spring and historic surroundings so they could be enjoyed by future generations.

The writer of this sketch delivered the address of the occasion, and will end this article with some of his closing remarks at that time:

The D. A. R. and the Kansas Historical Society cannot be given too much praise for their efforts in this movement which marks forever the route of the Old Santa Fe trail. It has aroused the West to a study of its thrilling pioneer annals before it is too late, and is resulting in other patriotic movements for the preservation of famous historic spots. It is a movement such as this country has never experienced. Old settlers and old soldiers, old and young, have been active in the matter; for it was over this grand old pioneer highway that the bright banner of the Stars and Stripes was first carried when our American domain was extended to the distant Rio Grande. The marking of this noted highway is of national concern, for it was the most famous overland roadway in America, and it will lead to zeal and enterprise in the good-roads movement. It will stimulate the study of local history and be the means of saving to posterity many an interesting chapter of history, legend and romantic lore.

Those of you here to-day who drank of this famed "Diamond of the Plain" fifty years ago have never regretted that you selected Kansas as your permanent home. A kind providence has spared your lives and permitted you to again taste its cooling waters; recount the dangers, hardships and adventures of those frontier days, and to say:

Diamond Springs! Diamond Springs!
That name with music always rings;
Rings up old days of long ago
When to thy fount we loved to go
And quench our thirst and cool our brow;
We loved you then, we love you now—
Dear Old Diamond, Diamond Springs.

To-day we place a granite monument to mark the course of the old trail and the location of this interesting and famed historical spot, "The

Diamond of the Plain." The dedication of this lasting memorial will long be remembered. Years may come and go, but this granite monument—more enduring than the firm hill upon which it rests—will last for ages to come, and tell succeeding generations the story of the trail and forever mark this beautiful place.

"The Diamond of the Plain," dear Diamond Springs!
How sweet thy sparkling prairie fountain flows
So near my early frontier Kansas home.
Days, years and crowding generations pass,
And, while we wait, the restless sweep of time
Will swiftly bear us o'er the Trail of Life.

This block of lettered granite now is placed
Close by thy gushing fount to be thy friend,
And tell of days now gone, when thou wast friend
To thirsty man and beast, that toiled along,
Footsore and dazed from stress of distance passed,
Across those weary plains to lands afar.

Yes, here their burning thirst was quenched by thee,
With rest and peace beneath the cooling trees
Which shade the Diamond stream thou gavest birth
And started on its way of life and song.
This mem'ry block, in chiseled lines, will e'er
Recall those days—the time when all these hills
And prairie slopes reëchoed with the sound
Of wagon trains that rolled to distant lands
For gain. Long ere the time those creaking carts
And laden mules—like argosies of old,
On trackless seas—pushed forth o'er desert lands
And followed hard the blazing setting sun,
This liquid light of thine had freely poured,
And heroes from Old Spain, in search of gold,
Were helped, mayhap, to find Quivira's modest home,
And nomads, wild and fierce, were soothed by thee
And lulled to rest by rippling water's song.

In mem'ry now I hear the neighing steed,
Held in by cruel bit and leathern rein,
Or urged on by clanging spur of steel,
When slow to move along the winding trail.
With lolling tongue, so tired, the patient ox
Now writhes beneath the galling chain and yoke,
While shouts of men and crack of goads and whips
Are heard, the same as when the multitudes
Passed by and paused awhile to drink of thee,
Sweet Spring of Life. Anon, I hear the tramp
Of hunters bold and soldiers brave, who were
The living actors of a strenuous age
Now gone, and who will pass along no more;
And those of us, who, by our acts to-day,
Now mark their well-worn path, will soon move o'er
That longer trail across the Great Divide.
And yet this monument of stone will stand
By thee and tell the tale of those stern times
To old any young, who seek to know thy name,
And while they pause to read and ponder o'er
The hist'ry of this place, thy stream so pure,
So sparkling, cool, will pour its blessing sweet,
The same as when, in days of old, they passed
This way, and thou wast called, by those who drank,
"The Diamond of the Plain."

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# ERRATA.

Page 122.—Line 11, read Missouri in "on" instead of "one."

Page 134.—Footnote 8, line 13, read "Capt. Thomas Bickerton" instead of "Capt. J. C. Bickerton."

Page 154.—Line 6 from bottom of page, read "1875" instead of "1876."

Page 164.—Line 20 from bottom of page, read "born" instead of "borne."

Page 221.—Line 6 from bottom of page, read "Charles Snyder" for "Asa Snyder."

Page 224.—Footnote, lines 1 and 2, read "Tannar" for "Tanner."

which sentence was duly carried out on October 30, 1863,

Page 229.—Line 10 from bottom of page: "a man named Mattox." Cutler's "History of Kansas," page 1105, says that during the summer of 1858 one of the murderers, Charles Matlock, was arrested, and while awaiting trial escaped and was never recaptured. In 1863 another of Hamelton's men, William Griffith, was arrested in Platte county, Missouri, and taken to Mound City for trial. The jury brought in a verdict of guilty, and Judge Solon O. Thacher sentenced him to be hung, which sentence was duly carried out on October 30, 1863, and Mr. William Hairgrove, one of the survivors, being the executioner.

Page 243.—Line 7 from top of page, read "First" instead of "Frist."

Page 318.—Line 2 from bottom of page, read "G. W. Hogeboom" instead of "J. W. Hogeboom."

Page 335.—Line 1, read "Gen. P. Edward Connor" instead of "Conner."

Page 342.—Line 2 from bottom of page, read "W. N. Byers" for "W. L. Byers."

Page 475.—Line 9 from top of page, read "Pensineau" instead of "Pensonean."

Page 696.—Line 13 from top of page, read "Rev. Jason Lee" for "Mr. Lees."